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**Land and lineage:
the articulation of
social and physical space
in an atoll village**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology
at Massey University**

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Abstract

This thesis examines relationships between the social and physical environments of a village on Butaritari atoll in Kiribati. The system of ambilineal descent and land inheritance obtaining there results in complex networks of genealogical relationships which affect most aspects of social life, including land rights. While previous studies conducted in Kiribati have recognised the intimate connection between genealogy and land rights, none has investigated its ramifications for the distribution of land rights within a community. In contrast, this study engages that question as a central concern using a framework which integrates Bourdieu's concepts of social space, field and habitus with post-neo-Darwinian ideas about the relationship between organism and environment.

The social space was found to be primarily structured by relationships based upon genealogy and secondarily by age and gender, each of which constituted a field within the wider social space. The genealogical field was defined by a network of positions, each representing a particular descent group. In accordance with the prevailing system of ambilineal descent, residents could belong to more than one descent group and it was upon the resulting networks of relationships between descent groups that the disposition of those groups within the genealogical field was defined. Because land-use rights were associated with genealogical connections the reconstruction of the genealogical field encompassing all of the village residents was a necessary precursor to discovering the distribution of those rights and the genealogical field was a central point of articulation between the social and physical spaces. The fields of age and gender relations provided further points of articulation between the social and physical spaces, the natures of which are examined through discussion of the material culture of the village and village and island politics.

Despite a contemporary ideology of egalitarianism there were vestiges of a former hierarchy of social status groups. While the inter-group obligations, rights and responsibilities associated with this hierarchy were no longer practised, the association of contemporary residents with those social status groups bore a relationship to their position within the genealogical field and the amounts of land to which they shared rights.

Preface and acknowledgements.

This thesis examines the proposition that the aspects of reality commonly termed "society" and "nature" can be conceptualised as spaces, social space and physical space, and that the investigation of relationships between the social and natural realms can be approached in terms of the articulation of those two varieties of space. The proposition is examined through a case study focusing upon a village on Butaritari atoll in Kiribati. The choice of Kiribati as a place to conduct fieldwork was based upon several factors. The first was associated with my having worked there for seven years between 1978 and 1985 during which time I became proficient in the I-Kiribati language and familiar with the culture and way of life of the people. The second factor was, by happy coincidence, the availability there of small relatively self-contained communities in which to conduct fieldwork. In choosing a village on Butaritari I took advantage of relationships developed over ten years earlier while working on Butaritari as an independent trader in local produce.

Except where otherwise indicated, the data upon which this thesis is based was obtained by me from residents of Kuma. At the time this thesis was submitted, one academic paper based upon aspects of the research had been published (King, 1995).

While conducting this study I have received assistance from many people and it is a pleasure to acknowledge their contributions. It is sometimes difficult to decide upon an appropriate order in which to make acknowledgements, but in this case I have decided to acknowledge

individuals and groups in an order which reflects their position in relation to the social and physical spaces with which the study is concerned. First to receive acknowledgement, therefore, are the people of Kuma, without whose willingness to participate this study would never have been conducted. I am particularly grateful to the members of the Natirea Village Council in Kuma for their kind hospitality. From among the many Kuma people, who cannot be mentioned individually for want of space, I must single out Nan Ibutuna whose generous sharing of his knowledge of tradition and genealogy was invaluable.

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Linguistic Note

The language spoken throughout Kiribati is known as I-Kiribati (formerly known as Gilbertese). I-Kiribati is related to other Micronesian languages while having been modified by linguistic borrowing from nearby Western Polynesia. Slight dialectal variations exist throughout the islands of the Gilbert group, with the most noticeably different dialect being that spoken on Butaritari and Makin. However, the differences are small and confined to vocabulary and intonation pattern.

For the reader of this thesis the most important difference to note is the substitution on Butaritari and Makin of the prefixes Na, Nam, Nan and Nang for Te, Tem, Ten and Teng (which are used elsewhere in Kiribati) before the names of males. In usage, the form of the prefix varies, in the interests of euphony, according to the first letter of the name. In this thesis only the form Nan is used, to avoid confusion, despite the injury to euphony which sometimes results. The prefix Nei before the names of females is used universally throughout Kiribati.

A glossary of I-Kiribati words and terms used in this thesis begins on page xiii.

Note on Orthography

There are thirteen letters in the I-Kiribati alphabet: a, e, i, o, u, m, n, ng, b, k, r, t and w. The following guide to pronunciation is adapted from Cowell, 1951.

Letter	Pronunciation
a	1. ah as in father 2. a as in fatter 3. u as in but
e	1. a as in fate 2. o as in bonny 3. aw as in awful
u	oo as in boot
m	m as in English
n	n as in English
ng	as ng in singer
b	between English b and p
k	hard and close to English g
r	unrolled and close to English d
t	as in English <i>except</i> before i and u, in which cases it forms an s sound
w	1. as a consonant it sounds like a v 2. as a semi-vowel it sounds like English w

Glossary of I-Kiribati words used in this thesis

This glossary covers I-Kiribati words which are found in this thesis. When a word has more than one meaning, only the meaning associated with its use in the thesis has been included in the glossary. In compiling this glossary the following authorities have been used for both I-Kiribati and scientific terms: Catala, 1957; Cowell, 1950; Grimble, 1989; Koch, 1986 and Sabatier, 1971.

<i>aba</i>	Land, country
<i>abatera</i>	People without land in the place where they are so categorised
<i>aia botaki aine</i>	Gathering of women
<i>aine</i>	Woman
<i>aitoa</i>	A tree growing in marshy land (<i>lumnitzera littorea</i>)
<i>ang</i>	To heat
<i>anti</i>	Spirit, god or ghost.
<i>aomata</i>	Human being
<i>aon</i>	Surface
<i>ari</i>	Spathe of coconut
<i>ataei</i>	Children
<i>atama</i>	Gravel, pebbles
<i>ati</i>	Skipjack tuna (<i>katsuwonus pelamis</i>)
<i>ato</i>	Coconut leaf thatch
<i>aumaiaki</i>	Summer solstice (March to September)
<i>aumeang</i>	Winter solstice (September to March)
<i>ba</i>	Leaf
<i>ba ni</i>	Coconut leaf
<i>ba n te mai</i>	Breadfruit leaf
<i>baa</i>	Coconut oil

<i>Babai</i>	Swamp taro (<i>cyrtosperma chamissonis</i>)
<i>bai</i>	Thing or object
<i>bai n iaon te aba</i>	Things associated with the surface of the land. Used to refer to secular affairs
<i>baiura</i>	Yellow fin tuna (<i>thunnus albacares</i>)
<i>bakatarawa</i>	Drop blind woven from coconut frond
<i>bao</i>	Open-sided house with a raised platform floor. The platform is not integral to the whole structure and stands independently
<i>bara</i>	Wahoo (<i>acanthocybium solandri</i>)
<i>bareaka</i>	Canoe house
<i>be</i>	Cloth lavalava or sarong
<i>Beba</i>	Paper
<i>bekei</i>	A pudding prepared from grated <i>babai</i> , coconut and <i>kamaimai</i>
<i>ben</i>	Mature coconut
<i>benu</i>	Coconut husk for making string
<i>berita</i>	Promise or pledge
<i>binu</i>	Traditional sitting dance
<i>binoka</i>	Pinch of <i>benu</i> spun (<i>kakano</i>) with others to produce string
<i>Biti</i>	Fiji
<i>bo</i>	A gathering of kin to celebrate a rite of passage of one of their members
<i>bo ben</i>	Gathering mature coconuts
<i>bo rau</i>	Gathering pandanus leaf for thatch making
<i>bokaboka</i>	Mud, usually referring to the muddy soil of <i>babai</i> pits (<i>rua</i>)
<i>Boki</i>	Book
<i>bong</i>	Day, twenty four hour period
<i>bota</i>	To gather together things or people
<i>botaki</i>	Meeting or gathering
<i>botaki n unimane</i>	Old men's association, council or meeting
<i>boti</i>	A seating position in <i>maneaba</i> for the members of a particular descent group

<i>boti n uea</i>	A <i>boti</i> reserved for the High Chief of Butaritari and Makin in the south-east corner of Butaritari and Makin <i>maneaba</i> during the pre-colonial period.
<i>buakonikai</i>	Bushland outside a village
<i>buata</i>	Traditional sitting dance performed by men
<i>buatoro</i>	A pudding made from grated <i>babai</i> and (<i>karewe</i>)
<i>bubuti</i>	A request or demand; to request
<i>buia</i>	A raised platform, as used in a <i>bao</i>
<i>bukinibai</i>	Remains or surplus
<i>bukiraro</i>	A seedless variety of breadfruit (<i>mai</i>)
<i>buraena</i>	Something hairy or shaggy hanging down. Often applied to the untrimmed ends of thatch on a roof
<i>butika</i>	A long spade. Also a long stick with a knife attached for detaching breadfruit from high branches
<i>bwere</i>	Combing board for cutting strips of uniform width for mat weaving
<i>eka</i>	A unit of land size based upon the area of an unknown <i>maneaba</i>
<i>eta</i>	Top or upper part
<i>ewe</i>	To jump or move around. Connotes freedom
<i>iaongo</i>	Thought or idea
<i>ibu</i>	Toddy collecting container made from coconut shell
<i>ikaraoi</i>	Superior variety of <i>babai</i>
<i>ikuku</i>	Wooden mallet for pulverising
<i>inai</i>	Mat woven from coconut leaf
<i>inaki</i>	Row of thatch
<i>ingimea</i>	Species of tuna (<i>neothunnus macropterus</i>)
<i>iruwa</i>	Visitor, one who arrives by canoe
<i>itamaria</i>	Pudding made from grated <i>babai</i> and <i>kamaimai</i>
<i>iti</i>	Empty, without issue
<i>kabouoka</i>	To burn
<i>kabouoka ni buraena</i>	To burn thatch trimmings
<i>kabuibui ni babai</i>	Dried <i>babai</i>

<i>kai</i>	Wood and trees in general
<i>kai ni kakari</i>	Roofing lathe to which thatch is attached
<i>kai n raurau</i>	Wooden platform to hold cooking and eating utensils
<i>kai n tiri benua</i>	Wooden mallet used to beat <i>benu</i>
<i>kai n toro rau</i>	A wooden stake against which pandanus leaves are flattened for thatch making
<i>kaina</i>	Pandanus tree
<i>kainga</i>	Ancestral residence and its descent group
<i>kakano</i>	To spin string by twisting <i>binoka</i> together between hand and thigh
<i>kakawaki</i>	Important, significant
<i>kakibotu</i>	Relaxation, killing time
<i>kamaimai</i>	Toddy which has been reduced to a thick syrup by prolonged boiling
<i>kamaraia</i>	To be supernaturally potent. Anyone offending a person who was <i>kamaraia</i> would be automatically cursed
<i>kamei</i>	Traditional standing dance performed by men
<i>karewe</i>	Toddy obtained from the wounded spathe <i>ari</i> of the coconut tree
<i>karo</i>	Parents
<i>karoro</i>	Fourth generation
<i>kateitei</i>	Building work
<i>katiki</i>	Fishing by trolling a lure behind a canoe (<i>wa</i>)
<i>katura</i>	A bivalve (<i>atactodea glabrata</i> Gmel.)
<i>katutu</i>	Self-sprouting variety of <i>babai</i> known as <i>temaiaki</i> on Butaritari and Makin
<i>kaunikai</i>	Competition or combat between sorcerers, dancers or practitioners of various skills or methods
<i>kaunwae</i>	Literally fighting feet. Refers to the practise of joint landholders gathering coconuts on a first come, first served basis
<i>kawai</i>	Magico-religious practices involving ritual actions without accompanying incantations

<i>kiakia</i>	Small open-sided house with its <i>buia</i> integral to the whole structure
<i>kiaro</i>	Canoe outrigger platform
<i>kie ni matu</i>	Sleeping mat
<i>kie</i>	Mat
<i>kie n ataei</i>	Child's sleeping mat
<i>kikao</i>	Small octopus
<i>kima</i>	Giant clam
<i>koikoi</i>	Small bivalve (<i>asaphis deflorata</i>)
<i>kora</i>	Coconut fibre string
<i>koraki</i>	Family, kindred
<i>koro ato</i>	The work of collecting fallen coconut fronds to be made into thatch (<i>ato</i>)
<i>koro-buki-ni-kana</i>	Circular basket of plaited pandanus leaves to contain fertiliser around base of <i>babai</i> tuber
<i>koro m benu</i>	The work of husking green coconuts to obtain fibre (<i>benu</i>) for string-making
<i>kuka</i>	Cooking, to cook
<i>mai</i>	Breadfruit in general
<i>mairoun</i>	From
<i>makoro</i>	Fraction, segment or part
<i>makuri</i>	Work
<i>mamma</i>	Shame, embarrassment or shyness
<i>maneaba</i>	Village or island meeting house
<i>maniba</i>	Well for fresh water
<i>manena</i>	Brother of a woman or sister of a man
<i>mangkeia</i>	A <i>boti</i> reserved for immigrants without land rights (<i>abatera</i>) in the south-west corner of Butaritari and Makin <i>maneaba</i> during the pre-colonial period.
<i>marai</i>	tender flesh of young coconut
<i>maraia</i>	To be cursed
<i>marawa</i>	The ocean
<i>maroro</i>	Conversation
<i>matu</i>	Sleep

<i>maungatabu</i>	Meeting requiring full attendance
<i>moi</i>	Drink
<i>moimoto</i>	Drinking coconut
<i>motini wae</i>	Seedless variety of breadfruit
<i>mwiin</i>	After, following
<i>nakoa</i>	Profession, employment
<i>nano</i>	Soul, conscience, will desire, disposition
<i>nano raoi</i>	Calmness of spirit
<i>Natirea</i>	Name of a comet, after which the dance form of the same name is named. Village council in Kuma
<i>nenebo</i>	Land given in compensation for murder
<i>nga</i>	Unit of measure equal to one fathom
<i>ngea</i>	Bush of very hard wood (<i>pemphis acidula</i>)
<i>ni</i>	Coconut tree (<i>cocos nicifera</i>)
<i>nikawewe</i>	Shrine marked by an enclosure of stones where a spirit is venerated
<i>noko</i>	Midrib of coconut side leaves
<i>non</i>	Tree with pithy core (<i>morinda citrifolia</i>)
<i>nouo</i>	Conical shell fish (<i>strombus luhuanus</i>)
<i>nuka</i>	Meaning centre. Also the name of a land plot in Kuma village
<i>nunua</i>	Barracuda
<i>oka</i>	Rafter
<i>onoi-rau</i>	Thatch replacement
<i>oreia</i>	Hit
<i>oro ben</i>	Cutting open mature coconuts to make copra
<i>rai ben</i>	Purchasing whole mature coconuts for the purpose of making copra
<i>rake</i>	Upwards, eastward
<i>raku</i>	Sword fish (<i>istiophoridae</i> sp.)
<i>rama</i>	Outrigger float for canoe
<i>ran</i>	Fresh water, liquid
<i>ran i ben</i>	Fluid of mature coconut

<i>raoi</i>	Calm, tranquil
<i>rara</i>	Blood
<i>rau</i>	Pandanus thatch
<i>raurau</i>	Plate or other round vessel
<i>ribana</i>	Process of fertilising <i>babai</i> plants
<i>riiringa</i>	Massage and bone manipulation
<i>rio</i>	Downwards, westward
<i>roba</i>	Small pandanus sitting mat
<i>roki</i>	Enclosure, often refers to a bathing enclosure
<i>rorobuaka</i>	Warrior, young man. On Butaritari and Makin the term is also applied to the former commoner social status group
<i>rourou</i>	<i>Babai</i> cultivation
<i>rua</i>	Pit for cultivating <i>babai</i>
<i>rua ni benu</i>	Retting pit dug in the lagoon reef flats in which to soak <i>benu</i> for string making
<i>ruoia</i>	Traditional standing dance
<i>taan bukinibai</i>	Shareholders
<i>taan takakaro</i>	Players
<i>tabokororo</i>	A <i>boti</i> reserved for aristocrats (<i>toka</i>) in the north-east corner of Butaritari and Makin <i>maneaba</i> during the pre-colonial period.
<i>tabonibai</i>	Fingers; the commoners who worked on the lands of the former High Chiefs of Butaritari and Makin
<i>tabunea</i>	Magico-religious practices involving chanting incantations without ritual actions
<i>tae-benu</i>	Removal of <i>benu</i> from the <i>rua ni benu</i>
<i>takakaro</i>	Play
<i>tan</i>	Facing
<i>tangitang</i>	Complaint, appeal, weeping
<i>tanikamotu</i>	Bushland to the east and south of Kuma village
<i>tanraki</i>	Ocean coast of atoll, also refers to the east
<i>tanreo</i>	Lagoon shore of atoll, also refers to the west
<i>tao-benu</i>	Process of retting coconut fibre (<i>benu</i>) for string making

<i>Tarawa</i>	An atoll in the Gilbert group, capital of the Republic of Kiribati
<i>tarina</i>	Brother of a man or sister of a woman
<i>tatanga</i>	Roof plate of house
<i>tataro</i>	Prayer
<i>Taubati</i>	Dance style imported from Samoa
<i>tangi ni wenei</i>	A dance accompanying dirges to the newly dead
<i>te</i>	Definite article in the I-Kiribati language
<i>teanikabai</i>	A <i>boti</i> reserved for the conquered, slave class in the north-west corner of Butaritari and Makin <i>maneaba</i> during the pre-colonial period.
<i>Tekanangaraoi</i>	A <i>tabunea</i> to bring good fortune to a third party
<i>temaiaki</i>	Self-sprouting variety of <i>babai</i> known as <i>katutu</i> elsewhere in Kiribati
<i>tia</i>	One who does or performs some function or occupation
<i>tia babaaire</i>	Chairperson, person guiding proceedings, master of ceremonies
<i>tia kateitei</i>	Builder
<i>tibutaratara</i>	A person's ancestor at a distance of six generations
<i>tiki</i>	Unit of measure for coconut fibre string, equal to ten <i>nga</i> (ten fathoms or 18.3 metres)
<i>tingaro</i>	Dawn
<i>tiri-benu</i>	To beat <i>benu</i> with a wooden mallet (<i>kai n tiri benua</i>)
<i>toka</i>	The aristocratic social status group of the former Butaritari and Makin social structure
<i>tongo</i>	Mangrove tree (<i>rhizophora mucronata</i>)
<i>toro rau</i>	Flattening pandanus leaves to use for thatch
<i>uea</i>	High Chief
<i>uma</i>	Any dwelling, building or shelter
<i>uma n aia</i>	Fuel shelter
<i>uma ni kuka</i>	Cooking house
<i>umatoro</i>	Large communal living house used in the pre-colonial period

<i>unimane</i>	Men over fifty years old respected for their knowledge and wisdom. Traditional leaders
<i>uri</i>	A tree with fragrant flowers (<i>guettarda speciosa</i>)
<i>utu</i>	Family, kin
<i>utu ae kaan</i>	Close kin
<i>utu ae raroa</i>	Distant kin
<i>wa</i>	Canoe
<i>wawi</i>	Magico-religious practices intended to kill or maim
<i>wenewene</i>	double sleeping mat
<i>wi</i>	Tooth or teeth; sharp bladed or point
<i>wibokaboka</i>	Process of loosening soil around base of <i>babai</i> tuber

Chapter One

Introduction

This study brings together three areas of interest, one regional, one theoretical and one substantive. The regional interest is with Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands. The theoretical interest is associated with the work of Bourdieu and the conceptual tools he advocates for the analysis of social reality. The substantive interest is with the question of relationships between the social and physical realms. Using Bourdieu's relational ontology as its basis, this thesis approaches the question by conceptualising each environment as a space, structured by a network of relationships, and investigates the relationships between those environments as articulations of social and physical space.

The conceptual framework developed to support the study is one which combines Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus with post-neo-Darwinian ideas about the relationship between environment and organism. The framework was applied to the empirical study with which this thesis is primarily concerned, focusing upon Kuma village on Butaritari atoll in the Republic of Kiribati. The choice of Kiribati followed partly from an established interest in the country and partly because it provided a choice of small, relatively self-contained communities in which to conduct fieldwork. Also, it made sense to do fieldwork in a familiar linguistic and cultural environment. Smallness was important because it was necessary to incorporate an entire community within the study within

the constraints of limited time and finance. Time constraints also made it important to locate a research site and commence fieldwork without delay, once having arrived in the country. For that reason Butaritari was the most sensible choice because I had worked there and was already known. With the island decided, Kuma was the obvious village because its size made it suitable for a community study, while its relative isolation made it possible to treat it as a relatively discrete unit.

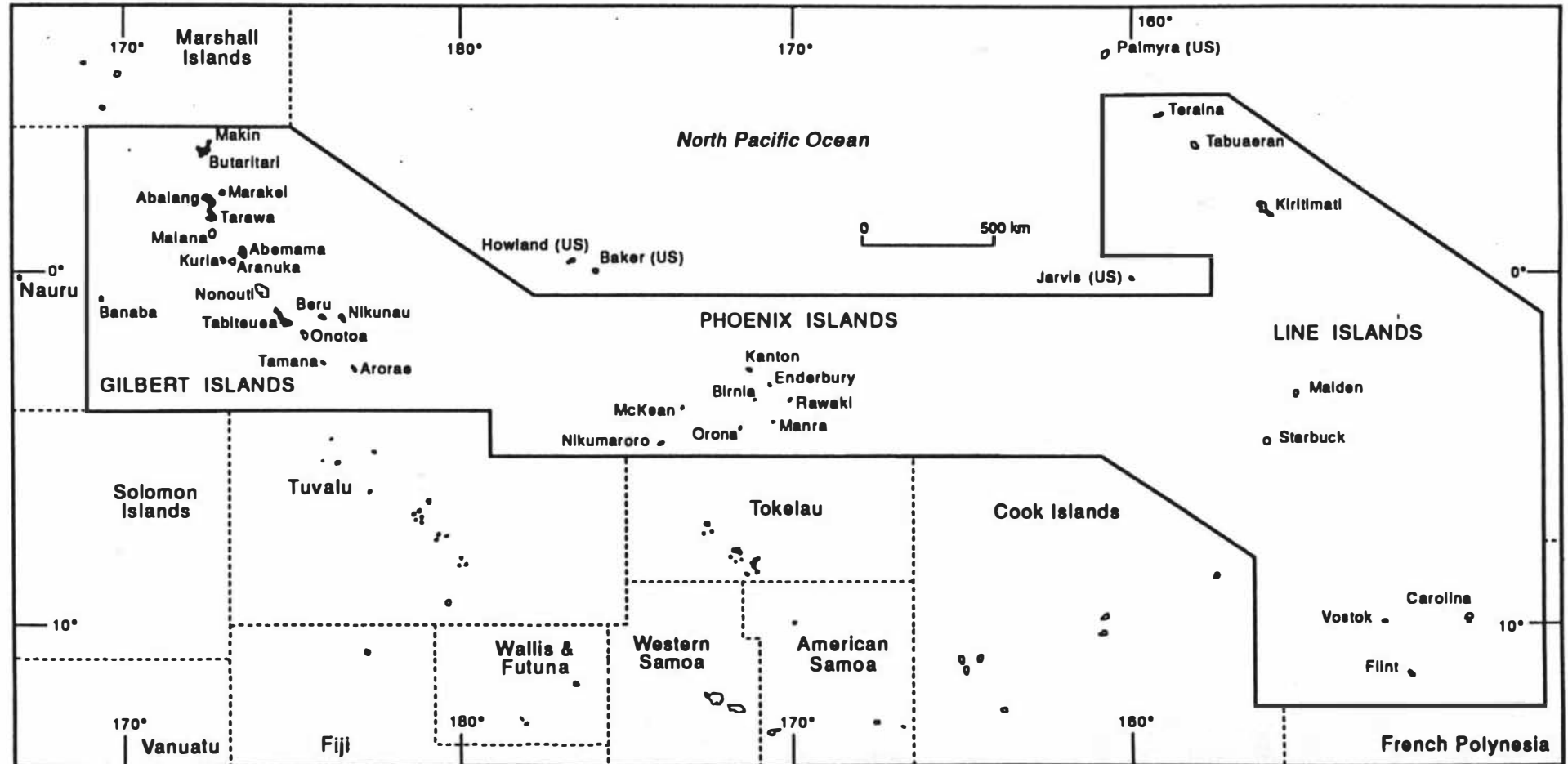
The first two parts of this introductory chapter will outline the extent and composition of the Republic of Kiribati and the physical and social characteristics of the Gilbert group of islands, highlighting the differences which exist between Butaritari and its neighbouring island, Makin, and other islands of the group. The third part will discuss the system of ambilineal descent and inheritance found throughout Kiribati and its ramifications for social relations and land tenure. That discussion will include reference to the two studies which have considered land tenure on Butaritari and Makin as well other studies relating to land tenure elsewhere in Micronesia. The fourth part of the chapter will outline the conceptual challenges posed by the study of social networks and land distribution in an ambilineal society and outline the manner in which those challenges have been met by the conceptual framework developed for this study. The chapter will conclude with an outline of the remaining seven chapters of the thesis.

The physical context.

The Republic of Kiribati, shown in Figure 1.1, incorporates three island groups and one isolated raised coral island, spanning twenty degrees of longitude from 150 degrees to 170 degrees along the equatorial zone of the Pacific Ocean. The three groups are the Gilbert Islands, to the west, the Phoenix Islands, in the centre, and the Line Islands, to the east. All of those islands are low lying, some are true atolls and others are coral reef islands. Christmas Island (Kiritimati) in the Line group is the world's largest coral atoll and its area is equal to the combined areas of the other islands of Kiribati. West of the Gilbert group is the isolated raised atoll of Banaba (alternatively known as Ocean Island), original home of the Banaban people, who now reside primarily on Rabi Island in Fiji. The Banaban people were apparently closely related to the people of the Gilbert Islands, the I-Kiribati (also known as the Gilbertese), although there seems to have been little intercourse between the two peoples prior to the establishment of sustained contact with Europeans in the nineteenth century. However, following the discovery of phosphate on Banaba and the establishment of the British Phosphate Commission to extract it, Banaba became the administrative headquarters of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony and many Gilbertese were recruited to work in the phosphate mines on Banaba.

The Phoenix and Line Islands, some 1800 and 3500 Kilometres east of the Gilbert Islands, respectively, did not become associated with the Gilbert group until the colonial period and were formally incorporated with the Gilbert Islands and Banaba as part of the independence

Figure 1.1. The Republic of Kiribati



Source: Adapted from Van Trease (1993)

settlement for Kiribati, following the secession of the Ellice Islands to form the independent state of Tuvalu in 1976. Neither the Phoenix nor Line Islands were inhabited at the time they were discovered by Europeans, although the northern Line Islands have yielded evidence of temporary settlement by Eastern Polynesians, prompting speculation that they might have been used as a staging point during pre-historic voyaging between Eastern Polynesia and Hawaii.

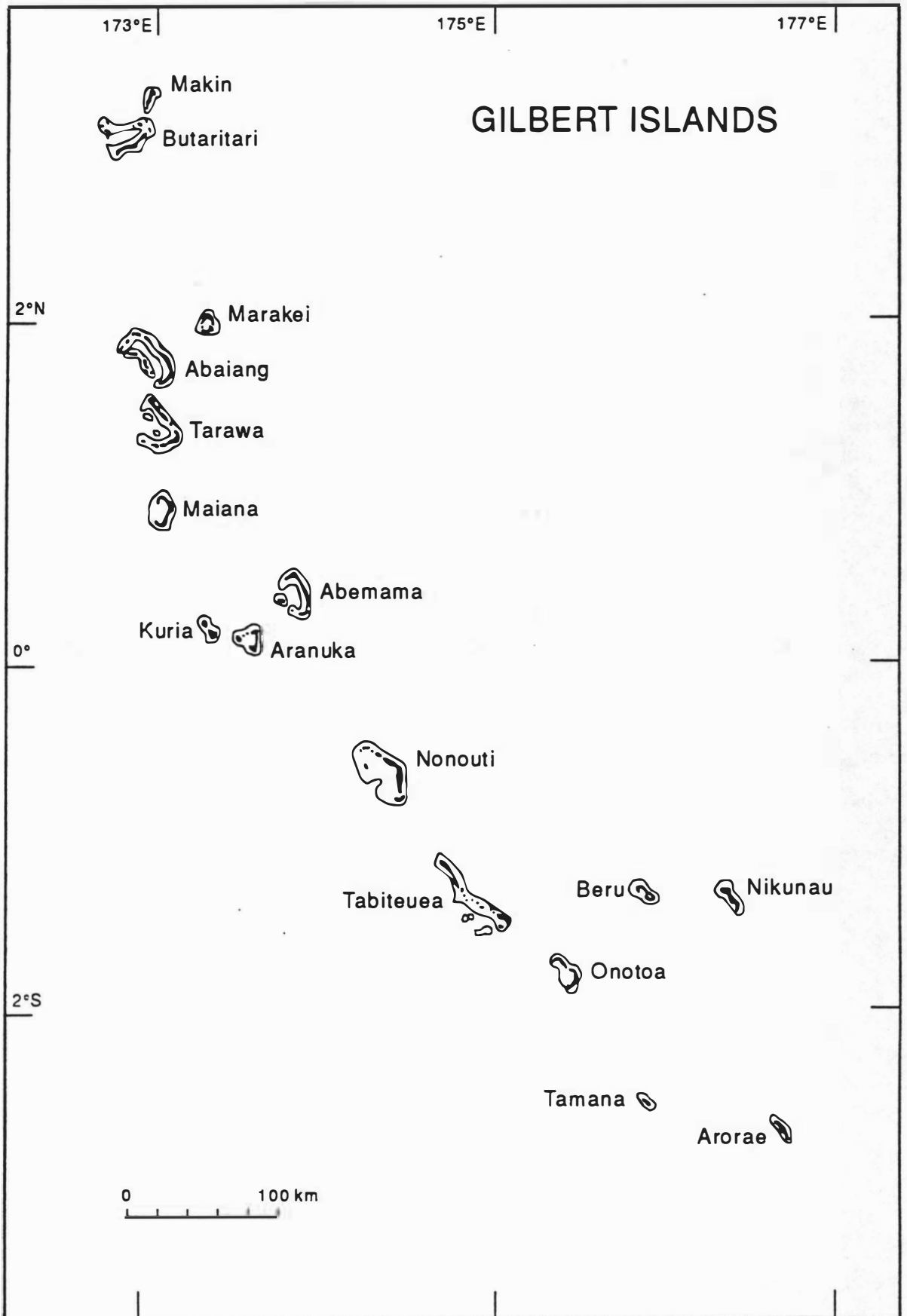
The geographical heart of Kiribati and the home of its people is the Gilbert Islands, shown in Figure 1.2, and whenever reference is made to Kiribati in this thesis, such reference should be understood as applying only to the islands within the Gilbert group. The name Kiribati is the colonial name, Gilberts, rendered in the I-Kiribati orthography (described in the linguistic note to the Glossary). The Gilbert Islands were named after Captain Thomas Gilbert in recognition of his sighting of some of the central islands in 1788. They consist of sixteen islands, of which ten are coral atolls and six are coral islands. Coral atolls and coral islands are distinguished according to whether or not they have a lagoon. A coral atoll consists of a land area and reef which together surround a lagoon, while a coral island consists of a land area surrounded by a fringing reef, but no lagoon. The land area of an atoll commonly consists of a string of islets of varying size, rather than a continuous land mass. However, as can be seen in Figure 1.3, there can be considerable variation. For example, the land mass surrounding the lagoon of Marakei atoll is almost continuous, whereas a significant part of the land area of Tabiteuea atoll consists of numerous small,

unconnected islets. The six coral islands are, from north to south, Makin, Kuria, Beru, Nikunau, Tamana and Arorae.

While there is only one indigenous language spoken throughout Kiribati, known as I-Kiribati or Gilbertese, there are slight dialectal differences throughout the group, with the Butaritari-Makin dialect being the most distinct. The Butaritari-Makin dialect differs chiefly in terms of intonation and vocabulary, but the differences are not sufficient to cause communication difficulties and the speech of a person from Butaritari is more likely to cause amusement rather than incomprehension to a listener from the south. Some specific differences have already been referred to in the linguistic note preceding this chapter.

Apart from occasional reference to other parts of Kiribati, this study is focused upon the village of Kuma on Butaritari atoll. (Butaritari atoll and neighbouring Makin are shown in Figure 1.4 in which the parts of the atoll associated with Kuma are enclosed within a dotted line. Appendix Eleven provides a more detailed schematic representation of Kuma village and its associated land plots.) However, while the primary focus is upon one village, the characteristics of that village must be understood in terms of wider cultural and geographical contexts, two of which will be introduced here, the first being associated with the islands of Butaritari and Makin, which provide the immediate geographical and cultural context for Kuma village. The second context is the Gilbert islands as a whole, because it is in relation to historical events which occurred elsewhere in the group that the cultural peculiarities of Butaritari and Makin must be understood. However, before outlining the wider historical

Figure 1.2. The Gilbert Islands



Source: Adapted from Van Trease (1993)

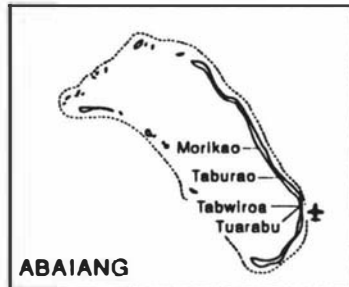
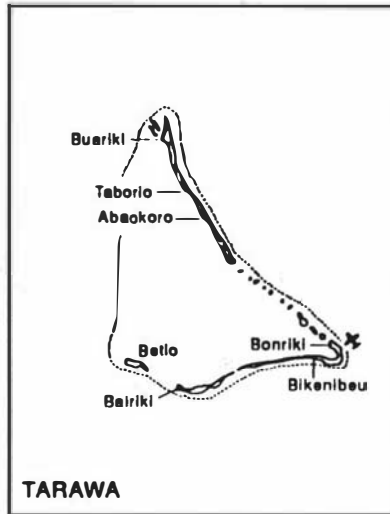
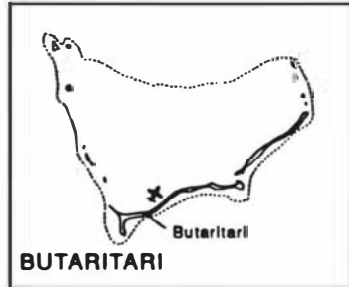
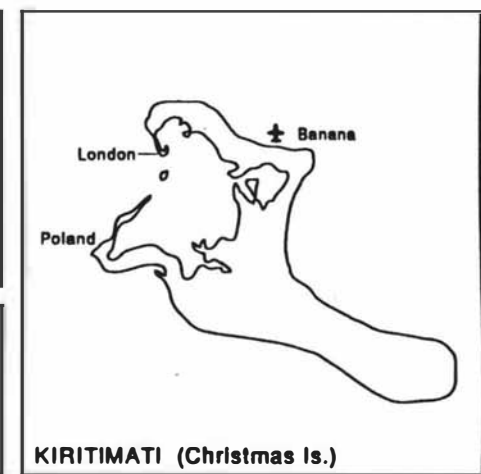
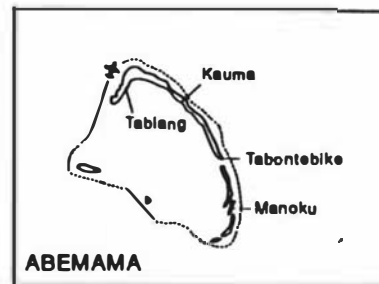
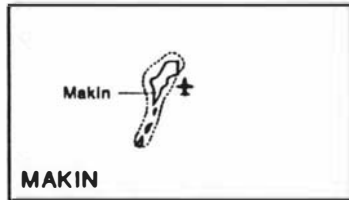
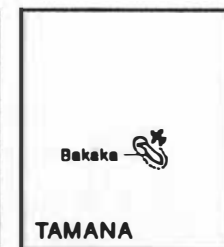
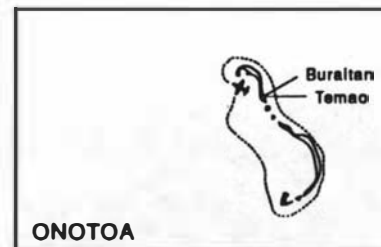
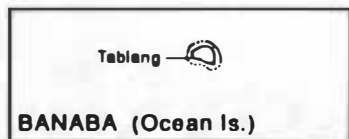
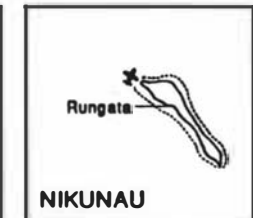
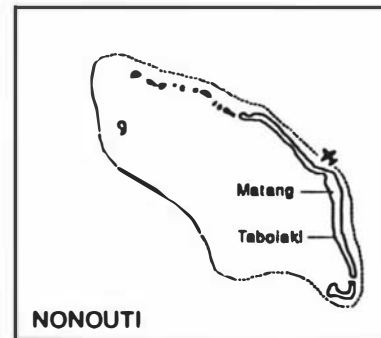
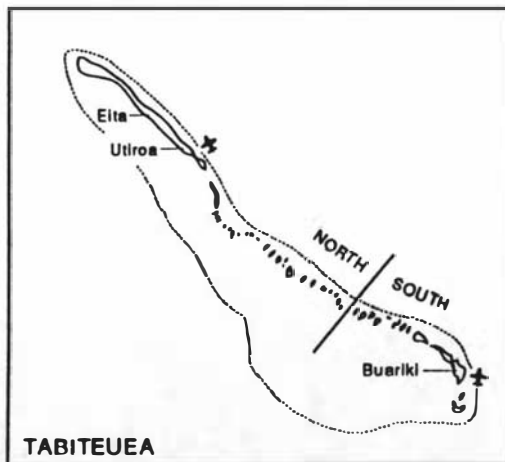
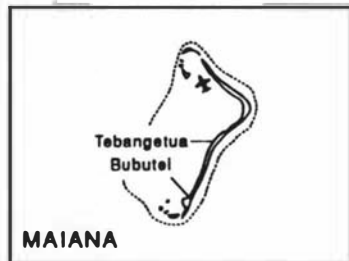
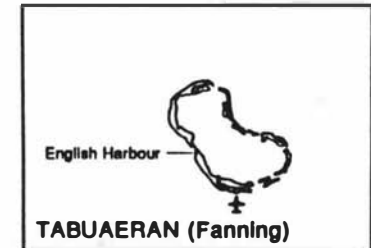


Figure 1.3. The principal islands of Kiribati

0 30 km

Source: Adapted from Van Trease (1993)

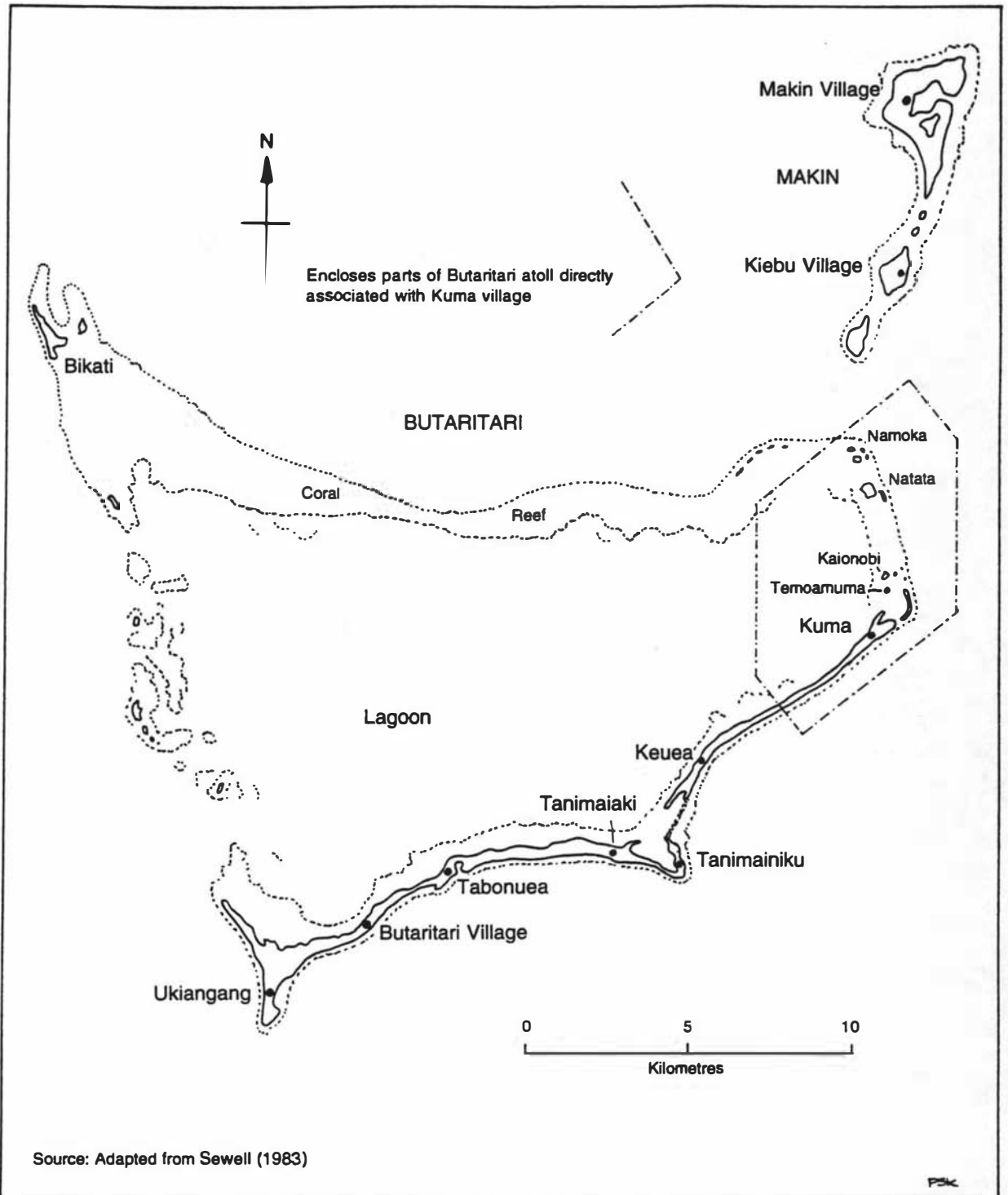


and social context within which the particular characteristics of the Kuma community should be understood, I will describe the broad physical characteristics of the Gilbert islands as a whole and identify the characteristics which distinguish the islands of Butaritari and Makin from the rest.

The purpose of the discussion is to make it clear that the characteristics of the community studied differ significantly from otherwise similar communities in other parts of the group. This discussion also provides a context for the references, in other parts of this thesis, to different ways in which various practices associated with Kuma and Butaritari differ from practices to be found elsewhere in the group. It is not the purpose of this thesis to attempt to account for the social, historical and physical differences between Butaritari and Makin and the other islands of the group which are to be discussed below.

Butaritari is an atoll with a large and deep lagoon, while Makin is a coral island. The two, which are separated by only a few kilometres, differ from the other islands of the group in physical terms because their northern location gives them a higher average rainfall than is experienced elsewhere in the group. The mean annual rainfall on Butaritari and Makin is about 3000 millimetres, whereas the southern islands, closer to the Equator, are in a zone of much lower rainfall, with an annual mean in the vicinity of 1500 millimetres. The islands closest to Butaritari and Makin: Marakei, Abaiang and Tarawa, have a mean annual rainfall of 2000 millimetres. Not only is rainfall higher in the north of the group, it is also more regular and reliable, having an annual

Figure 1.4. Butaritari and Makin



variation of about thirty percent compared to annual variations ranging from forty to sixty percent in other parts of the group. The greatest variability is found in the southern islands which experience the lowest mean annual rainfall. (The figures presented above were derived from Burgess (1987) and cover the years 1951 to 1980.) The zone of relatively high rainfall in which Butaritari and Makin are located extends north into the southern Marshall Islands, while the dry zone in which the southern Gilbert islands are located sits to the north of a wet zone extending south to cover the islands of Tuvalu (Wiens, 1962:154). All of the islands, except Butaritari and Makin, experience periodic droughts, lasting for one to three years, with a cycle of between five and seven years (Wiens, 1962:157-158). While these droughts do not render the islands they affect uninhabitable, they have in the past caused considerable hardship to their inhabitants. For example, during the 1870's several hundred deaths were reported due to drought on Tamana island in the south of the group (Macdonald, 1982:58). The freedom of Butaritari and Makin from drought can be illustrated by reference to its rainfall during one particular drought year (1950) during which Butaritari's rainfall was about 1400 millimetres and Makin's about 1300 millimetres, figures similar to periods of high rainfall in the south. During that year the next highest rainfall was on Marakei with about 500 millimetres, ranging down to Aranuka and Onotoa which each received about 130 millimetres (see Catala, 1957:3). While they are subject to drought, the Gilbert islands are fortunate not to experience tropical cyclones, which rarely form within five degrees of the equator (Burgess, 1987), thus avoiding the devastation they can bring to the vegetation, soil and

populations of low-lying atolls and coral reef islands (Wiens, 1962:182-186).

Rainfall is significant for atoll fertility and Wiens (1962:364) found a positive relationship between rainfall and the number of plant species found on atolls in the Central Pacific. Of almost equal importance for atoll habitability is the variability of rainfall because droughts can occur on even the wettest atolls when rainfall variability is great (Wiens, 1962:154). However, the amount and variability of rainfall are not the sole determinants of fertility because the ability of the islets to retain the rainwater is crucial also. The sole source of fresh water on coral islets is from the rain which falls on them. The rainwater percolates down through the soil, sand and coral rubble into the reef below. The reef is porous and saturated with salt water from the surrounding ocean and lagoon. Because fresh water is slightly less dense than salt water, by a ratio of 40:41 (Wiens, 1962:318) the rainwater which percolates down to the reef floats on top of the layer of salt water forming what is termed a Ghyben-Hertzberg lens of fresh water. The layer is referred to as a lens because its shape, in cross-section, resembles that of a convex lens, being thick in the middle and progressively thinner towards its edges. The lens is constantly dissipating into the surrounding sea through its thin edges and must be regularly replenished by rain in order for it not to dissipate entirely. However, the longevity of a lens is a function of its size, which in turn is a function of islet size. Alkire (1978:11) suggests that an island less than 107 metres by 107 metres (350 feet by 350 feet) in area would be too small to develop a permanent fresh water lens. Butaritari and Makin, in common with all other islands in the Gilbert

group, meet the size criteria for forming permanent lenses. Knudson (1979:2) considered the islands of the group to be very large for coral structures and therefore able to store considerable ground water. Island height is also a factor because the porous nature of the soil, sand and underlying coral reef result in fresh water seeping down to sea water level as well as dissipating through the edges of the raised coral structure above sea level. Consequently, on raised atolls, such as Banaba, which has an elevation of about twenty four metres, the fresh water collected from rainfall does not remain accessible to plants or humans from the surface. Alkire (1978:16) suggests that an elevation greater than six metres would probably not support more than a limited number of hardy, salt resistant vines, shrubs and bushes. Atoll dwellers obtain fresh water from the lens from wells dug down through the soil and a little way into the underlying reef to provide a chamber into the water table. Wells are lined with coral slabs and in Kuma almost every household had one in its compound.

With regard to amount of rainfall, variability of rainfall and island size, Butaritari and Makin are well endowed by atoll and coral reef island standards. Their relatively high fertility is obvious to anyone visiting them who has also visited the clearly less fertile islands to the south. In terms of Alkire's (1978:15) framework of factors influencing the potential of coral islands to support vegetation growth and human population, Butaritari and Makin can be classified as exceptional. In order to gain that classification, they met the following criteria: island size greater than 107 metres by 107 metres; elevation less than six metres; average

annual rainfall more than 2000 millimetres; absence of drought and absence of tropical cyclones.¹

The social context.

Butaritari and Makin were ruled as one political unit by an unbroken succession of fourteen High Chiefs over a span of ten generations (see Figure 6.1) until the dissolution of the position of High Chief following the death of its last incumbent, Nan Uraura, in 1963. The close association of the two islands over such a long period resulted in a considerable degree of intermarriage between the residents of both islands. As a result, all Butaritari and Makin genealogies, including those of the High Chiefs, shared the same founding couple, Nei Rakentaai and Nan Teimaui. Consequently, most, if not all, extended families with a genealogical depth of six generations² had members and land plots located on both Butaritari and Makin. Although now politically distinct, Butaritari and Makin share a common history and culture which distinguishes them significantly from the other islands of Kiribati in terms of political institutions, land tenure³, cultural practices and dialect.

¹ Alkire's units of measurement have been converted to metric units.

² Descent groups with that degree of depth were associated with the regulation of a number of aspects of social life and were often the basis of shared land-use rights. This forms the substance of Chapters Four and Five and will not be further elaborated here.

³ For discussions of land tenure in other parts of Kiribati see Hockings (1989); Lawrence (1983) and Lundsgaarde (1974a).

The differences just listed can be attributed, at least in part, to the geographical location of the two islands in the north of the group because it isolated them from political changes introduced to the rest of the Gilbert Islands following their invasion by the famous warriors Kaitu and Uakeia during the seventeenth century (Maude, 1963:14). This conquest took the system of *maneaba*⁴ organisation which had been introduced to Beru island following its invasion by the Samoan warrior Tematawarebwe in about the fourteenth century (Macdonald, 1982:6). Tematawarebwe had been defeated in a series of wars in Samoa and fled northwards. The system of *maneaba* village and island government⁵ which he introduced was based upon a principle of descent group representation which became institutionalised in each village *maneaba* by the maintenance of fixed seating positions, known as *boti*, for the descent group members. The most genealogically senior male member of each *boti* spoke and represented his fellow members in all *maneaba* deliberations. One *boti*, known as Karongoa n Uea (Karongoa [sound] of Kings) was preeminent, being associated with Tematawarebwe and the invaders from Samoa (Grimble, 1989:225). The invasion by Kaitu and Uakeia, about three hundred years later, carried the *boti* system to the remaining islands as far north as Marakei. Having subdued Marakei, Kaitu and Uakeia prepared to continue to Butaritari and Makin, but were

⁴ *Maneaba* are large communal meeting houses. Each village in Kiribati usually has at least one village *maneaba* as a venue for village council meetings, celebrations, feasts, dancing and offering hospitality to visitors. These impressive structures are the physical heart of social life.

⁵ for detailed information about the conquests of Kaitu and Uakeia and the Beru *maneaba* system see Maude (1963) and Grimble (1989).

dissuaded by a show of force on Tarawa engineered by the then High Chief of Butaritari and Makin, Nan Atanga (Grimble, 1989:87).

Having escaped the introduction of the Beru system, Butaritari and Makin continued to develop systems of government, social status and hierarchy, inheritance and land tenure which distinguished them from the islands to the south. The Beru *boti* system came to be associated with gerontocracy rather than aristocracy and the islands to which it had been introduced did not remain under the control of single High Chiefs for as long as Makin and Butaritari did. In contrast to the Beru *Boti* system, which divided a *maneaba's* seating area into as many *boti* as were necessary to provide a separate seating area for each eligible descent group, *maneaba* on Butaritari maintained a four part *boti* division (illustrated in Figure 6.1) with each seating section reserved for one of the four strata of society: the *Uea* (High Chief) and his close consanguines; the *toka* (aristocrats, or minor chiefs); *kaunga* (slaves, the conquered); and *abatera* (landless settlers from other islands) (Grimble, 1989:210). While that system had ceased to be practised by the time Grimble recorded its details in the nineteen twenties, it has never been replaced by the Beru *boti* system. This discussion is expanded in Chapter Six, which deals with contemporary systems of village and island government and their historical antecedents.

Ambilineal descent and land tenure.

The separate political development of Butaritari and Makin during the pre-colonial period resulted in a system of land tenure significantly different from that which developed elsewhere in the group. The nature of those differences is reflected in the characteristics of the two different types of *maneaba* system. Under the Beru system, the *boti* was associated with many aspects of "social, economic, political and judicial" life, but not landholding (Maude: 1963:54). Land was held by smaller descent groups of lesser genealogical depth than *boti* and divided amongst their members from generation to generation. Consequently, there was no direct relationship between land rights and the structure of participation in village government in the islands to the south of Butaritari and Makin. In the north, on the other hand, the High Chief held supreme rights to all land on the islands and had the power to grant or remove the land rights enjoyed by descent groups associated with the other social strata. The High Chief, as ultimate titleholder, was at the centre of every landholding descent group's relationship with its land. That relationship was acknowledged in the periodic presentations of food which all landholding descent groups were required to make to him and the responsibility of all to participate in his children's rites of passage, as though they were kin. On that point, Lambert points out that the relationship between the High Chief and his subjects was ambiguous in terms of kinship. In one sense, he was a kinsman to all members of Butaritari and Makin descent lines because he shared their descent from Nei Rakentaai. But at the same time he belonged to none of the descent

groups and could not be referred to by any kinship term (Lambert, 1978:92).

One important basis of social organisation which is held in common throughout Kiribati is a system of ambilineal descent and inheritance. Land rights are inherited by male and female children from both their parents and children automatically acquire membership of the descent groups to which each of their parents belongs, by right of birth. The descent group exogamy associated with the strict incest prohibition, which proscribed marriage between people any more closely related than third cousins⁶, ensured the ongoing creation of inter-descent group links. Clearly this system differs from a unilineal system which allows individuals membership of only one of the descent groups from whose founders they can trace descent and automatically excludes them from the others. The potential for exponential intergenerational growth of descent group membership under an ambilineal system can be limited by mechanisms based upon non-descent criteria. One such mechanism is to have differential rights to land inheritance coupled with the definition of descent group membership in terms of shared land rights. Another mechanism is one based upon residence so that individuals gain rights to membership of descent groups associated with the parent on whose lands they reside. During the pre-colonial period the growth of descent group membership was regulated by mechanisms based upon land rights and residence criteria. On Butaritari and Makin, land rights, apart

⁶ Even that degree of separation was not considered sufficient by many contemporary informants. The incest prohibition did not apply to those belonging to the line of the High Chiefs, amongst whom sibling marriages were permitted.

from the absolute rights held by the High Chief, could be categorised as being either provisional or residual⁷. The provisional holders of a particular land plot were those members of the landholding descent group who occupied and worked the plot. The residual holders were their kin who occupied other plots associated with the group and to which they held provisional rights. After several generations residual rights lapsed and the descendants of the residual landholders no longer shared kinship ties or land rights with the descendants of the provisional owners.

The move by the colonial administration to introduce a system of individual tenure during the nineteen twenties was conducted with an awareness of the fundamental differences between Butaritari and Makin land tenure and the rest of the group. In recognition of those differences the land tenure policies devised for and implemented on those islands were quite different from those applied elsewhere. To this day, patterns of land holding on Butaritari and Makin remain quite different from those found throughout the rest of the group. A significant and unintended consequence of the land tenure reforms was the removal of the distinction between provisional and residual landholders which had underpinned the mechanism limiting the growth of descent group membership. The manner in which that happened is discussed in detail in Chapter Five and need not be dwelt on here. However, the consequences of the removal of that distinction will be briefly mentioned

⁷ The terms provisional and residual were originally used in this context by Goodenough (1966). Their use is fully explained in Chapter Five.

here because of the bearing of its empirical basis on the nature of this study and the conceptual issues associated with it.

The effect of removing the distinction between provisional and residual rights was that people were able to claim full rights to land plots which their ancestors would have considered to have been relinquished. Moreover, the kinship obligations which had, formerly, to be fulfilled by people in order for them to retain their provisional and residual rights had no longer to be fulfilled in order for them to retain full rights. Furthermore, the former inter-status group obligations associated with the retention of land rights were also abolished. Those customary controls upon the growth of landowning descent group membership had worked by providing incentives for people to disaffiliate from groups for which the costs of retaining membership were felt to exceed the benefits. The removal of those incentives for disaffiliation coincided with the emergence of a powerful incentive to retain affiliation. That was because the tenure reforms enabled all landholders to participate on equal terms in the copra trade and land plots consequently acquired an additional value for those with rights to them. During the thirty or so years between the implementation of the tenure reforms by Grimble's Land Commission in 1922 and the work of the Cartland Land Commission between 1951 and 1956, the number of land plots remained constant while the rights to them proliferated. The Cartland Commission reduced the fragmentation of rights associated with that proliferation by dividing the rights available to an entire descent group among the groups of siblings it contained. During the nearly forty years between the Cartland Commission and the fieldwork for this study only six of the fifty

landholding descent groups in Kuma had undergone any formal, legal division of rights among its members. Despite the aim of the tenure reform to individualise tenure, the people of Butaritari and Makin retained their land holdings under extended family control. As a result a further proliferation of rights had occurred and for this study to be able to trace its ramifications, it was necessary to use a conceptual approach which was compatible with the multidimensional character of the networks of genealogical relationships which were associated with the distribution of land-use rights.

This is a problem which is perhaps particularly apparent in the case of Butaritari and Makin land tenure. In the rest of the Gilbert group, individual tenure became the norm, with each parent's land plots being divided among his or her children, under individual titles, following the parent's death, if not before. In that case the rights to any particular plot are confined to the person with whom it is registered and his or her children. The rights there certainly do not embrace three to four generations of lineal and collateral kin as they may on Butaritari and Makin. Consequently, investigation of the distribution of land rights in the southern islands is more straightforward than in the north. It was perhaps a measure of that difference that a socio-economic survey conducted during 1971-1974 on the islands of Butaritari, Abemama, Tabiteuea and Tamana, obtained land distribution data for all of the islands studied except Butaritari (see Geddes, 1982:35).

Moving north to the other islands of Micronesia and reviewing accounts of land tenure and social structure in the Caroline and Marshall

islands, reveals similarities and differences throughout the area. However, one factor associated with the post-contact period which particularly distinguishes the Gilbert islands from their fellow Micronesian islands to the north and north-west is that the colonial impact upon land tenure there was much less profound than was the case in the Gilbert islands. In her account of contemporary land tenure practices on Namu atoll in the Marshall islands, Pollock describes a system similar to the pre-colonial system on Butaritari and Makin. Under the system on Namu, land was worked under a hierarchy of chief, manager and worker (Pollock, 1974:111-113) and "still owned by paramount chiefs who retained the right to appoint new users" (Pollock, 1974:103). Unlike Butaritari and Makin, land inheritance was primarily matrilineal. Alkire, describing land tenure among the Woleai in the central Carolines, noted that the system of land tenure in the nineteen sixties was "still essentially a traditional one" (Alkire, 1974:39) which had been subjected to little colonial impact (Alkire, 1974:67). As was the case on Namu, land was inherited primarily matrilineally, but, unlike both Namu and Butaritari, chiefs had at no time "had true eminent domain over land" (Alkire, 1974:47-54). Goodenough, referring to property systems on Truk, in the Caroline islands to the east of the Woleai, also noted that it was little modified since contact (Goodenough, 1966:29). Of course Goodenough was describing the situation in 1947, Alkire in 1965 and Pollock in 1969 and it might be suggested that the situation would have changed since then. However, it is clear from Damas's more recent study of land tenure on Pingelap atoll in the eastern Caroline islands, based upon fieldwork conducted between 1975 and 1983, that attempts to introduce a uniform codification of land tenure in the area had been resisted and land

conveyancing on Pingelap was still conducted by customary, oral, means (Damas, 1994:92). When Goodenough wrote of Truk, land tenure on Butaritari and Makin had already been transformed by one Land Commission and another was being planned. By the time Alkire and Pollock wrote of Woleai and Namu, Butaritari and Makin had undergone their second redistribution of land rights following a series of Land Commission hearings which issued final, binding decisions that were not subject to appeal. In contrast with the apparent retention of pre-colonial structures throughout much of the rest of Micronesia, when Lambert conducted his study of Butaritari and Makin descent groups between 1959 and 1961, he was describing a system of property control, social stratification and political control which no longer existed, having already been transformed by changes in land tenure imposed by the colonial government (Lambert, 1963:279) over thirty years earlier.

Two previous studies with strong interests in land tenure have been conducted in the Butaritari and Makin area. The first, by Lambert (1963) (noted above), focused upon Makin, but, of necessity, dealt frequently with historical events on Butaritari because of the intimate connection between the two islands. Lambert clearly detailed the nature and genealogical basis of the relationship between real property and the structure of the society. However, while detailing the principles underlying the relationship between social relations and rights to physical resources and real property, his study did not reveal the ramifications of those principles in terms of the distribution of land-use rights on Makin. The second study was conducted on Butaritari by Sewell (1983) during 1972 and 1973. Her study was conducted as part of the socio-economic

survey referred to above and paid considerable attention to patterns of land use by a small sample of households distributed among several villages. However, while emphasising the intimate connection between genealogy and land-use rights, her study did not pursue the investigation of those two factors sufficiently to be able to reveal any substantive examples of the ramifications of that connection on the distribution of land-use rights. Nonetheless, the debt owed by this study to Lambert's work on the characteristics of the pre-contact society of the two islands, and the impact of colonisation upon it, will be readily apparent to the reader of this thesis, as will be the debt to Sewell for her insights into the characteristics of social and economic life on Butaritari.

Conceptual issues.

Clearly, with its emphasis upon relationships between social and physical space, the ramifications of the connection between genealogy and land-use rights are central to this study because they are associated with what is arguably the principal point of articulation between the social and physical spaces associated with rural communities throughout Kiribati. Moreover, the intimate relationship between social relations and land rights is such that one cannot be meaningfully studied without the other. Consequently, given that one of the objectives of this research was to incorporate the entire network of social relationships which were associated with the rights of Kuma residents to Kuma land plots, it followed that the distribution of those rights among the entities associated with the network must be detailed also. The use of land-rights

data also proved essential because it provided the only way of identifying the former social status groups with which the ancestors of contemporary residents had been associated. This was because the distinctions between the status groups had been abolished and people no longer openly identified themselves with any of them. However, each land plot was differentiated in the land records according to the social status group it was associated with and once specific land plots had been linked to particular descent groups and hence to particular people, it was possible to relate contemporary residents to the former status groups. This turned out to be important because it had a bearing on the pattern of inequality evident in the distribution of land-use rights among residents. In fact, had the study not incorporated the entire network pertaining to the village it would not have been possible to discover either the extent of the inequality or its basis in the history and social structure of the community.

The development and application of conceptual framework, theory and method was an iterative process. Initially, theoretical issues were to the fore as the work of integrating Bourdieu's practice theory with contemporary ecological frameworks progressed. Following that theorising phase, the field research was undertaken, guided by the conceptual framework which had been developed. During the process of fieldwork, the necessarily rather general character of the framework became refined in order to accommodate the particular characteristics of the community studied and its wider society. Thus, the ways in which the framework was especially useful for this particular study became more evident as the ramifications of the intimate connection between

genealogy and land rights became increasingly apparent as the study progressed.

Structure of the thesis.

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter Two provides a detailed exposition and discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework which informs this study. Included in that discussion is a detailed consideration of the ontology and epistemology of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and its relevance to addressing the issues associated with this study. The application of that framework is discussed in Chapter Three, in which the process of data collection is described and the criteria used to decide what types of data to obtain explained. Chapter Four moves in to the heart of the study, describing the manner in which the genealogical field associated with Kuma was reconstructed from the data. The properties of the field are described and discussed in terms of their relationship to different aspects of social and economic life. Chapter Five deals with the question of contemporary land tenure in the village, placing it in the context of changes made to the system of politics and land tenure during the colonial period. The contemporary distribution of land rights among village residents is discussed in terms of its relationship to the characteristics of the genealogical field. In relating the characteristics of the genealogical dimension of social space to the physical space within which the land plots were distributed Chapter Five deals with the principle point of articulation between the social and physical spaces. Chapter Six

considers the fields of village and island politics, noting that they cut across the genealogical field. It discusses the manner in which events pertaining to village politics were manifested in physical space and the effects of the shape of physical space upon certain characteristics of the political field, including the distribution of religious affiliation within the physical space of the village. Examples of the use of dance and associated magico-religious practices in inter-group rivalry are included in this chapter. Chapter Seven discusses the material culture associated with Kuma, focusing upon the location of resources in the physical space, describing the use of those resources and the division of labour, in terms of gender and age, associated with their acquisition and use. Chapter Eight draws conclusions about the findings of the study, the application of the theoretical framework used and further avenues of research suggested by this study.

Chapter Two

Theory and conceptualisation

Introduction

The problematic character of the relationship between human beings and the natural¹ environment is widely acknowledged and has become the focus of attention from diverse disciplinary perspectives. This chapter focuses upon this postulated relationship, the character of which is taken to be reciprocal or dialectical because social and economic activity impacts upon the physical environment to bring about changes which in turn impact upon the social environment. The former impacts result from the actions of human beings, while the effects of the latter impact are manifested in human action.

Because the relationship between the social and physical environments is substantially maintained through the actions of people, it is appropriate that a sociological study of the question should focus upon social practice as the site of the motive force maintaining the relationship between the two. The crucial sociological issue underlying this is associated with the question of the means by which social practice is

¹ The terms "natural" and "nature" are used here simply to refer to the physical environment which provides both the physical space within which the activities associated with the social environment take place and the material resources upon which those activities depend.

changed or reproduced in a context of changing objective conditions and the most appropriate sociological approach to this question is within the framework of a theory of practice.

The growing consciousness of environmental issues has been associated with the growing social movement of environmentalism, a phenomenon which is of obvious interest to sociologists. However in this chapter I am proposing an environmental sociology rather than a sociology of environmentalism. In developing this approach I propose an integration of Bourdieu's (1977 and 1990a) theory of social practice and ecological concepts derived from Lewontin (1982) and Ingold (1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992). The central postulate of the approach proposed is the inseparability of the concepts of environment and organism; that, as Lewontin (1982: 160-163) argues, the two are dialectically related and one cannot be defined without reference to the other. It will be shown that the ecological postulate of the interpenetration and mutualism of environment and organism is 'mirrored' in Bourdieu's representation of field (social environment) and habitus (social body) as being mutually constitutive because "[t]he body is in the social world but the social world is also in the body (1990b:190)."

The focus of this chapter is the integration of practice theory within a broader ecological framework. Ecology is concerned with the interactive relationships between organisms and their environments (Gibson, 1979:8; Hardesty, 1977:290; Steward, 1955:30; Vayda and Rappaport, 1968:477) and this seems an appropriate place to begin the formulation because central to the question of people-planet relationships are human

beings and their relationships to two environments, the physical and the social, which are themselves brought into relationship through their mutual relationship with people. It is these relationships which are the focus of this study and the purpose of this chapter is to develop an ecological framework within which to conceptualise a relationship between the human subject and what Ingold (1990:224) terms "the continuum of organic life" in which a mutualism of person and environment is recognised (Ingold, 1992:40).

Practice theory, as it has developed since the early 1980's, is concerned with conceptualising practice, which is essentially "human action in the world" (Sahlins, 1981:6), in terms of an integration of the concepts of agency and structure (Ortner, 1984:145), the relationship between which Giddens (1979) has termed one of the central problems of social theory. It is Bourdieu's formulation of practice theory which most influences the approach taken in this study. It is explicitly sociological and theorises the generation of practice as the synthesis of a dialectical interplay between objective social structures and subjective, cognitive structures at the individual level. Bourdieu's theory of practice is therefore concerned primarily with the social environment, although it does assume that climatic and ecological conditions represent a baseline for human life and the construction of social life (Bourdieu, 1977:116).

The corollary of the establishment of sociology as a discipline distinct from psychology and biology, both of which share with sociology the study of human beings, has been its focus upon collective phenomena external to the individual and the explanation of social behaviour and

phenomena in terms of social facts rather than biological facts. However, the bracketing of the biological by sociologists has been regularly identified as a problem by those attempting to apply sociological analysis to understanding relationships between society and nature because the natural realm has been so clearly associated with the biological sciences (for example, see Catton, 1972; Catton and Dunlap: 1978a, 1978b, 1980; Dunlap: 1980; Dunlap and Catton: 1979, 1983; Benton 1991, 1992, 1994; Crook 1980, 1987, 1989; Dickens 1992 and Ingold 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1992).

The contemporary convergence of environmental concern with sociological analysis has its origins with the pioneering environmental sociologists, Catton and Dunlap, who vigorously opposed the exclusion of biology from mainstream sociology on the grounds that its inclusion was necessary if sociological analysis was to be able to come to terms with the natural environment upon which the social environment depends. Other recent formulations by social scientists to effect such an integration have been proposed by Benton, Crook, Dickens and Ingold, while working from the "opposite" direction has been the biologist Robert Hinde (1987, 1991).

Underlying such syntheses is a departure from the neo-Darwinian emphasis upon genes as the mechanism underlying the evolutionary adaptation of organisms to their environments, to an approach which conceptualises the development of organisms taking place in the context of an interaction between inherited particulars and environmental influences (Goodwin, 1984). It is this movement away from biological

particulars (the gene) towards an holistic account of organisms in relationship with their environments which provides a conceptual meeting ground for ecology and practice theory because it facilitates the development of a single conceptual framework within which organism and social agent, natural environment and social environment can all be incorporated. Consequently the approach adopted here is not to attempt to give equal weight to social and biological explanation, but rather to incorporate consideration of the natural environment in company with the social environment through the use of a single conceptual framework.

The reintegration of aspects of reality which conventional disciplinary boundaries have differentiated poses conceptual problems associated with the need to rework concepts drawn from the disciplines concerned to form a new conceptual framework. It is with such a work of reconceptualisation that this chapter is concerned.

This chapter will discuss the ontological basis of the approach being presented and the nature of the theoretical object with which it is concerned. That discussion is followed by an analysis of Bourdieu's theory of practice and his concept of "habitus". That is followed by discussion of Bourdieu's concept of "field". Next the concept of relative space is discussed in terms of its relationship to Bourdieu's concept of social space, and its use as a means of conceptualising the social and physical environments and their relationships to each other. The final part of the chapter will discuss the integration of practice theory and ecology.

The theoretical object

Central to the development of the approach advanced in this chapter is the view propounded by Bachelard that "the order of the given world [is both inseparable from and irreducible to] the method we use to describe it" (Bachelard, 1991:26). For example, a particular aspect of physical reality, a piece of wood, can be represented in diverse ways when it is viewed as a physical object or a cultural object. As a physical object it can be subjected to different types of analysis: it can be registered in passing as a familiar object given to immediate perception; at a higher level of abstraction its gross dimensions can be measured and its weight and colour noted; at a more fine-grained level of analysis its chemical and molecular structure can be analyzed and at a finer-grained level still, the chemical and molecular constituents can be subjected to analysis of atomic structure. As a cultural object, the piece of wood might be identified with the tree from which it was wrought and the uses to which it might be put defined in terms of the social and economic significance of that tree. It might be identified as a natural object by some, while others might recognise it as an artefact. In these scenarios the object is apprehended in different ways according to the perspective from which it is viewed and the means of analysis employed. The more fine-grained the analysis the higher the degree of abstraction and the gross physical object given to immediate perception becomes, at the level of atomic resolution, a three-(or more)-dimensional space structured by the network of relationships between fields of atomic force.² As a cultural object the piece of wood can be analyzed in terms

² Concepts which are themselves constructions of theoretical labour.

of its use and significance in the networks of relationships and meaning which constitute social reality. Which of these objects is the real object? It is contended that none of them is "real" in terms of any ontological finality: they are all theoretical objects, whether explicitly and consciously constructed or not.

While the objects given to immediate perception are usually taken for granted and rendered meaningful, to those perceiving them, in terms of unconscious schemes of perception inculcated during their socialisation, the objects which are not given to immediate perception can only be apprehended as a result of the exercise of what Bachelard terms "a rational force immanent in the mind" (Bachelard, 1991:54). For example the physical sciences number among their objects sub-atomic "particles" the existence of which were predicted on the basis of theoretical expectations prior to the availability of the means to detect them and provide empirical verification of their existence. Such objects are clearly not given to immediate perception, but have become known as a result of sustained engagement between the real and the rational. Bachelard continues:

Whereas reason was, in the early days of science, formed in the image of the world, now, in modern science, the aim of mental activity is to construct a world in the image of reason (Bachelard, 1991:54).

This rational construct represents "a second-order realism, realism reacting against everyday reality and contesting immediate experience" (Bachelard, 1991:49). Bachelard rejects both realism and rationalism as dichotomous philosophical alternatives, arguing that the acquisition of knowledge of reality is associated with the opposition of mind and reality in a process such that

between them there are constant reactions, reactions that give rise to reciprocal resonance. At every single moment therefore, a renewed given world is offered to our mind (Bachelard, 1991:26).

Bachelard describes his own approach as "applied rationalism" on the grounds that, as he puts it " the epistemological *vector*.... goes from the rational to the real, and not the reverse..." (Bachelard, 1991:48). This theme of Bachelard's is developed and applied in the field of social science by Bourdieu, whose relational ontology significantly underpins the theoretical basis of the approach which is outlined in this chapter.

While sharing Bachelard's rejection of a first-order realism, Bourdieu is further influenced by the critique of Aristotelian substantialism (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:97), which forms part of Cassirer's critique of both substantialist and nominalist ideas about the nature of concepts (Cassirer, 1923 and 1957:298-299). In the course of this critique Cassirer distinguishes between "*thing-concepts* and *relation-concepts*" (Cassirer, 1923:9) and argues against the relegation of the category of relation to a secondary position by the privileging of thing-concepts which is associated with the substantialist equation of concepts with "real" things. Cassirer argues that the development of modern science and mathematics has been accompanied by a move away from a focus upon things to a focus upon relationships and the development of the view that things, rather than existing as discrete entities, are defined in their relationships with other things (see also Cassirer, 1957:473-479).³

³ This type of relational thinking is also central to Arne Naess's articulation of deep ecology which rejects "the man-in-environment image in favour of *the relational, total-field image*" in which organisms

Bourdieu's application of a relational ontology to his theoretical approach is made clear when he says

I could twist Hegel's famous formula and say that *the real is the relational*: what exists in the social world are relations -- not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist "independently of individual consciousness and will," as Marx said (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:97). (Emphasis in the original.)

This relational ontology is central to Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus which are discussed later.

Thus the suggestion, so central to this study, of two environments, the social and the physical, being brought into relationship by the social actions of human beings, must be seen as a theoretical construct. To speak in terms of the social and the physical being brought into relationship by the actions of human beings is to speak conceptually and analytically within an ontology of relationships rather than "real" objects.

Sociology is a discipline concerned with the investigation of social reality and as such is characterised by the implication of both itself and its practitioners in the object of its investigation. This characteristic applies to the natural sciences too, even though in them the researcher and the objects of research are more clearly differentiated than they are in the social sciences.⁴ Recognition of the relationship between the

are envisaged as "knots in the field of intrinsic relations." Intrinsic relations are such that any two things so related are each defined in terms of their relationship. If the relationship is dissolved, the two things are no longer the same things they were when related (Naess, 1989:28).

⁴ As an example of this consider the commonly perceived "problem" of the effect of the research instrument or observer upon subjects, which is represented as a social science problem in particular. Yet the same problem is apparent in quantum mechanics where the objects of

sociologist and the objects of sociological investigation must be accompanied by recognition that the sociological project is subject to epistemological considerations of a sort appropriate to a discipline, social or natural, which is an integral part of its object. These epistemological considerations will be discussed and, on the basis of Bourdieu's analysis (1977; 1991), it will be argued that in the ritual opposition between objectivism and subjectivism, neither side, alone, provides an adequate epistemological basis for the investigation of social reality. This discussion will demonstrate that, in order to bridge the divide between objectivism and subjectivism, it is necessary to recast the relationship between objective knowledge and subjective knowledge. It will be shown that this recasting has epistemological implications for the conduct of sociological research and the construction of sociological theory.

In positing the centrality of agency in the construction of social reality, subjectivism privileges the subjective accounts and actions of agents in the process of data collection and analysis directed towards understanding social reality, while objectivism privileges the investigation of objective structures. Objectivist analysis is predicated upon the researcher being external to the object of research and is therefore, by definition, unable to account for the researcher's presence in the object. Subjectivist analysis, on the other hand, sites the source of knowledge of social reality so firmly within that reality that it is unable to reveal more than a direct, phenomenological knowledge of social reality.

investigation are sub-atomic particles which are so small as to be affected by the research instrument with the result that their locations can only be stated in probabilistic terms.

In the orthodox divide between objectivism and subjectivism, the opposition incorporates issues of both ontology and epistemology. In other words objectivism embodies both an objectivist ontology and epistemology; subjectivism embodies both a subjectivist ontology and epistemology. In Bourdieu's recasting of the relationship between the objective and the subjective, on the other hand, a dialectical symmetry is postulated between the objective and the subjective as ontological precepts, but as epistemological precepts the relationship is one of extreme asymmetry in which the objective outweighs the subjective. This differential treatment of the objective and the subjective is ultimately attributable to the nature of knowledge of social reality and the position of the researcher in the midst of that reality. Located thus the researcher is in the position of having to accomplish several breaks in order to become removed from the direct, primary experience of social reality.

These breaks are associated with three modes of knowledge of the social world: phenomenological knowledge, objective knowledge and a theory of practice. Phenomenological knowledge is associated with subjectivism and represents a source of knowledge of primary experience of the social world which is unquestioning and non-reflexive (Bourdieu, 1977:3). Objective knowledge represents a break with primary knowledge because it poses questions which are, by definition, excluded from the primary experience of the social world. In so doing, objectivist knowledge is able to "establish both the structures of the social world and the objective truth of primary experience as experience denied *explicit* knowledge of those structures" (Bourdieu, 1977:3). The second break is with objective knowledge and is associated with a third mode

of knowledge which is praxeological and concerned with theorising social practice in terms of the logic of that practice. In this second break the limits of objective knowledge are subjected to scrutiny and the mechanisms which generate the regularities and structures apprehended by objective knowledge are investigated (Bourdieu,1977:3). These mechanisms are taken to be associated with social practice, which is itself forged in a dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective, "cognitive and motivating structures" (Bourdieu, 1977:83).

There is a sense, then, in which Bourdieu's treatment of the objective and the subjective differs according to whether they are used as ontological precepts or epistemological precepts. As ontological precepts the symmetry between the objective and the subjective is indicated when Bourdieu posits a "dialectical relationship between the objective structures and the cognitive and motivating structures which they produce and which tend to reproduce them" (Bourdieu, 1977:83). As epistemological precepts there is an asymmetry in the sense that there is not the same dialectical relationship between the objective and the subjective as there is between them in ontological terms. This can be attributed to the movement from phenomenological knowledge to objective knowledge which has the effect of backgrounding subjective knowledge and foregrounding objective knowledge as the latter provides a critique of the former. In the movement from objective knowledge to the third mode of knowledge, a theory of practice, the associated critique of objective knowledge is not a subjectivist counter-critique (Bourdieu, 1977:3), but one launched from the position of a "third-order knowledge" (Bourdieu, 1977:4). This third-order knowledge transcends both

subjective and objective representations of social practice because it embodies critiques of both knowledges and brings to its constitution of practice elements which are absent from both objectivist and subjectivist representations. These elements include the temporality of practice, the associated concept of strategy and the logic of practice itself, all of which are absent from the objectivist account. In terms of what is absent from the subjectivist account, the theory of practice incorporates the awareness of the unquestioning and non-reflexive nature of knowledge of primary experience of the social world (Bourdieu, 1977:3). This leads to the insight that the knowledge agents have of their practice is a practical knowledge which does not comprise "knowledge of its own principles" and in that sense it is a "*learned ignorance*" (Bourdieu, 1977:19).

This differential treatment of ontological and epistemological precepts represents an implicit distinction between substantive and methodological questions. In substantive terms social reality is acknowledged by Bourdieu to be constituted in a dialectical relationship between objective and subjective (cognitive) structures (Bourdieu, 1977: 83). In methodological terms the scientific investigation of social reality employs a "methodological objectivism" (Bourdieu, 1977: 72). Methodological objectivism is distinguished from what may be termed substantive objectivism, of the sort associated with a positivistic approach, only in terms of the ontological status of its constructions. Objectivism, of either sort, is concerned with constructing the objective relations which structure social practice, but methodological objectivism does not constitute these structures as real in the substantive sense that

a positivistic objectivism does when applied without reflection upon its limits. Within Bourdieu's framework, methodological objectivism represents the first of two moments in the research act, the second moment in which is the construction of a theory of practice, or "the mode of generation of practices". The practices in question are the source of the order apprehended following the application of an objectivist methodology during the first moment of the research act (Bourdieu, 1977:72).

This distinction between the substantive and the methodological represents a philosophical tension in Bourdieu's framework, the reason for which is essentially sociological. It is to do with the nature of knowledge of social reality, and the location of researchers in the midst of that reality. In this situation researchers are in the position of having to question not only the modes of knowledge they employ, but also their position within social reality as well. Without this critical stance researchers adopt a "spontaneous sociology" (Bourdieu, 1991:67) which accepts as objects of investigation those things which are presented in terms of their practical experience of social reality. To transcend this phenomenological knowledge it is necessary for researchers to accomplish several breaks in order to become removed from the direct primary experience of social reality. This means that it is not sufficient to deal with the two elements constitutive of social reality, the objective and the subjective, purely in terms of each other. While it is legitimate to interrogate subjective knowledge from the standpoint of objectivism, the converse is not legitimate, because to do so is to negate the break achieved in the objectivist critique of subjectivism, by returning to an

unreflexive knowledge of the primary experience of social reality. Rather, it is necessary to effect a second break to a third mode of knowledge associated with the construction of a theory of practice. The foundation of this praxeological knowledge is neither subjectivist nor objectivist, but rather transcends both subjective and objective representations of social practice because it embodies critiques of both and brings to its constitution of practice elements which are absent from both objectivist and subjectivist representations. Thus the acquisition of scientific knowledge of social reality is associated with a self-reflexive, incremental distancing of the researcher from direct experience of that reality, and this is accompanied by the negation of any one to one relationship between the objective and the subjective as ontological precepts, and the objective and the subjective as epistemological precepts.

The implication of this theory of sociological knowledge for the conduct of sociological research and the construction of sociological theory is that both must be directed to tearing apart the networks of social relationships which present themselves to the sociologist spontaneously, on the basis of the presuppositions derived from the sociologist's primary knowledge of social reality. The presuppositions of a spontaneous sociology must be interrogated, point by point, by this theory of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1991:15) which represents a metatheoretical framework within which partial theories of the social can be generated (Bourdieu, 1991:30). The rejection of the preconstructed objects of spontaneous sociology means that new objects must be constructed and this must take place "in terms of a *theoretical problematic* which makes it possible to conduct a systematic questioning of the aspects of reality

that are brought into relationship by the question that is put to them" (Bourdieu, 1991:35).⁵

Accordingly the object of this present research has been constructed following consideration of the aspects of reality brought in to relationship by the research question. Broadly speaking these aspects are the social and physical environments and in terms of conventional categories the study could be conceived as one focusing upon the question of "society and nature". However to conceive of it in such terms would be to construct the object in terms of conventional disciplinary boundaries and interdisciplinary relationships⁶, rather than in terms of the essential elements of the aspects of reality brought into relationship by the research question, which in this case are people, land and sea.

⁵ A theoretical problematic which is concerned to question an aspect of reality in terms of the generative mechanisms underlying it, must do so by modelling it. Such models, which Bourdieu terms "theoretical models", have the capacity for generalisation and breaking with phenomenal appearances (Bourdieu, 1991:55), a capacity which distinguishes a theoretical model from a mimetic model. The latter may reproduce phenomenal properties by appealing to mechanisms which are not those underlying the phenomenal properties existent in reality, and thus provide, *a posteriori*, an "explanation" of a phenomenon which, while logically plausible, nonetheless misrepresents the mechanisms generating the phenomenon. A mimetic model is therefore constructed to provide a resemblance of an external reality. A theoretical model, on the other hand, is constructed to reveal the hidden principles of reality which generate phenomena, and focuses upon the *reasons* for the phenomenal properties which a mimetic model is content merely to resemble (Bourdieu, 1991:52-53).

⁶ The disciplines referred to here are broadly the social and biological sciences.

A theoretical model provides a basis for the systematic questioning of the aspect of reality the model has been constructed to investigate (Bourdieu, 1991:35), and the formulation of the theoretical problematic, the theoretical model, therefore precedes the interrogation of reality. This approach is consistent with the need for the sociologist to achieve the break, first with phenomenological knowledge and second with objective knowledge, in order to provide an account of social practice which transcends mimetic representations of both subjectivist and objectivist origins, and reveals the hidden principles of social reality and relations between things. Whenever the sociologist renounces what Bourdieu terms the epistemological privilege of constructing the object, the result is a resort to a spontaneous sociology in which the objects of investigation are the pre-given objects of everyday experience (Bourdieu, 1991:38).⁷

In view of the foregoing discussion of the nature of the epistemological constraints upon the acquisition of knowledge of social reality, sociological theory can be seen to be constructed at two levels, as metatheory and as substantive, partial theory. The requirements of metatheory are that it provide a theory of sociological knowledge which addresses the question of the social conditions under which different types of knowledge of social reality are possible, and provide a framework within which partial theories addressing particular aspects of social reality can be constructed. A partial theory should be constructed

⁷ Examples of such objects include, family, leisure, and crime, while examples of constructed objects include white collar crime and conspicuous consumption, both of which construct new relationships between aspects of things (Bourdieu, 1991:34-35).

in terms of an object which has itself been constructed in order to lay bare relationships which are not immediately given to perception as first order knowledge. A partial theory which is constructed in terms of a preconstructed object is limited to analysing the interconnections of things as they are given to experience and is not equipped to enable conceptual penetration beyond the phenomenal level in order that the generative mechanisms underlying phenomena may be theorised.⁸ Therefore, sociological theory must reflect the reflexivity required of its practitioners, and this reflexivity can only be incorporated in theory in theoretical terms. It is for this reason that the construction of partial theories of social reality must be performed within the metatheoretical framework of a theory of sociological knowledge, and consequently sociological theory must be understood as comprising two separate, but inseparable, types of theory, meta and partial. Within this framework of sociological theory, metatheory serves as a sort of theoretical conscience, guiding the construction of partial theories, away from a fascination with the preconstructions of a spontaneous sociology, towards the construction of new ways of seeing social reality and the generative mechanisms underlying it.

⁸ The distinction between metatheory and partial theory is important and, while the two are inseparable, they should not be confused with each other. If sociological theory is considered to consist only of what is here termed metatheory, then sociological theorising will be detached from the reality it seeks to understand, and become a sociological discourse in which theory is reduced to the history of theory (Bourdieu, 1991:29). If, on the other hand, sociological theory is considered to consist only of partial theory, it will, while engaged with the reality it seeks to understand, be without an awareness of the epistemological constraints which bear upon it, and constrained to analyze social phenomena only in terms of first and second order knowledge.

In terms of Bourdieu's implicit ontology, the objective structures and the subjective structures subsist in a dialectical relationship with each other, in which the objective structures produce the subjective or "cognitive and motivating structures", which in turn "tend to reproduce" the objective structures (Bourdieu, 1977: 83). It is therefore central to Bourdieu's project to explicate the mechanism by which two apparently incommensurate elements are brought into dialectical relationship, and to do so in a way which transcends any mere bridging mechanism, but rather reconstitutes the objective and the subjective as elements in a distinct social ontology. The concept employed by Bourdieu to effect this is that of habitus, which is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Social practice

Bourdieu's approach to theorising social practice is applicable to the focus of my research because it constitutes social reality in terms of a dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective (cognitive) structures in a way compatible with the organism-environment dialectic proposed by Lewontin and Ingold. The objective structures include both social structures and material conditions of existence, which include the natural environment. The mechanism by which these two apparently incommensurate elements are brought into dialectical relationship is represented by the concept of habitus, a concept which provides the framework within which a theory of social practice is constructed and reconstitutes the objective and the subjective as

elements in a distinct social ontology. Bourdieu (1977:72).⁹ defines habitus as

systems of durable transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices

In this dialectical relationship, the dispositions constituting habitus are formed in response to the conditioning of the "material conditions of existence" upon the individual (Bourdieu, 1977:85) and in habitus the objective social structures become embodied in the individual. In this relationship, objective structures assign limits "to the habitus's operations of invention" by virtue of the habitus "being objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted", and as a result of which "the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions, and no others" (Bourdieu, 1977:95). But within those limits habitus embodies "an endless capacity to engender products -- thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions" (Bourdieu, 1977:95). Habitus thus represents the embodiment of both conditioning and creativity. Bourdieu describes habitus as a "paradoxical product [which] is difficult to conceive, even inconceivable, ... so long as one remains locked in the dilemma of determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity" (Bourdieu, 1977:95). The habitus therefore represents a "conditioned and conditional freedom... [which] is as remote

⁹ Bourdieu's concept of habitus is very similar to Searle's concept of background, which Searle describes thus:

... the background consists of mental capacities, dispositions, stances, ways of behaving, know-how, savoir faire, etc., all of which can only be manifest when there are some intentional phenomena, such as an intentional action, a perception, a thought, etc (Searle, 1992:146).

from a creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from a simple mechanical reproduction of the initial conditionings" (*Ibid.*).

In its application to the individual, habitus can be likened to a social or cultural garment clothing the biological individual, and forming an interface between the individual and the objective structures which constitute the wider social realm. The dispositions constituting habitus represent the product of the socialisation of the individual in the matrix of the objective social structures, such as language and economy which are themselves the products of collective history (Bourdieu, 1977:85). However, to say that the dispositions which constitute habitus are the results of socialisation is not to identify the habitus itself with socialisation. The dispositions represent a resource upon which agents draw (with varying degrees of self-awareness) as they negotiate the social world. Thus the strategies which agents devise are in no way directly determined by the agents' socialisation, but can, rather, be likened to bespoke creations cut from cloth which is, however, given by socialisation. These dispositions represent a past surviving in the present which, by their durability, they carry forward into the future. Thus, in Bourdieu's framework, individual agents are not engaged in constant "unprecedented confrontation" with the world, but rather engage with the objective structures of the social world girded, as it were, by "systems of durable transposable *dispositions*" (Bourdieu, 1977:72), or habitus. The acquisition of habitus by individuals occurs in "a chronologically ordered series of structuring determinations", such that "the habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of the school experience" and so on (Bourdieu, 1977:87). The structuring associated with people's

earliest experiences is dominant in the integration of individual agents who share a "statistically common" exposure to particular conditions, (Bourdieu, 1977:86-87).

The objective framework within which social action occurs is conceptualised by Bourdieu in terms of social space which is comprised of a number of fields. The concept of "field" is discussed in the next part of this chapter. The social space is so constructed that agents, groups or institutions within it are more similar the closer together they are. This contrasts with geographical space, in which agents who are socially distant can be in close physical proximity. For example, in what Bourdieu terms a strategy of condescension, an agent occupying a high position can interact directly with an agent occupying a low position and symbolically deny the social distance between them. However, this visible lack of distance does not negate the structural distance in social space because the immediately visible relationships between agents can conceal the objective relationships between the positions they occupy and the objective relations manifested in this structural social distance are irreducible to the physical interactions which occur in geographical space (Bourdieu, 1985:16 and 1990b:127-128). The point of this conceptualisation of social reality is to transcend phenomenal reality and construct a theoretical object in terms of what Bachelard (1991:49) calls "a second-order realism ... reacting against everyday reality and contesting immediate experience."

It is within the framework of dispositions and subjective, cognitive structures constituting habitus that social action occurs. This action

occurs not as the detemporalised form of execution in which objectivism constitutes it, but rather in the form of strategies pursued by agents over time (Bourdieu, 1977:5-9). So agents, even when acting within strong formal constraints, have the capacity to engage strategically in social interaction through their ability to determine the timing of their actions and responses in an interaction comprised of moves which might, in other respects, be predetermined. So action, which objectivism constitutes in terms of the execution of rules, and subjectivism in terms of unremitting confrontation and renewal, is constituted in Bourdieu's framework as occurring when social agents engage in strategic action which is at once enabled and constrained by the parameters of the objective structures of a social field. It is action thus constituted that Bourdieu terms "practice".

In the dialectical relationship between habitus and objective events, practices are transformed through what Bourdieu terms a "*conjuncture*" (Bourdieu, 1977:78), or balance of forces between the dispositions constituting habitus, on the one hand, and an objective event on the other, in which the objective event weighs upon habitus, exerting "its action of conditional stimulation calling for or demanding a determinate response, [but] only on those who are disposed to constitute it as such because they are endowed with a determinate type of dispositions (*sic*)" (Bourdieu, 1977:83). In other words, it is a stimulus calling for a response which will constitute a transformation of practice. Such a stimulus will only be felt and responded to by agents whose habitus embodies dispositions which are so constituted as to incorporate a conscious knowledge of the principles of a practice which is originally

mastered unconsciously and unreflexively. Thus, as Bourdieu represents it, social change, or a transformation of practice, is dependent upon the conscious actions of agents who are reflexively self-aware, and able to respond in a creative way to stimulus from exogenous, objective events. It is in no way determined in a *direct* way by objective structures.

Social action is thus constituted as a response to objective events made on the basis of agents' practical interpretations of those events. Crucial elements in the production of those interpretations are agents' cognitive structures, but this is an element about which Bourdieu is silent. This is a silence which must be addressed, if not resolved, and the rest of this section will discuss the question of the relationship between thought and action in the context of Bourdieu's theory of social practice.

A challenge posed by Bourdieu's concept of habitus is to arrive at a satisfactory theorisation of the relationship between thought and action in non-Cartesian terms. The question is associated with the philosophy of mind and a theorisation is required which accords to people a creative involvement in the manipulation and construction of their physical and social environments. Such an approach must include an account of human consciousness which acknowledges the subjective reality of that state, if it is to avoid the methodological automatism which will characterise any attempt to theorise social action while bracketing human consciousness by treating it as a black box, the knowledge of whose workings is not essential to understanding the generation of social action. In order to meet the requirements of this study, the

approach must also permit the integration of "internal" biological mechanisms and "external" social and biophysical environmental conditions. However, the resolution of the mind-body/mind-brain problem is not the concern of this study and the purpose of this discussion is to locate the assumptions about the character of the mind-body relationship which underlie the sociological framework informing this study within the wider literature of the philosophy of mind.

Lave (1988), who is concerned to develop conceptual and methodological forms to enable cognition in everyday practice to be theorised, argues that "Bourdieu takes cognition in its conventional sense as an unexamined primitive element of his conception of dispositions" while at the same time emphasising the knowledgability of the body and blurring the distinction between mind and body (Lave, 1988:18). Yet the maintenance of such a conceptual distinction between mind and body would be to introduce a Cartesian element inconsistent with the very basis of both Bourdieu's approach and Lave's, who is herself concerned to take cognition out of people's heads and view it as a process "stretched across mind, body, activity and setting" (Lave, 1988:18).

Schatzki, in his critique of Bourdieu's account of the generation of social action, represents the concept of habitus as a putative mechanism which attempts both to specify intelligibility and generate action. He accepts the possibility of habitus determining intelligibility, but not of generating action. Applied to the generation of action, the determination of intelligibility is associated with determining what it makes sense to an

agent to do. But what it makes sense to do is only done if "the bodily mechanisms producing action are correctly functioning" (Schatzki, 1987:120). Displaying a Cartesian turn (but without recourse to a linking mechanism, such as Descartes' use of the pineal gland), Schatzki declares "The production of action is a matter of bodily mechanisms. The determination of intelligibility is a separate affair" (Schatzki, 1987:121). The difficulty Schatzki discusses is only insoluble in terms of a framework, such as his, which embodies an implicit Cartesian distinction between mind and body. In terms of the explicit anti-Cartesian orientation of Bourdieu's approach, the problem of providing an account of the link between intelligibility and action is still to be confronted, but, as Searle (1983) argues, the question of causal relations between the physical and the mental is only intractable if the mental and the physical are thought of as two separate ontological categories (Searle, 1983:271). Bourdieu's blurring of the distinction between mind and body noted by Lave, above, is consistent with his eschewal of all such oppositions, But Bourdieu does not, himself, attempt to account for what sorts of processes are involved at the interface of thought and action.

Searle's approach to the question of intentionality, the relationship between intention and action, and the philosophy of mind, offers a non-Cartesian framework for theorising the relationship between thought and action, and between the determination of intelligibility and the generation of physical action, which is compatible with the aims of this study. Searle approaches the question of consciousness and the mind-body problem by arguing that the reality of mental phenomena is a biological reality (Searle, 1983:ix), being the product of neurophysiological processes

occurring in the brain, and that consciousness is an emergent property of systems of neurons within the brain (Searle, 1992:111). Such a property, or system feature, cannot be explained in terms of the composition of elements comprising the system nor the relations between the system and its environment, but must "be explained in terms of the causal interactions among the elements" (Searle, 1992:111). Consequently Searle argues that consciousness has no causal powers which cannot be explained by the causal interactions of the elements comprising the system and therefore consciousness does not take on a life of its own and transcend the influence of the causal interactions which originally give rise to it (Searle, 1992:112).¹⁰

Whether Searle is correct in asserting the material character of consciousness and subjectivity, or whether consciousness might be non-material, as it is widely held to be in religious thought as well as approaches to the question of consciousness from the perspective of quantum mechanics which postulate consciousness as a non-material probability field (Eccles, 1987; Margenau, 1984; Penrose, 1987 and 1990; Zohar, 1991), is not a question to be resolved in this study. But it

¹⁰ In view of its denial of a separate, non-material, existence to consciousness and mental events Searle's approach has been characterised as a form of mind-brain identity theory (Gray, 1987:469), an approach which is based upon the premise that mental events, as non-material phenomena, cannot generate neural events (Eccles, 1987:299). However Searle's position is also effectively consistent with what Eccles (1987:298) terms dualist interactionism, a position which considers that mental events can generate neural events, because Searle clearly identifies mental events with neuron activity and the two are consequently directly connected. However Searle's approach is not consistent with what he terms property dualism, an approach which insists on the non-material reality of consciousness and intentionality and their irreducibility to the material processes of the brain (Searle, 1992:2).

is a central assumption of the study's theoretical basis that the ontology of consciousness is irreducibly subjective and that consciousness and its associated reflexivity (in humans at least) is the basis of the creativity, thought and intentional action which characterises social action conducted in an environmental context of physical and cultural opportunities and constraints.

The field

The key concept which can be applied to all of the elements of reality which are brought into relationship by this study is the "field". Essentially a field, as the concept is used in this study is a network of forces defined in terms of a particular type of "space" which is itself defined in terms of the relationships between the elements pertaining to the field. In Bourdieu's use of the concept, a particular social field is defined in terms of social space, in which the positions of the agents, groups and institutions pertaining to the space are defined in terms of the social distances between them.

A particular field represents a field of forces, semi-autonomous of other fields, and the site of struggle for position within it. A field is defined by a particular system of objective power relations between positions in the field. Positions within the field are determined by the types of capital available to agents, because it is the composition of this that determines which of the symbolic points may be occupied in the

system of power relations. However, the positions are not fixed because all are, in principle, contestable.

The concept of capital is drawn by analogy from the discipline of economics, but is not used in an economic sense. Capital is considered to be of different kinds associated with different social fields. The varieties of capital often discussed by Bourdieu include: economic, social, cultural, symbolic, scientific and juridical. A particular field is defined in terms of the types of capital at stake in the network of power relations which structure the field. So, for example, in the religious field symbolic capital is at a premium, but its acquisition can be facilitated by the possession of other forms of capital such as cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications and social capital. Within the economic field, the principal form of capital is economic capital, the acquisition of which is facilitated by the possession of cultural and social capital. In any field, then, a number of capitals are involved and the composition of an individual's "portfolio" of capitals determines the positions open to that individual within the power relations of the field.

The relationship between agents and the social field to which they are attuned, as proposed by Bourdieu, is consistent with the ecological postulate of the interpenetration and mutualism of organism and environment. The natural environment can itself be conceived, in field terms, as a number of spaces, each associated with particular resources and each space or field representing the effective environment of a particular organism or species, person or social group. The biological individual can be conceptualised as a morphogenetic field comprised of

a network of neighbouring parts arranged to form a specific relational structure (Goodwin, 1984:228-240). Finally, the social individual, defined in terms of habitus (Bourdieu) or background (Searle), has a relational field structure comprised of mental dispositions, intentions and thought.

Space

Bourdieu's concept of social space is related in this approach to the implicit spaciality associated with the ecological conception of the organism surrounded by its environment and developed as a means of representing environments. Thus the natural environment is conceptualised in terms of physical or geographical space. The social environment is also conceptualised as a space, using Bourdieu's concept of social space, the dimensions of which represent social relationships in terms of social distance. The relationships between the social and physical environments are therefore conceptualised in terms of relationships between, or an articulation of, two different spaces. Central to this articulation is a third space, the mental space, represented by Bourdieu's concept of habitus.¹¹ Defined as a structure of dispositions or orientations to action acquired by people during their socialization, habitus represents the embodiment of the structures of the social space within the person and expresses a mutualism of person and

¹¹ Lefebvre (1991:11) also postulates three spaces or fields: firstly, "the *physical* -- nature, the cosmos; secondly, the *mental*, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the *social*." He is concerned "to discover or construct a theoretical unity between 'fields' which are apprehended separately" (Lefebvre, 1991:11).

social space (environment) comparable to the mutualism of organism and natural environment (space) postulated by ecologists .

Here space is defined in the relational sense developed by Leibnitz who "rejected Newton's theory of an absolute space on the ground that space is nothing but a network of relations among coexisting things" (Jammer, 1954:48). Defined in this relational sense, the concept of space can be applied to any network of relationships, whether these are realised in physical (geographical) space or not. In fact Leibnitz himself illustrated his relational theory of space with the example of a genealogical line as a mentally constructed space of genealogical relationships (Leibnitz, 1969:704).

The application of the concept of space within the social sciences is most clearly associated with human geography where it is applied to questions of location and spatial relationships in physical space. Attempts to apply space as a concept in urban sociology have, according to Prior (1988:86-87), emphasised relationships "between buildings, settlements, landholdings and the like -- upon landscapes in the widest sense of that term", resulting in a sociological geography rather than a sociology of space. Hillier and Hanson (1984:x) note the conceptual difficulty in relating society to physical space which results from the treatment of society as an a-spatial, abstract domain, and space as a physical domain. Soja (1989) also speaks in terms of social, mental and physical spaces, arguing that although these can be conceptualised separately this does not mean that they are autonomous, because they overlap and interrelate, and he argues that:

Defining these interconnections remains one of the most formidable challenges to contemporary social theory, especially since the historical debate has been monopolized by the physical-mental dualism almost to the exclusion of social space (Soja, 1989:120).

By defining spatial order as "restrictions on random process" Hillier and Hanson (1984:xi) provide a way of conceptualising both the natural and the social realms in spatial terms because, just as the structure of physical space places constraints on the possibilities for action, so too does the structure of social space place constraints upon the possibilities for social action. The mental space, defined, in terms of habitus, as a structure of dispositions, can also be understood as imposing a restriction upon random process, in the sense that it embodies the structures of the objective social space, providing a conceptual framework for individual social agents in their engagement with the social realm and setting the parameters within which acceptable social action is located.¹²

The effects of social space can be just as tangible as those of physical space. Physical space is experienced immediately through the physical senses, so that an attribute of physical space such as distance can be apprehended through sight or muscular fatigue. Social space is experienced through habitus and the perception of social distance is a feeling induced by the recognition of outward signs of social differentiation. Just as physical distance is relative to its context and the means available for its traversing, so too is social distance relative and

¹² This is not to suggest that agents are constrained by habitus to only engage in socially acceptable action. Clearly this is not the case; people can and do breach conventions; but in any particular hierarchy of social conventions some are more likely to be breached than others.

context sensitive in the sense that its ease or difficulty of being traversed varies according to the possession of social capitals which afford the means to do so. Lefebvre makes the point that spatial practice is a social practice and as such "is lived directly before it is conceptualised" (Lefebvre, 1991:34).

The spatial representation of the social realm is the focus of Chapter Four which discusses the characteristics of the genealogical field, one of the principal dimensions of the social space of Kuma village. This field consists of positions defined by descent groups. The positions are distributed in a three-dimensional space the form of which is determined by the connections which exist between these descent groups. Whether or not two or more descent groups are connected depends upon whether or not one or more people can claim descent from them all. The spatial pattern that emerges is one of a number of zones beginning with a dense central region comprised of about one quarter of the adult population sharing descent from the founders of one descent group. These people are all connected to other descent groups which occupy the second zone in the genealogical space. There are people who belong to descent groups located in the second zone and the third zone, but not the first zone, and so on. The further a zone is from the centre the fewer are the number of kin based relationships enjoyed by the people associated with that zone. A person's position within this space is important because it indicates both the range of social resources which are potentially available to them and their relationship to the physical space in terms of residence location and land use rights, both of which are determined by descent. The shape of the genealogical

space is therefore an important determinant of the socially sanctioned possibilities for social action which are open to any particular person.

Ecology and practice: an integration

Fundamental to an ecological approach is the concept of a dialectical relationship between organism and environment. An environment is literally "that which surrounds" (Ingold, 1992:40) and as such is inconceivable without the existence of an active organism to be surrounded. If, as is being argued here, organism and environment are dialectically related and one cannot be defined without reference to the other (Lewontin, 1982:160-163), then the immediate environment of a particular organism must be defined to include those objects and forces used and harnessed by the organism in pursuit of a project which it embodies. The materials which comprise the environment of a particular organism do not in themselves constitute an environment, being, rather, the raw materials with which the organism constructs its own environment. Kaplan and Manners (1972:79) acknowledge this distinction by referring to the environment *per se* and the effective environment. The environment *per se* is the total stock of resources, materials, objects and entities comprising the global natural environment or the global social environment, while the effective environment is comprised of the resources, materials, objects and entities which the organism directly uses and is in relationship with. Similarly, Lewontin defines an environment as "nature organised by an organism" (Lewontin, 1982:160) in the sense that organisms manipulate the objects

comprising their environments, they move things around to suit their purposes, internalise parts of their environment by eating them and replacing them with bodily waste-products, for example.

Developing the concepts of environment *per se* and effective environment provides a way of integrating ecology and practice theory. The totality of objects comprising the natural environment *per se* represent a stock of resources upon which organisms draw in order for each to construct its effective environment. The environment *per se* is therefore host to a plurality of effective environments drawing upon a common pool of resources. Developments in one effective environment can impact upon another effective environment negatively by denying that environment's occupants access to customary resources. An example of this, in the global context, is the phenomenon of rising sea levels. This phenomenon, which results at least partly from activity within the effective environments of industrialised countries, impacts upon the effective environments of people who are geographically and culturally distanced from the source of change. In this case social and economic power is associated with an ability to manipulate and change the effective environments of others.

Similarly, the social world is host to a diversity of social environments, or fields. In Bourdieu's conception of habitus and field, the relationship between the two is very similar to the relationship of interpenetration and mutuality between organism and environment postulated by Ingold (1992:40) and Lewontin (1982:160). As Bourdieu puts it: "The body is in the social world but the social world is also in the body (1990b:190)"

because the social body, habitus, and the social field are mutually constitutive. Consequently social reality exists both within agents, in habitus, and outside them, in fields (Bourdieu, 1990b:127).

Of course not all social realities (fields) are compatible with all habitus because agents receive their primary socialisation in different social fields and the extent to which particular agents will be attuned to a particular field will depend upon the stage in the process of their acquisition of habitus at which they became exposed to the field's conditioning influence. When agents operate within a social field to which their habitus is attuned they are like fish in water, operating in an effective environment or field of which their command is practical and unconscious. When, on the other hand, agents encounter a field to which their habitus is not attuned, they are like fish out of water, in an alien and, for them, non-effective environment. In this situation the agent can only gain a command of the field which is conscious, because the field's characteristics must be consciously acquired, because they have not been inculcated during the agent's primary socialisation.

In terms of the integration of ecology and practice theory which is being attempted here, the concepts of environment and field can be interchanged and it is possible to interpret Bourdieu's framework in an explicitly ecological way. At the same time the ecological frameworks advocated by Ingold and Lewontin are oriented towards practice in the sense that they conceptualise organisms/people engaging directly with their environments in the course of their practical action in the world. Ingold, for example, drawing upon the ideas of Gibson (1979),

conceptualises the relationship between organism and environment in terms of effectivities and affordances. In this context, an effectivity is the action capability of an organism and an affordance is the possibility for action offered by objects in the environment (Ingold, 1992:52). These objects include those pertaining to the non-living or a-biotic world, the world of other species and the world of conspecifics; the affordance offered by any of these objects varies according to the project of the organism (Ingold, 1987:2). Applying this conceptualisation to the social realm agents will recognise as social conspecifics those agents who share with them a particular social field. The affordances offered by these conspecifics will be of a different kind from those offered by agents who are non-conspecific due to their association with "foreign" fields. In this study the "environmental" characteristics of the genealogical field are revealed in the way people distinguish clearly between those people with whom they share descent and those with whom they do not. The former are clearly conspecifics from whom a fellow conspecific can expect support in the range of activities of which community social and economic activity is comprised.

Clearly different agents have greater and lesser effectivities within their fields and environments, while different fields have greater and lesser degrees of power to project their influence upon other fields and environments. Consequently the analysis of any particular instance of interaction between environment and field must be conducted in terms of which environment(s) and which field(s), and whose environment(s) and whose field(s), are involved. Such an approach offers the analytical advantage of incorporating natural and social environments within a

single conceptual framework, while at the same time acknowledging a plurality of environments articulated through the actions of the agents to which they are host.

Summary.

The question of relationships between the social and natural realms can be treated as one concerned with relationships between two environments, a social environment and a natural environment. The relationships which structure the social environment are most commonly the objects of the social sciences, while the relationships which structure the natural environment are most commonly the objects of the ecological sciences. The differentiation of these environments in accordance with disciplinary boundaries needs to be overcome if their study is to be incorporated within a single conceptual framework. The reintegration which underlies this study is made from a sociological perspective and incorporates Bourdieu's theory of practice with ecological formulations proposed by Ingold and Lewontin to provide a framework in which the social and physical environments are each conceptualised as a space. The social space, in accordance with Bourdieu's framework, is treated as being host to a number of fields, each defined by the form of capital at stake within it and the structure of the positions to which the possession of capital accords access. The structure of the physical space is defined in terms of the resources to which it is host and access to those resources is determined by relationships within the social space.

Thus, each field within the social space represents a potential point of articulation between the social space and the physical space.

Bourdieu's theory of social practice is one which eschews Cartesian distinctions between subject and object, mind and matter, agency and structure. The theory is underscored by a social ontology which is influenced by Cassirer's view that the development of twentieth century science had been accompanied by a shift in focus away from a substantialist emphasis upon things as discrete entities to one emphasising relationships and the definition of things in terms of their relationships with other things. Bourdieu's epistemology is influenced by Bachelard's applied rationalism which emphasises the creative engagement between the rational and the real which underpins twentieth century science and, associated with that, the necessity for the objects of scientific investigation to be theoretical objects constructed in terms of the aspects of reality brought into relationship by the research question.

Two concepts central to Bourdieu's framework are those of field and habitus. A social field is a network of positions available to be occupied by social agents. The structure of the network is determined by the social distance between the positions associated with the field. The primary prerequisite required by agents to function within a particular field is determined by their possession of the capital, or capitals, pertinent to the field in question. In order to effectively deploy that capital in their negotiation of the field agents require a command of the discourse and demeanour appropriate to the field. A social field in which

an agent has grown up and been socialised is one in which the agent can operate as a fish in water with a practical command of the appropriate discourse and demeanour. Such an agent has, in Bourdieu's terms, a habitus in which the structure of the field has been internalised during the agent's primary socialisation within the field. An agent not so socialised must first gain a theoretical command by learning how to operate in the field because their habitus is not attuned to the field, which they enter without practical command.

The intimate relationship between field and habitus is similar to the relationship between environment and organism proposed by exponents of post neo-Darwinian ecological theory. In both, agents/organisms are represented as active creators and manipulators of their fields/environments and the relationship between agent/organism and field/environment is seen as interactive and dialectical. Similarly, Bourdieu's representation of the social space as host to a plurality of social fields has parallels in ecological distinctions between environment *per se* and effective environment. The environment *per se* refers to the total environment which is host to numerous effective environments inhabited by different types of organism. In drawing this parallel, the social space is similar to the environment *per se* in the sense that it can be host to a plurality of social fields, each the effective environment of those agents equipped to operate within it.

The spaciality associated with the structure of social fields and the ecological conception of the organism surrounded by its environment encourages the application of a relational concept of space to

conceptualising relationships between the social and physical realms as an articulation of social and physical space.

Chapter Three

Methods and methodology

Introduction.

This chapter is concerned with the methodological issues associated with the study and discusses the application of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter Two to the process of data collection. The selection of research methods and the types of data sought were guided by considering the characteristics of the theoretical object and the social space and the available sources of data.

The manner in which purpose and method are joined has a bearing upon the conduct and outcome of any study. The close connection between purpose and method which characterises this study resulted from the convergence of my substantive and theoretical interests and, rather than one preceding the other, purpose and method were joined in an iterative process throughout the study. The purpose of this study is to examine the proposition that the social and physical realms can be conceptualised as spaces, each structured by networks of relationships, and that relationships between these realms can be investigated as articulations of social and physical space. The methods employed in the study have been selected for their ability to contribute to achieving the study's purpose. This chapter will describe and discuss the manner in

which purpose and method were joined and provided the basis for deciding the types of data to be sought and their most appropriate sources.

It should be emphasised at this point that this study embraces an entire community. This approach is consistent with the focus upon social and physical spaces structured by networks of relationships between positions in the social space. These spaces are occupied by people according to their genealogical, age and gender attributes and in order to capture the entire network it is necessary to account for the entire population of the village. The relatively small size of Kuma in terms of population and geographical spread made it possible to contemplate this approach. Of course the village is by no means entirely isolated and people from Kuma visit kin in other villages and are visited by those kin. However, the majority of inter-kin interactions engaged in by village residents are with kin resident in Kuma. For example, the great majority of kin who attend any particular rite of passage feast hosted by a village resident are kin resident in Kuma. As far as relationships between the social and physical environments are concerned the focus upon village residents to the exclusion of their kin residing elsewhere does not represent a serious weakness because the physical resources associated with the village are used almost exclusively by its residents. Kin living in other villages, or on other islands, use the physical resources associated with the place in which they live.

The next section of this chapter is concerned with theoretical considerations, it discusses the characteristics of the theoretical object

and the social space of Kuma and addresses the problems involved in articulating the abstract concepts comprising the theoretical object of the study with the peculiarities of the research site. This discussion focuses upon the characteristics of the social space of Kuma and the identification of appropriate "capitals". These characteristics were identified during the early stages of the fieldwork and the sources of data and methods used to obtain them were determined in the field. That is followed by a discussion of the available sources of data in terms of their characteristics, location and contribution to the study. Finally there is a discussion of a number of methodological considerations associated with this study.

Theoretical considerations.

The theoretical object developed for this study and discussed fully in Chapter Two follows the integration of an ecological formulation advanced by Ingold with Bourdieu's theory of social practice. The theoretical object is based upon a conceptualisation of the research problem in terms of an articulation of social and physical space. In terms of its theoretical framework this study was concerned to identify the different fields of which the social and physical spaces were comprised. For example, the social space was found to be structured by the fields of genealogical, gender and age relationships. The physical space and its resources, was also structured by considerations of genealogy, gender and age, all of which had a bearing upon the parts of the physical space to which people had rights and from which they obtained

food and materials. Positions within these fields were occupied by agents according to the composition of the capitals they possessed.

In order to define these fields and investigate the relationships among them it was necessary to determine the varieties of capital specific to each field. A particular field is defined in terms of "the specific capital that operates within it" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:108) and all particular fields are encompassed by the field of power which is "a kind of 'meta-field'" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:18). Capital is that which enables an agent to exert influence and power and thus exist in a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:98). In the case of a social field, the capital concerned is that which enables an agent to exert influence within the social field. In the case of a biophysical field, the capital concerned is that which permits an agent to exert influence within the biophysical field. Consequently one of the key initial tasks to be achieved during the fieldwork was to identify the capitals or resources which people recognised and harnessed in the social and physical spaces.

One thing which soon impressed me in Kuma was the directness with which the objects of the biophysical environment were appropriated into the social sphere. The appropriation was direct in the sense that the members of each household met most of their combined material needs by gathering and processing materials from the physical environment themselves. They were thus not "distanced" from the physical environment in the way that people are who meet most of their material needs by purchasing what they need from others. This obvious closeness of people to the physical environment and its resources made

me cautious about applying a distinction between them and I must emphasise the analytical nature of the distinction drawn in constructing the theoretical object.

The application of the concept of capital to this case study of the Kuma community was initially rendered conceptually difficult by the egalitarianism which pervades the society and the widespread distribution of skills required for survival. These two factors made it difficult to apply the concept of capital in the way it might be applied in a highly differentiated society in which distinctions among people can be quite readily made in terms of such attributes as income, education or occupation. In Kuma the egalitarian ethic coupled with commonality of experience confined socially acceptable distinctions between people in terms of their personal accomplishments or wealth to the possession of a limited number of skills associated with sorcery, musical composition, dance choreography, canoe building and some varieties of healing. These categories were revealed during the questioning of informants about the identities of people within Kuma who were recognised for their skill in the following areas: fishing, agriculture, production and use of medicinal remedies, massage and bone-setting, midwifery, canoe building, house construction, *maneaba* construction, musical composition and dance choreography.¹ Of these categories, massage and bone-setting, midwifery, canoe building, *maneaba* construction, musical composition and choreography were considered to be areas of expertise

¹ The choice of those particular areas of expertise was based upon reading and social intercourse with I-Kiribati in a wide range of contexts, formal and informal, both during the fieldwork and previous periods of residence in Kiribati.

which were the preserve of a small number of skilled exponents, and informants consistently identified the same individuals as being skilled in each of these areas. The skills associated with fishing, agriculture and house building, which were the key areas of economic life in the village, and the skills associated with the preparation of medicinal remedies for minor ailments, were all considered too commonplace to be the preserves of skilled specialists.²

There seemed to be a relationship between the extent to which a particular skill or knowledge was recognised as the preserve of specialists and the extent to which that skill was used to modify the objects of the physical environment. For example a distinction could be drawn between using timber for firewood and using it for building a house, *maneaba* or canoe. In the first case the use of the object was direct in the sense that the wood, although completely transformed by fire, was minimally modified by human artifice. In house building the degree of modification varied according to the type and size of house. In a small *bao*, or sleeping house, for example, sticks were used in their original form, apart from having their bark removed. The larger the house, the more timbers it had which were sawn, adzed and otherwise modified. The *maneaba* was the pinnacle of I-Kiribati architecture and building technology and required the greatest application of skill, planning and care of any type of customary building. Finally, canoes

² Sewell (1983:59) notes the common knowledge of specialist *babai* cultivation skills and that the exercise of these skills to produce large tubers is less important than it is on Tabiteuea, for example. Ownership of a large number of plants is more important.

represented the highest degree of manipulation and modification of natural materials.

This distinction between degrees of manipulation can be applied to healing, too. The areas of healing associated with small numbers of expert specialists were those of massage and bloodletting. Massage, or *riiringa*, was applied to such diverse areas as bone-setting, stomach and abdominal problems, fertility, pregnancy and headaches. Bloodletting, or *oreia* (literally "hitting"), was used exclusively on the head and nasal passages for curing headaches. A shark tooth attached to the end of a piece of wood was struck with another piece of wood to break the skin and draw blood. Those two systems of healing involved the healer directly manipulating the patient's body and required a knowledge of anatomy greater than that required by a person preparing a well established medicine according to a time-honoured recipe. Bone-setting and procedures conducted by midwives, such as turning babies in the womb by massage, were not simple tasks.³

However, even though certain individuals were known to possess valued and rare skills, that acknowledgement was not convertible into an ability to influence events in the wider community. In fact public acknowledgement was accorded much more readily to examples of

³ I have seen a European friend suffering a great deal of discomfort from a recently broken collar bone, have that discomfort relieved by a traditional healer of renown who massaged the flesh surrounding the collar bone to such a depth that it seemed inevitable that my friend would be subjected to even more pain. But it was obvious that he was not feeling any discomfort while the manipulation was underway and felt much less pain afterwards. While the massage was underway, the healer was sweating profusely from his effort.

shameful behaviour than to praiseworthy acts. Stories of shameful behaviour spread rapidly, while stories of honour did not, indicative of a principle of equality and unwillingness to acknowledge superiority in others (Sewell, 1983:41). Sewell also noted the difficulty associated with getting people to discuss issues of status, respect and the open recognition of merit in daily affairs. "Equality implies that no one person can have power or authority over another" (Sewell, 1983:41). She noted the avoidance of servitude in social or economic relationships (Sewell, 1983:41); but for an individual to work harder and achieve more than others is acceptable (contra southern Kiribati) (Sewell, 1983:42). Of course the fact that such an ability was not publicly acknowledged does not necessarily mean it could not or did not exist. The point being made here is that the ritual denial of personal status associated with the egalitarian ethic pervading Kuma complicated the task of constructing a social field, or fields, because the capitals at stake in them are not at all as readily apparent as they might be in a society which is openly and unashamedly hierarchical. Of course this difficulty is the difficulty experienced by the outsider whose initial attempts to make sense of a social field to which his or her habitus is not attuned must proceed on the basis of analogy with social fields to which it is attuned. The difficulty is eased by exposure to the new field and the application of critical awareness of the difficulty.

The ritual denial of an association between personal status and personal accomplishment should not be confused with the absence of a hierarchy of positions to structure the social space. In fact emphasis upon individuals can, in an environment of claimed interpersonal

equality, blind one to the hierarchical nature of the positions they occupy within social space. In Kuma, as in Kiribati generally, genealogy and gender were primary determinants of publicly acknowledged social position and the egalitarian ethic did not extend to them. Given this, the primary field of the Kuma community was a gerontological, gendered genealogical field in which position was determined by descent, usually associated with age, generation and gender. The basis of genealogy was the *utu*, or extended family, which was the primary social unit and family solidarity was a matter of honour (Sewell, 1983:23). The *utu* was crucial to this study because rights to land were held by it. It was through the *utu* that access to land and some of its resources were obtained⁴ and to that extent it was at the interface between people and the physical space. In addition to this the *utu* and all its attendant obligations and rights formed the basis of a constitutive order comprised of rules, norms and institutions with which people interacted in the course of their negotiation of their lived-in world (cf., Comarof and Roberts, 1981). The primacy of family solidarity over occupational status and personal accomplishment was emphasised in the following pithy expression "*Te nakoa te ari makoro*", which meant that a job or occupational position was like a coconut spathe which had been cut for the production of toddy. Because the spathe had been cut it would work to produce drink but it would never produce fruit and contribute to the growth of new trees. Another apt expression was "*A aki kakawaki bai ba ti te rara*", which means "things are not important, only the blood."

⁴ The rights to the land conferred upon registered landholders did not extend to many of the resources of the land. Apart from coconut trees, coconuts, breadfruit trees and fish ponds, all other resources were common property. This is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Integral to the extended family was the ownership and use of land. Land which was held jointly lacked the potential to accord status to any one of the individuals who shared in it because no single individual had the power to use or dispose of the land in any way which would result in any legitimate expectation of advantage to the individual.⁵ Descent and land inheritance in Kiribati were ambilineal (Lambert, 1966) and, in accordance with the ambilineal principle, people "may use either or both parents as... links to group membership (Lambert, 1966:641)." On Butaritari males and females receive equal shares of land whereas elsewhere in Kiribati sons mostly receive more than their sisters (Namai, 1987:33). Whether a person used one or both lines of inheritance depended upon where they lived; for example, if a person's father was from another island and had no cognatic links with Butaritari and Kuma, while their mother was from Kuma with cognatic associations there, the person would, if located in Kuma, acquire group membership there through their mother. People's conscious negotiation of both physical and social environments in order to ensure, if not maximise, their access to land plots is discussed in Chapter Five.

⁵ However this was not the case with individuals who held personal title to relatively large amounts of land. Such people were able to dispose of some of their land if they could satisfy the Land Court that their children would not be dispossessed thereby. Such was the position of some close relatives of the former High Chief. It transpired that my friend Beneuea was a member of the former High Chief's family and owned a lot of land in his own right. He owned the land upon which the Natirea *maneaba* was built, the people of the southern section of Kuma having asked him to make the land available for their use. It became clear to me that the ease with which I was initially accepted by the members of Natirea was largely due to Beneuea's sponsorship, and that sponsorship was effective because of their debt to him.

In view of this assessment of the centrality of the extended family, the analysis of social fields began with the construction of the genealogical field constituted by the genealogical relationships among the people resident in Kuma during the period of the research. The manner in which the construction of the genealogical field was begun is described and discussed below.

The genealogical and land-use data gathered provided the basis for the construction of a genealogical field and for revealing the distribution of land use rights⁶ within the genealogical field and the physical space. The insights provided by this knowledge of genealogical relationships among particular individuals also aided the observation of interactions among people and the analysis of those interactions and the relationships underlying them.

The delineation of fields, data and methods of collection.

Fieldwork began with the drawing of a map of the village on which each household was marked and numbered. Then, each household was visited and the name, age, sex, religion and island or village of origin of each occupant obtained (see Appendix Ten). During this census, the map was modified as distinctions between households were clarified. For example, in some cases what had seemed to be two or three distinct but

⁶ The term "rights" is used in preference to "ownership" because it more faithfully represents the character of land tenure on Butaritari and Makin. the term "landholder" is used to refer to a person with registered rights to land plots. This question is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

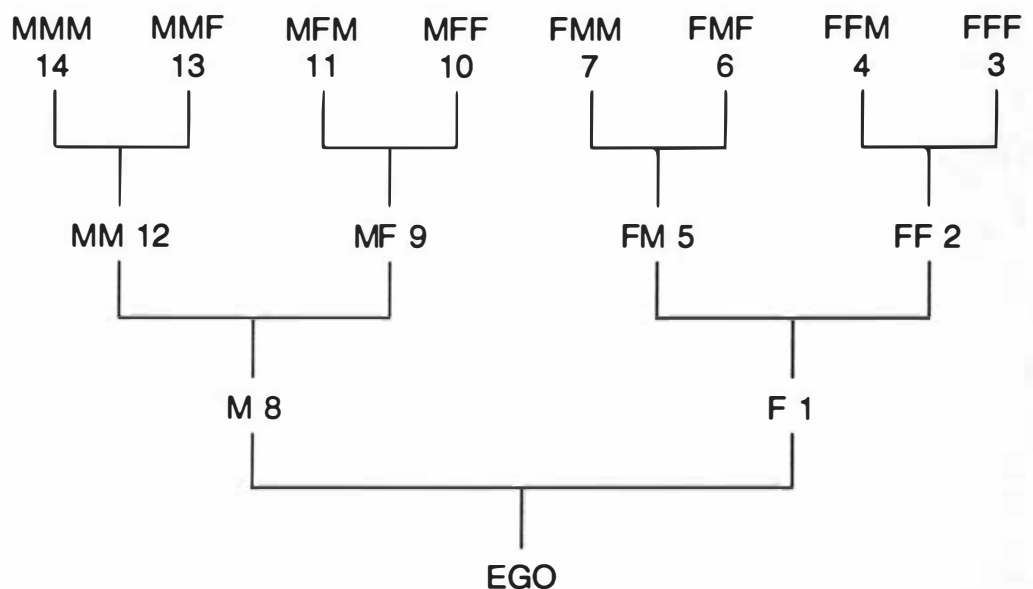
adjacent groups of residential buildings were later found to be components of one household. The characteristics of Kuma households are discussed in Chapter Six. Next, questions were prepared for an interview schedule to obtain information about skill and knowledge-based sources of status. By the time these questions had been put to sixteen people it was clear, for reasons to do with the low degree of specialisation discussed above, that that was not a productive avenue. Consequently, a new interview schedule was devised to obtain genealogical and land use data because these seemed to be much more useful indicators of the structure of social space and links between social space and physical space. The events discussed in Chapter Six indicate that acknowledged skills in dance choreography, musical composition and sorcery can confer a status and material power upon a person. It is possible that the prestige associated with other skills might also have conferred recognisable status upon people, but lack of time prevented the observation of this factor.

On the basis of the census data a list was made of eighty people to interview about their genealogies and access to land. The list was constructed as follows. The names of all people aged twenty and over were sorted alphabetically, firstly by their first name and secondly by their last name. In Kiribati, a person's last name is his or her father's first name, so once the last names were sorted it was possible to construct tentative sibling groupings. The members of these sibling groups were assumed to be full siblings unless further investigation revealed that a particular father had children by different mothers.

The rationale for this approach was to ensure that people from all of the possible descent groups were included in the interviews. When contemplating a schedule of genealogical interviews in any particular society thought must be given to the order in which the questions will be put. It is advisable, as Barnes (1967:110) suggests, that the order be such that the questions deal first with the dominant lines of descent in the society. In a patrilineal society he suggests beginning with Ego's father and taking the patrilineal branch first at every point before taking the matrilineal branch. In a matrilineal society he suggests the reverse, beginning with Ego's mother and taking the matrilineal branch first at every point. In an ambilineal society, such as Kiribati, the choice is not so clear and questioning could, in principle, begin with either Ego's mother or father. I decided to follow the ego-based, patrilineal order of questioning suggested by Barnes (1967:110) which is illustrated in Figure 3.1. This order was adopted because it was consistent with the patrilineal bias reflected in the order I-Kiribati themselves used when enquiring about the pedigrees of others. Additional questions were asked about siblings and their affines in order to check the assumptions made about sibling groupings on the basis of the census interviews. The island or village to which each consanguine or affine originally belonged was also enquired about to assist in distinguishing established Kuma descent lines from *abatera* (people without land) descent lines. Questions were also asked about adoptions of consanguines and the landholdings and land use patterns of the families to which the informants belonged. While conducting those interviews it became apparent that people were much more attentive to their relationships within the village than to those outside it. It was found, for example, that most people could go back to

their great grandparents without difficulty when that part of the family was based in Kuma, where they lived. But if one of their parents came from another island or, sometimes, a different village on Butaritari, they tended to be unaware of grand and great grandparents on that island or village. If they grew up with a family group they knew the ancestors, but otherwise tended not to.

Figure 3.1. The sequence of questioning during genealogical interviews.



Key to Figure 3.1. F = father, FF = father's father, FFF = father's paternal grandfather, FFM = father's grandmother, FM = father's mother, FMF = father's maternal grandfather, FMM = father's maternal grandmother, M = mother, MF = mother's father, MFF = mother's paternal grandfather, MFM = mother's paternal grandmother, MM = mother's mother, MMF = mother's maternal grandfather, MMM = mother's maternal grandmother.

That tendency was probably particularly marked on the northern islands of Makin and Butaritari, of which Kuma was a part, due to the practice there of resisting the land fragmentation which characterised

land inheritance practice on the other islands of Kiribati. On Makin and Butaritari extended-family land holdings were retained under a single title. In some cases such land holdings were confined to the vicinity of one village, but in many cases were dispersed, so that a particular *utu* (descent group) was likely to have plots of land in the vicinities of several villages on both Makin and Butaritari. When landholdings were dispersed in that way, family members only shared in exclusive use of those pieces of land in the vicinity of the villages in which they resided.⁷

The interviews provided opportunities to become better acquainted with the people of Kuma and discuss matters outside the concerns of the formal interviews. These conversations provided fragments of information which have been integrated with the more formally collected data. All interviews and conversations were conducted directly by the author in the vernacular without the involvement of a translator.

Once genealogical information had been obtained directly from the people concerned, additional data was obtained from Nan Ibutuna, a senior resident of the village who was locally acknowledged to be the

⁷ On islands to the south of Makin and Butaritari, the land plots of a parent were registered in that person's name and they were able to dispose of them as they wished, provided their descendants would not be left without land adequate for their subsistence. Following the deaths of parents, the lands which they had inherited from their parents were distributed among their children and the titles subdivided. Over time the size of land plots available to succeeding generations decreased and many individuals were owners of several extremely small plots of land scattered around their home island, or several different islands. On those islands people only had access to the land in the vicinity of their village to which they held title and were much more likely than people of Makin and Butaritari to require access to land in the vicinity of other villages on their home island.

major repository of knowledge pertaining to the fields of genealogy and tradition. He belonged to a descent group known as Kabubuarangana, whose ancestral *kainga*⁸ was a land named Tabokao in Butaritari village. Kabubuarangana had been the descent group charged by former High Chiefs with the task of keeping a genealogical record for all of Butaritari.⁹ I did not find out how or why that descent group became charged with that task. However, the holding of hereditary offices by different descent groups has also been noted by Lambert (1963:92).

In the pre-contact period genealogies, and all other knowledge, were committed to memory and transmitted orally. Following the introduction of writing in the 1860's,¹⁰ people began to record the oral genealogical record in written form. Nan Ibutuna's genealogical information was recorded in a ledger which he said he had copied, in the 1950's, from a written account in the possession of an older member of the Kabubuarangana descent group. The names in the record were organised in lists of parents and their children. The record pertaining to Butaritari and Makin began with the siblings Nan Teboi and Nei Rakentaai, the founders of the two descent lines to which all

⁸ The word *kainga* can refer to both a land holding descent group and the land on which its members resided. In this case *kainga* refers to the latter. The subject of land holding descent groups is discussed in Chapter Five.

⁹ I received unprompted confirmation of the involvement of members of that descent group with matters genealogical during a conversation with an old man in Butaritari village when he told me that I should seek someone belonging to Kabubuarangana if I wanted to obtain accurate information about Kuma genealogies.

¹⁰ The first parts of the Bible in Gilbertese, translated by Hiram Bingham, were published in 1864 (Etekiera, 1979:39)

contemporary Butaritari and Makin descent groups were connected. The spouses and children of those founding ancestors were written down, followed by separate listings of each of those children with their spouses and children. The page on which the list containing the name of a particular child of either Nan Teboi or Nei Rakentaai, his or her spouse and their children, was recorded was written beside the first entry of the child's name and the number of the page on which the first entry of the name was recorded was written beside the second entry. The same recording procedure was followed for each generation through to the present. With that system of cross-referencing it was possible to follow lines of descent and ascent for any particular person. However, to quickly find a name in the middle region of the record, as Nan Ibutuna often did during a resumption of interviewing, required a broad knowledge of the genealogies in order to be able to find an ancestor or descendant of that person to trace forward or back from. The document from which Nan Ibutuna had copied the information had included people of his generation, people born in the 1920's. It was possible that the document he copied from was compiled with assistance from *The family papers (Beba n utu)* prepared by the heads of descent groups in the early 1920's, on the instructions of Grimble, to assist the process of land registration upon which he was engaged.¹¹ Ibutuna, himself, had kept a record of Kuma genealogies which ended with people who were then in their twenties.

In contrast with the ego-based approach used when interviewing residents, the data obtained from Nan Ibutuna was ancestor-based,

¹¹ The question of land registration and *The family papers* will be discussed in Chapter Five.

starting from the genealogical origins of Kuma and proceeding to the present. It would, in principle, have been possible to have obtained data from Nan Ibutuna by starting from the present and going back to ancestors, but he preferred to start from the beginning of things. He also felt that it was not his business to speak for others about their genealogies and was able to avoid doing so directly by moving through the generations towards his contemporaries, rather than beginning with them and moving back to their ancestors. This data was collected to enable the earlier genealogical data gathered from people themselves to be corroborated.

A third source of genealogical information was Land Court minutes, which often included family trees recorded as evidence in the adjudication of disputes and the establishment and distribution of land rights.¹² (This data source is discussed later in this chapter following the discussion of several other land record documents which define the land plots on the island, indicate those with rights to them and identify the land court cases relevant to them.) Because I was aware that I would not be able to return to Kuma to discuss the composition of the completed genealogical tables, I was careful to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the data I was recording by cross-checking details received from primary informants with other members of their kin.

¹² The manner in which data from the three sources was compared, combined and used is discussed in Chapter Four.

The Butaritari Lands List¹³ was a typed record of all Butaritari land plots. The plots were listed from the north-eastern end of the atoll, where Kuma was located, through to Ukiangang village at the south-western tip of the atoll, then north through several uninhabited islets to the inhabited islet of Bikati at the north-western point of the atoll and east to the uninhabited islets of Namoka, Natata, Kaionobi and Temoamuma which lie in a line to the north of Kuma. This list recorded the disposition of lands following the individualisation of Butaritari land plots by the Lands Commission between 1951 and 1956. The land plots which were listed as being Kuma lands are numbered from 1 to 111, however, local practice had the last land plot associated with Kuma at number 129 and a lands list detailing the disposition of lands in 1952-53¹⁴ lists land number 129 as the beginning of the lands associated with the village of Keuea. Consequently land 129, Ewena, was taken to be the final Kuma land plot for the purposes of both Kuma people and this study. In addition, the lands on Namoka, Natata, Kaionobi and Temoamuma, numbered 772 to 786 have been included as Kuma lands, even though they were not so described in the Lands List, because the names of people with registered rights to the land plots on those islets were the same as the names registered with rights to the Kuma lands.¹⁵

¹³ This list is in two volumes and entitled *Rinan aba*. Vol. I lists lands 1-349 and Vol. II lists lands 350-786 (KNA 4(6)/II item No.25).

¹⁴ KNA 4(6)/II item No. 10.

¹⁵ Although time did not permit me to copy the entire *Lands List I* perused the parts of it associated with other villages and the unfamiliarity of the names of people with registered land rights was very noticeable.

For each of the land plots mentioned in the Lands List the following details were given: the consecutive number of the land; the name of the land; the number of sections into which it was divided; the social status associated with each section; the name of the person, usually representing their siblings, with rights to each section; encumbrances on each section; whether the owner inherited through his or her mother or father, or through some other process (usually associated with an adoptive relationship) and finally the number of the land court case associated with the determination of land rights.

The Lands List described the disposition of lands following the individualisation of lands completed in 1956. In order to bring the disposition up to date it was necessary to trace changes in ownership over the intervening period and that was done using the four volume Lands Register for Butaritari, which is described below.

The Lands Register, despite its name, was a register of people with rights to land. Each person registered as a landholder occupied at least two facing pages of the register and under their name was recorded the sections of land to which they had rights; the size of each section; encumbrances on the land; who the land had been transferred from to the present owner or who the person named on the page had transferred the land to; the manner in which it had been transferred; the relevant court case; the village in which the landholder was normally resident and cross-references to other pages and volumes of the Lands Register.

In order to obtain that data it was necessary to make a link between the entry of a person's name in the Lands List and its entry in the Lands Register. People's names were not listed in the register in any particular order, but the court clerk maintained a set of index cards containing the names of registered landholders dating back to 1956. Recorded on each card was one name and the page and volume number(s) of the Lands Register(s) in which that name appeared. In order to trace the histories of the pieces of land it was necessary to record on cards and sort alphabetically the names of registered landholders from the 1956 list. Those names were then located in the court clerk's index cards and each person's location in the Lands Register was recorded.¹⁶ It was then a matter of working through the list of names from the 1956 Lands List and recording what, if any, changes had occurred since then in order to be able to construct a contemporary list of land plots and land holders (see Appendix Nine).

The index cards were quite complete and I was only unable to find six of the 123 names sought. In one case the person named was a member of the High Chief's family and easily located in the Lands Register. Two other names were familiar to me from the genealogical interviews and I learned from their relations in Kuma that they were still living and the rights to land plots concerned were still registered with them. The

¹⁶ This was all done on Butaritari and normally the Lands Registers could have been consulted there too, but during my visit three of the four registers were being held by the Chief Lands Officer on Tarawa to be used as evidence in a High Court Land Appeal concerning some *Uea* land at Butaritari village upon which the Butaritari Island Council offices were built. Consequently Volumes II, II and IV were consulted on Tarawa and Volume I on Butaritari.

remaining three were absentee landholders, two commoner and one aristocrat¹⁷, without kin resident in Kuma as far as I could determine and with five plots between them. The Lands Registers appeared to be well maintained, except that the volumes being held on Tarawa did not contain records of land transactions conducted during 1993 and 1994. To cover that period I scanned the Land Court Minutes for Kuma land plot numbers but did not find any.

The *Babai* Pit Register (KNA 4/(6)/II/11) was compiled during 1952 and 1953. Since then the transfers of those pits and the registration of new ones had been recorded in this register. The *Babai* Pit Register listed the pits which were located on each of the land plots listed in the Lands List. The land plots were listed in the order they were distributed on the island and under each named land were listed the names of the registered holders of the pits on that land alongside the registered number of their pit.

When a land court case had been held in respect of a particular land plot or *babai* pit, the number of each case was noted in the Lands List the Register of landholders or the *babai* Pit Register. The Lands List noted cases held from 1956 until 1969. The Lands Register noted all cases held between 1956 the end of 1992. The *Babai* Pit Register noted all cases held between 1953 and 1994. The Land Court Minutes which it was necessary to consult for the Kuma lands were identified from those sources. The majority of court cases pertaining to those lands

¹⁷ The three social status groups associated with Butaritari and Makin are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

were conducted during the work of the Lands Commission in 1956. The Minutes of the Commission (KNA 4(6)/II/6) were held at the Kiribati National Archives on Tarawa and the relevant minutes were consulted and photocopied there. The minutes of cases held between 1957 and 1994 which it was necessary to consult were held by the court clerk on Butaritari and consulted there.

The Land Court Minutes were valuable for the light they shed on social relationships and their reflection in the physical space. Each Minute listed those present at the hearing and the family interests represented by each. Many Minutes contained genealogical information in the form of family trees and these were used to corroborated the data obtained from interviews with residents and Nan Ibutuna. Gaps in the knowledge of any particular informant were filled by other members of their kin

The data from the sources which have just been described have been combined to construct as accurately as possible the networks of relationships linking individuals to extended family groupings, the relationships between household residence and genealogical relationships and the relationships between particular individuals and particular pieces of land associated with Kuma village.

The political field of the village was an important dimension of the social space of Kuma and one which was autonomous from the genealogical field while remaining influenced by considerations of gender and age. The description and analysis of the characteristics of this field

was based upon information obtained from observing the operation of the Natirea village council, informant interviews, informal discussions, other studies and secondary literature. Insights gained during analysis of the genealogical and land-use data were also helpful to the discussion of village and island politics.

The material culture was studied for the light it shed on the social and economic use which was made of the physical space. The manner in which use of the physical space was influenced by gender and age was studied by direct observation, informal discussions and informant interviews. The activities about which information was systematically obtained were customary subsistence activities associated with the provision of food and shelter, both of which occupied a considerable part of the day for every adult of working age. Additional information was obtained from other studies and the secondary literature.

The information obtained during the census and genealogical interviews with individuals was entered into the relational database programme, *Paradox*, to create a database of all the people resident in Kuma during the period of fieldwork. The information obtained from Nan Ibutuna was also put into *Paradox* from whence particular recorded names could be readily located. The manner in which *Paradox* was used to manipulate these data in order to identify the networks of consanguineal and adoptive relationships which defined the genealogical field is discussed fully in Chapter Four. The land ownership data was also entered into *Paradox*, where it was readily manipulated, sorted and related to the genealogical and census database tables.

Reflections on methodology.

From its inception this study was intended to explore the proposition that the relationships between the areas of reality commonly categorised as society and nature could be conceptualised as relationships between two sets of spaces or fields, one set pertaining to social space and the other to physical space. The relational ontology underpinning this conceptualisation was discussed in Chapter Two and need not be repeated here, except to reiterate its centrality to the approach adopted in this study. In its attempt to delineate and examine social space, physical space and different fields within each of those spaces, it has been necessary to incorporate a number of topics, any one of which could be the exclusive focus of a single piece of research such as this. For example, the topic areas incorporated in this study include: kinship; land tenure; material culture; social networks and social stratification. In this study those topic areas are important for their contribution to understanding the characteristics of the fields which constituted social and physical space in Kuma and the manner in which those spaces were brought into relationship. Consequently, although the issue of land tenure is central to this study, the study should not be categorised as a study of land tenure *per se*. The same is true of the topic areas of kinship, material culture, social networks and social stratification, all of which are to be found in this study, which is itself reducible to none of them.

There is a tension between the particular and the general in social science research which seeks to reach generalisable conclusions about social phenomena. For example, it is a common strategy to make generalisations about a population based upon the investigation of a sample from the population. That strategy is the basis of standard survey techniques, which are usually concerned with discovering the distributions of particular attributes amongst the members of a population. However, for a study such as this one, a knowledge of the networks of genealogical relationships which define the structure of the genealogical field of an entire village was essential. A sample from the village population would not have sufficed because there would be no way of knowing where the people who were not part of the sample fitted into the space reproduced on the basis of the relationships existing between the people who were part of the sample. Whereas the focus of standard survey techniques is upon individual people and their characteristics, the focus of structural analysis is upon the positions within social space which are available to be occupied by people. It was necessary therefore, in this study, to obtain as much information as possible to ensure that the genealogical field was reproduced as accurately as it could be. Consequently a significant proportion of the data obtained in the field was concerned with genealogy and land registration. In striving to ensure the accurate delineation of the genealogical field less information was obtained about the details and peculiarities of the relationships which were revealed by analysis of the genealogical data than had been hoped.

However, while this study would have been enhanced by the availability of more information about the particularities of people's lives in relation to their positions within the genealogical field, the most useful sorts of questions could often not be formulated until their positions were known. Unfortunately those positions were not known, and could not be known, until the data had been analyzed, at which stage no more questions could be asked. Nonetheless, sufficient information was obtained to enable the painstakingly reconstructed structure of the genealogical field to be partially clothed, at least, in accounts of the actions and strategies of people within the field.

Summary.

The selection of research methods and types of data sought was guided by the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter Two. The early stage of the fieldwork was concerned with identifying the forms of capital which people needed to possess in order for them to be able to exist within the social and physical spaces associated with Kuma. The principal form of capital identified was genealogical capital because rights and obligations associated with genealogical relationships affected numerous aspects of people's social and economic life, primarily within, but also outside the village. People's genealogical relationships were also intimately connected to their access to land-use rights, so understanding the distribution of genealogical capital was crucial to discovering and understanding the distribution of the land resources associated with the physical space.

The distribution of genealogical capital defined the primary field of the social space, the genealogical field. Other fields identified during fieldwork were those associated with village and island politics and the material culture. The forms of capital associated with those fields were gender, age and generation and the relationships defining them cut across those defining the genealogical field.

Obtaining genealogical and land-use rights data were the major activities associated with the fieldwork and both types of data were obtained from a variety of sources. Genealogical data was first obtained from the residents themselves, second from a resident genealogical expert and third from land court records. The data from these sources was compared to check their validity. Gaps in residents' knowledge of their genealogies were filled with information obtained from their kin.

Because of the study's central concern with identifying and understanding the networks of relationships defining the social space of an entire community, it was necessary to reconstruct the genealogies of all residents rather than those of a random sample of the population. This was so because the genealogies of a random sample would say nothing about the genealogies of the members of the population not included in the sample and the integrity of the total structure of relationships would have been destroyed.

The need to ensure coverage of the entire community resulted in more time being spent obtaining genealogical and land data than was spent investigating the particularities of the relationships revealed by analysis

of that data. While the study would have been enhanced by the availability of more intimate data, sufficient was obtained to give life to the reconstructed fields of the social space and provide specific examples of the ways in which the social and physical spaces are brought into relationship.

Chapter Four

The genealogical field

Introduction

The genealogical field is the crucial dimension of the social space of Kuma, structuring such aspects of village social life as the fundamental question of land rights, the obligation to participate in feasts associated with rites of passage such as births, marriages and deaths and from whom a person could borrow something or seek assistance with a minor task. The concept of "field", which is fully discussed in Chapter Two, refers to a network of forces, among positions, defined in terms of a particular type of space which is itself defined by the relationships among the positions pertaining to the field and the capital having currency within it; in this case genealogical links. Before attempting to construct a genealogical field it is necessary to be clear about which elements of the network of relationships, people or ancestors, will constitute the positions defining the field. Because the field is conceived in terms of objective positions it must be ancestors that constitute the positions defining the field. This is so because the genealogical relationships among people are defined by the respective relationships, either uterinally derived, adoptive, or both, of those people to a common ancestor. Therefore the genealogical field represents descent groups, defined by descent from particular ancestors, as positions within a space in which the location of each descent group is defined by the relationship between it and other

descent groups in the field. For a contemporary relationship to exist between any plurality of descent groups they must share at least one member in common.

The positions accessible to a person within this field were determined primarily by uterine descent through both parents and a person's location within the genealogical field is coterminous with the positions within the field occupied by that person's ancestors. Descent and land inheritance in Kiribati are ambilineal and people "may use either or both parents as... links to group membership (Lambert, 1966:641)." Whether a person used one parent or both as links to group membership depended upon where the person lived and whether both parents, or only one, were genealogically connected to that place; for example, if an individual's father was from another island and had no cognatic links with Butaritari and Kuma, while the mother was from Kuma with cognatic associations there, the individual would, if resident in Kuma, acquire group membership through his or her mother. If, on the other hand, both parents were genealogically connected to the person's place of residence, the person would acquire membership of two descent groups.

Location was secondarily determined by adoption, in which case the person adopted shared genealogical links with his or her adopter in addition to retaining uterinally derived links. However, when a person was adopted, it was most commonly by a close relative and in such cases no change occurred in the adoptee's position within the genealogical field. This practice was noted by Grimble (1989:6) in the

1920's and was reflected in the accounts of adoption obtained from contemporary Kuma residents.

It is of course necessary to define the descent groups which will constitute these positions in a manner consistent with the social practice of contemporary village residents. In other words what genealogical distance should exist between contemporary village residents and the ancestors who will define the descent groups to which they belong. According to local genealogies and oral traditions, the genealogical origins of Butaritari and Makin lay between eleven and fourteen generations before the contemporary population, with the siblings Nan Teboi and Nei Rakentaai from Tarawa and their respective spouses, Nei Komo and Nan Teimauri. Teimauri was reputed to be the son of Nan Rairaeana Te-i-matang, the first mortal person on Butaritari, who was born from the forehead of a supernatural being named Batukuteata (Batuku the skull) according to a local informant and a tradition recorded by Grimble in the 1920's (Grimble, 1972:248). According to a further tradition recorded by Grimble (1989:85-90) Teimauri and Nei Rakentaai married on the island of Tabiteuea in southern Kiribati and moved to Tarawa to live. One of their sons, Rairaeana II, invaded Butaritari with a fleet of Tarawa canoes and divided the islands of Butaritari and Makin among himself, his two brothers Mangkia and Atanga, and his canoe captains. According to the tradition recorded by Grimble, Kuma was given to one of these captains named Toanuea. According to informants in Kuma the families of Kuma have their origins with Toanuea, who married Nei Rakentaai's daughter, Nei Tiringatuntaai, a view which was supported by genealogical data obtained during fieldwork there. Nan

Atanga settled in Butaritari village (Grimble, 1989:86) and became the first High Chief of Butaritari and Makin.¹

However, the genealogical field as a dimension of the contemporary social space was based upon much more recent ancestry. In fact there was not one genealogical field, but several, each pertaining to different reasons for group formation, obligations and rights. The genealogically defined groupings of people which embrace the greatest numbers of collateral kin were comprised of three generations of people sharing descent from common great grandparents. Such groupings of people gathered in response to events such as weddings, funerals and birth celebrations. The obligation to participate in such rites of passage rested with people sharing descent from common great grandparents with those responsible for the feast. The next level of descent at which people grouped together was that of shared descent from a common grandparent and this, when it occurred, was associated with ensuring that the members of this group were able to fulfil their responsibilities to contribute *babai* tubers to feasts associated with rites of passage of the sorts described above. The third grouping was the nuclear family, the members of which shared descent from common parents and for whom shared rights and responsibilities are associated with more day to day economic and social activities. At that level affinal links become important as spouses, who should ^{be} separated by at least four generations of descent from a common ancestor, combined in daily economic activity and enjoyed a portion of the fruits of each other's family land plots.

¹ See Figure 6.1.

Only people resident in Kuma are included in the genealogical fields considered in this chapter and the genealogical connections existing between Kuma residents and people residing in other villages on Butaritari and Makin are not included. There are two reasons for the exclusion of these people, one associated with the fact that for the practical daily purposes of Kuma people links with kin resident outside Kuma are less important than their links with kin resident in their village and the other associated with the logistics of conducting the study. Kin links became important when people travelled beyond Kuma to visit or reside among cognatic kin, or have cognatic kin come to visit or reside in Kuma. People's closer attentiveness to local relationships was revealed while interviewing them about their ancestry. It was found that most people could go back to their great grandparents without difficulty when that part of the family is based in Kuma, where they live. But if a parent comes from another island or, sometimes, a different village on Butaritari, they tend to be unaware of grand and great grandparents on that island or village. If they grow up with a family group they know the ancestors, but not otherwise. In fact there is no need for people to have a good knowledge of their relationships with branches of their family which are based in geographically distant locations because they do not rely upon those relationships for access to land and other material and social resources.

Rite of passage feasts usually attracted kin from other villages, but the numbers who would travel to such a feast were usually outnumbered by their host kin within the village. As far as land plot use was concerned, kin resident in a particular village had first rights to the use of family plots

as a source of coconuts for copra production. Kin resident on urban Tarawa would sometimes ask for fresh produce, such as banana and *babai*, to be sent down to them, either to vary their diet or as a contribution to a rite of passage feast held there. However, they were much more likely to seek such assistance from kin living in Butaritari village because that was the port of call for inter-island shipping and flights.

The relationships established among people on the basis of shared descent embodied obligations and rights among those people that they did not share with those not so descended. Consequently the shape of the social space was influenced considerably, and perhaps primarily, by the structure of the genealogical field, which was itself further structured by considerations of gender and age. In terms of Hillier and Hanson's (1984:xi) concept of spatial order as a restriction on random process, which was discussed in Chapter Two, the structure of the genealogical field provided a framework within which individuals engaged in social action, a framework defining what was possible or impossible, acceptable or unacceptable in terms of any one individual's relationships with others. For example, it was considered shameful for a person to ask to borrow a substantial item, such as a bicycle, from someone with whom they did not share descent from a common great grandparent. When village residents were asked directly about who in the village they would feel free to borrow items such as bicycles, sewing machines and agricultural

implements from they invariably replied "*Ti mairouia au koraki*"² (only from my relatives). The genealogical field conditioned the distribution of both physical and social resources. Land use rights were closely related to descent as were social resources in the form of relationships which could be activated to provide personal support and assistance.

It has already been noted above that there were several genealogical fields, each pertaining to different reasons for group formation, obligations and rights, and each based upon a different level of shared descent. The operative field which had the greatest depth, in terms of the number of generations separating the ancestor founders from their living descendants who occupied the field, and the greatest breadth, in terms of the genealogical distance which separated those occupants, was that based upon descent from ancestors at the great grandparent level. In considering the field defined by descent from common great grandparents, it is necessary, once again, to think in terms of more than one field, in this case two sub-fields, because two generations of living adult residents must be accounted for. The reasons for this will be detailed in the next section of this chapter which discusses the empirical bases of the genealogical fields considered above and the manner in which the empirical genealogical data was processed and analyzed.

² The term *koraki* can be applied to close and distant consanguineal relations. Its meaning in any particular situation is determined by the context in which it is used. In this case the term was applied to those people with whom the speaker commonly shared right of passage feasts.

Constructing the genealogical field.

The data which provides the empirical basis of the genealogical spaces considered in this chapter was obtained from three sources: information obtained during interviews with subjects about their own genealogies; information obtained from an acknowledged genealogical expert resident in the village and the genealogical tables found in land court minutes. These sources have already been discussed fully in Chapter Three. Preparing the data for the analysis upon which this chapter is based involved the entry of individual genealogies into a relational database programme and checking the information in these genealogies with each other and the data obtained from the genealogical expert and the information contained in land court minutes. Inconsistencies were uncommon and most could be attributed to an informant either missing a generation or transposing the names of two ancestors of different generations. There were no inconsistencies which placed in doubt the identities of the Level six ancestors who define the descent groups upon which the genealogical field is based. Before describing the next steps in data preparation and analysis it will be useful to describe the relational database programme, *Paradox*, used for the analysis and the manner in which data were entered and processed.

Data were entered into *Paradox* in a tabular format of rows and columns. Each row contained information about a particular entity, which might be an individual person or place or thing, while each column contained one specific item of information about that entity. Once the data had been entered into a table, the data in the columns could be

sorted to group together the items of data in any particular column in terms of their similarity or difference from each other. It was also possible to relate a number of different tables to each other provided that any two of them contain common columns. The genealogical data were first entered into a table the first column of which contained the names of the village residents and remaining columns of which contained the names of their ancestors from parents to great grandparents, with one column devoted to each ancestor. At that stage it was necessary to adjust the table to allow for the fact that the contemporary residents of Kuma covered four generations themselves, whereas when the data were first entered in the database these residents were all placed in the same column as though they were all of the same generation. This adjustment was made in such a way that, instead of the living village residents sharing one column, particular ancestors common to those residents shared one column. For example, when first entered, a father, Nan Tamuera, his son, Nan Tenota and grandson, Nan Kibeimoa each occupied a row in the same column, while their mutual ancestor Nan lakabo appeared in three different columns in three different rows, one as Nan Tamuera's grandfather, one as Nan Tenota's great grandfather and one as Nan Kibeimoa's great great grandfather. In this case the table was adjusted so that in each of the three rows Nan lakabo occupied the same column while Nan Tamuera, Nan Tenota and Nan Kibeimoa each occupied a different column.

At that stage each generation covered two columns, one for males and one for females, so that, for example, a contemporary village resident's mother occupied the column specified for women of the same generation

as herself, while the resident's father occupied the column specified for men of the same generation as himself. The same applied to that resident's maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers, and so on. In order for residents' descent lines to be traced directly along the rows of the table, through both parents the two columns for each generation were combined into one, so that each generation occupied one column, with the sex of each person identified in an adjoining column, and each line of descent from a particular ancestor to a particular descendent occupied one row. In this form the table covers seven generations, with one column for each generation, extending from residents who are young children to their great great great great grandparents, or *tibutaratara*. The table did not include the ancestors of those residents who are from islands other than Makin or Butaritari and who are without ancestral links to Kuma.

Of those generations, the ones which seemed most pertinent to the contemporary genealogical field as it applied to Kuma residents were those encompassing levels three to seven. That was because levels three and four were comprised primarily of people who were parents and grandparents at the time of the study and it was those people who exercised responsibility in economic activities in relation to the land and who were responsible for maintaining the rights and responsibilities associated with genealogical relationships. On the other hand, levels one and two were comprised primarily of children and teenagers who were separated by three and four generations from the common ancestor by reference to whom the obligation to participate in the rite of passage was defined. Those people would participate in rite of passage feasts called

by their parents, grandparents and great grandparents, but were not of an age at which they would be expected to be responsible for calling a feast themselves. Furthermore, as the fourth generation of descendants from the defining ancestor they were, in principle, free to marry collateral kin sharing their relationship to that ancestor. That ideology of descent group exogamy was found to be reflected in marriage practice with analysis of the marriage data finding no cases of intra-descent group marriage.

When the people occupying levels one and two have matured and assumed the responsibilities associated with calling rite of passage feasts, these feasts will be catalysts for groupings based upon descent from people presently occupying levels four and five. Because such groups were future possibilities rather than being realised in the present, the connections among residents located on levels one and two were not used as bases for constructing the genealogical fields considered in this chapter.

Once identified, the sets of ancestor parents occupying level six were numbered from 1 to 95 (these ancestors are listed in Appendix Eight). These numbers were arbitrarily applied and serve no other purpose than to identify each of the ancestor couples at level six from whom particular groups of people occupying levels three and four shared descent. These descent group identification numbers were added to the table and then related directly to contemporary residents by using *Paradox's* ability to sort through the rows and columns of the table and produce one table listing the names of residents occupying levels three and four with the

identification numbers of their level six ancestors. Because the table contained the names of people who were contemporary residents of Kuma as well as the names of people who were either dead or, if living, resident elsewhere, the names of contemporary residents were coded in the table so that the programme could differentiate between them and non-residents when producing tables which grouped contemporary residents according to their shared descent.

Although each level three resident had a possible four *sets* of great grandparents, the numbers of descent group identification numbers associated with residents ranged from one to five. This was because in some cases a great grandparent had had children by two partners and their great grandchildren were descended from half-sibling grandparents. In those cases the descendants concerned were counted as sharing descent from the great grandparent who was common to them all while being counted as separately descended from the two partners of that common great grandparent. Thus in order to distinguish such descendants from each other, they were each associated with an additional descent line, with the result that some people were associated with up to five separate descent groups. In other cases residents were associated with only one, two or three, descent group identification numbers because not all of their ancestors were from Kuma or Butaritari and Makin. For example, a person whose mother and mother's ancestors back to the person's great grandparents were all from Kuma, but whose father and father's ancestors were all from the island of Nikunau would be associated with two ancestor identity numbers. If the same person's mother's father was from the island of Abaiang, the

person would be associated with just one ancestor identification number, the one associated with her mother's matrilineal grandparents.

The table listing residents' names with the ancestor identification numbers they were associated with was laid out with the name of each resident occupying the left column with the ancestor identification numbers arranged in ascending numerical order in from one to five of the columns to the right of the names column. For the analysis which followed, the sequence of ancestor identification numbers following residents' names were treated as their *profiles* in terms of their descent from their great grandparents. The columns in this table were sorted in order to group identical profiles together. These groups were identified and numbered as *resident profiles*. The people sharing a particular profile, usually full siblings, were defined as being structurally equivalent as far as their position(s) within the genealogical field were concerned. The concept of structural equivalence is used in the network approach to the analysis of social structure and two or more actors are defined as being "structurally equivalent if, for a given relation, both relate to the other actors in exactly the same way" (Knoke, 1990:239). One advantage of this procedure was to reduce the number of entities to be manipulated in the analysis from 199 people to 80 resident profiles.

Just as each resident profile was associated with a particular combination of ancestor identification numbers, so each ancestor identification number was associated with a particular combination of resident profiles. The next step in the analysis was to apply the

procedure used to group residents, described above, to the ancestor identification numbers in order to identify those which were structurally equivalent in terms of the resident profiles they shared. Grouping the structurally equivalent ancestor identification numbers reduced the 95 descent lines represented in Figure 4.1 to 68 descent line profiles. The numbers of resident profiles associated with each descent line profile ranged from one to sixteen and it was this characteristic which formed the basis for the construction of Figure 4.1 which will be described in the next section of this chapter.

Because of the study's concern with the articulation of social space and physical space it was desirable to use a representation of the genealogical space which provided the most general framework for kin-based social action within the village and to which the contemporary distribution of land plots could be readily related. Levels six and seven each provided the basis for the construction of one genealogical field. However, the field which it was most useful to construct in diagrammatic form was the one defined by descent from ancestors at level six. There were three reasons for this, the first to do with what seemed to be the most common genealogical basis for participation in rite of passage feasts; the second to do with the availability of genealogical data and the third to do with the basis from which land plots had been distributed among the descent groups by the 1956 Lands Commission. The first reason was related to the fact that village residents located at level three were the people directly responsible for most of the life crisis feasts which were held in the village. They were the people with most responsibility for day to day economic activity and the associated need

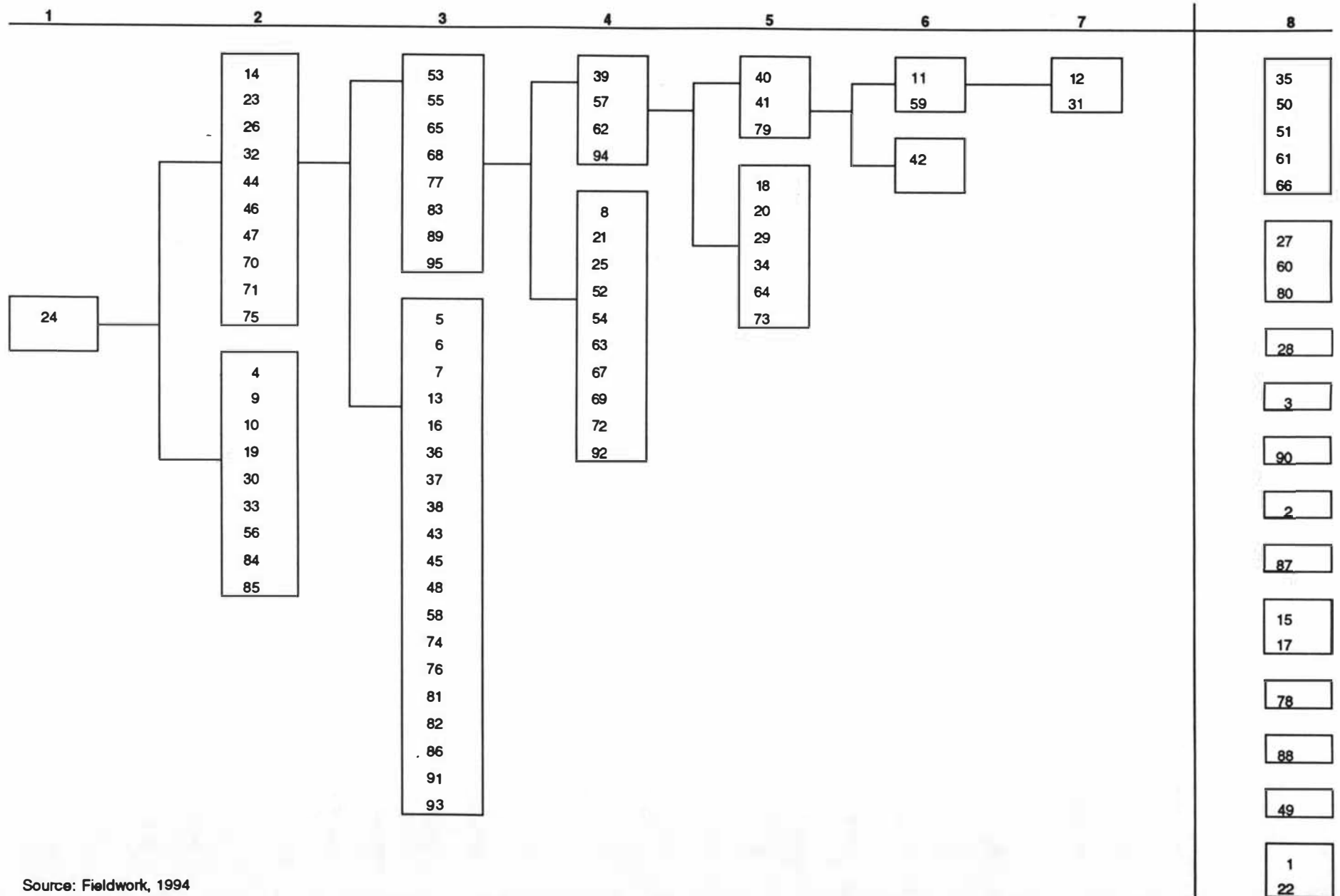
to maintain kin links to ensure the availability of material support when needed. Of course participation in rite of passage feasts could be on the basis of descent from level seven ancestors and an example of such a case will be discussed in this chapter. However, it seemed, from information from informants that, in the case of most rite of passage feasts, participation was on the basis of descent from level six ancestors. The first reason, which has just been discussed, was probably related to the second reason: it was possible to obtain sufficient genealogical data to construct the genealogical space based upon descent from level six ancestors but the same amount of data was not available in the case of level seven. The fact that it was not so readily available from residents seemed to be consistent with less importance being placed upon relationships at that level of descent. The third reason was concerned with the distribution of land plots among the descent lines. It was found that the division of land plots which was carried out during the 1956 Lands Commission, discussed in detail in Chapter Five, involved the division, among their children and grandchildren, of land rights which were registered with people who were level six and seven ancestors and their siblings. The contemporary rights to land were not, therefore, registered with people at greater genealogical remove than level six and the contemporary distribution of land plots among descent groups can be discussed entirely with reference to descent groups defined in terms of descent from level six ancestors. However, it must be noted that only fifty of the ninety five descent groups identified had land rights associated with them (see Appendix Three). The possible implications of that for descent group solidarity will be discussed later in this chapter.

One hundred and ninety nine village residents were located in levels three and four of the genealogical table and it was the combinations of descent groups to which those people belonged that defined the position of each descent group within the genealogical field. However, the level one and two descendants of those people were also members of the descent groups to which their parents and grandparents belonged. Consequently although the structure of the genealogical field was defined in terms of the connections which existed between 199 people, the number of people counted as participants within the field was 331. The remaining eighty of Kuma's 411 residents were people without consanguineal ties to Kuma descent groups who had moved to the village from other villages of Butaritari and Makin, or other islands of Kiribati.

Representing the genealogical space.

The use of the spatial metaphor in the representation of social relations lends itself to the use of a visual presentation of data so that relationships defined in social distance can be displayed in a spatial form. To display the networks of relationships simultaneously would require a three dimensional representation because the complexity of the genealogical field associated with Kuma is too great for all of the descent group connections to be represented two-dimensionally at once. However, the broad structure of the field can be shown synoptically. Figure 4.1 is based upon the relationships between descent lines which are created by the multiple memberships of residents located in levels

Figure 4.1. The eight zones of the genealogical field of Kuma.



three and four who share descent from ancestor couples located in level six. The purpose of Figure 4.1 is to display in a broad manner the character of the genealogical space in terms of the genealogical distance between the village descent groups. It represents a genealogical space which is defined by the networks of relationships existing among the 95 descent groups represented in it. The starting point for the construction of this space was descent line Number 24 which was the descent group with the largest number of resident profiles³ associated with it. This number was located in Zone number one of Figure 4.1. Located in Zone number two were the ancestor identification numbers which were directly connected with Number 24. Whether or not a connection existed between any two numbers depended upon whether or not at least one person, or one resident profile, claimed descent from them both. So any particular number, for example Number 24, was connected to all of those other ancestor numbers which were associated with the resident profiles connected to Number 24. The numbers located in Zone two were determined by identifying the resident profiles descended from descent group Number 24 and then identifying the numbers, other than Number 24, from which the relevant resident profiles were also descended. This procedure was then repeated for each of the numbers located in Zone two to determine the numbers located in Zone three and so on until Zone seven was reached. There were no further onward linkages from numbers 12 and 31 and a boundary was reached. The zone numbers refer to zones or regions within a space which had

³ A resident profile was a particular combination of ancestor identification numbers. Those residents sharing a particular combination of ancestors shared the same profile and were, in that respect, structurally equivalent. See the previous section of this chapter.

relatively high average numbers of inter-descent group links at its left, inner, side and moving to lower average numbers at its right, outer, side. The average numbers of inter-descent group links for the descent groups occupying each zone of the field are shown in Table 5.4. Within each zone were grouped the identification numbers of descent groups whose members also belonged to ancestors grouped in the two adjoining zones. The zone numbers are completely unrelated to the seven levels of generations included in the genealogical database table. The fact that there are seven in each is purely coincidental.⁴

Outside this boundary was a region of the genealogical space occupied by individual descent groups and clusters of descent groups which were genealogically isolated. Single descent groups were contained in separate boxes in Figure 4.1, as were boxed clusters of descent groups. None of the descent groups contained within any particular box was connected to any descent groups contained within any of the other boxes. The grouping of descent group numbers within a box indicated that those groups were connected to one another. The position of descent groups in that region of the space was completely arbitrary. Their positions said nothing about their relationships with each other because they were not related by any genealogical ties. Their only relationship was one of genealogical isolation, isolation from each other and a shared isolation from the groups located in Zones one to seven. However, this genealogical isolation did not result in social isolation and

⁴ It must be emphasised that this spatial representation of the genealogical field, and reference to movement within it, refer to social space and not to physical space.

people occupying that region of the field usually enjoyed links to the kin groups of their affines.

The representation of Zones one to seven does not display in detail the networks of relationships among individual descent groups but rather places them in groups according to whether they have both outward (to the right) and inward (to the left) linkages or only one. Because it is used as the starting point of the diagram descent group Number 24 has only outward linkages, while descent group Numbers 12 and 31 have only inward linkages because they are at the outer boundary of the space. Of the descent groups located in Zone two, those in the upper box are linked to both Zones one and three, while those in the lower box are linked only to Zone one and not to Zone three. However while all of the descent groups in Zone 2 are connected to the one descent line in Zone one, Number 24, no single descent group in the upper box of Zone two is necessarily connected to all of the descent groups in Zone 3. Details of the links between all descent groups are given in Appendix Twelve.

The properties of the genealogical field

A field is defined in terms of the type of capital which operates within it and determines access to positions within the field. The genealogical field being considered here was structured by networks of positions, each of which represented a group descended from a particular ancestor couple three generations removed from the most generationally junior individuals to whom the field applied. The capital operating within this field was descent from ancestors who were founders of descent groups

which constituted the positions defining the field. To be able to operate within the genealogical field required that a person be descended from at least one of those ancestors. Because people could belong to more than one descent group an event, such as a funeral, generated in response to the death of a person, could bring together members of all the descent groups to which that person belonged and in this way a particular rite of passage gathering would realise the potential links which existed between those particular descent groups and their members. The whole field can be understood as a distribution of positions between any two of which a potential link may or may not exist. In Figure 4.1 links may exist between descent groups occupying the same and adjacent zones, but may not exist between groups occupying non-adjacent zones. In this way the structure of the genealogical space serves, as Hillier and Hanson (1984:xi) suggest, to restrict random process in terms of peoples' interactions with one another and provides a framework within which interaction takes place.

The numbers of people who could be involved in gatherings associated with life crisis feasts varied considerably according to the number of members in the groups which were brought into relationship by a particular feast. An indication of the potential numbers of people likely to participate in a feast can be gained by knowing the location of the person or people upon whom the feast will focus. Table 4.1 shows how many people and descent groups are associated with each zone as well as the average numbers of people per descent group associated

with each zone of the space.⁵ These figures show a decline in both absolute numbers per zone and average numbers per descent group per zone, indicating that kin-based gatherings associated with descent groups located relatively centrally in the genealogical space involve the participation of greater numbers of people than those associated with groups less centrally located.

Table 4.1. The numerical distribution of people among the zones of the genealogical space.

	Number of people	Number of descent groups	Average number of people per descent group
1	131	1	131.00
2	219	19	11.53
3	167	27	6.19
4	94	14	6.71
5	32	9	3.56
6	33	3	11.00
7	14	2	7.00
8	57	20	2.85

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

It will be noted that the total of the numbers of people associated with the different zones exceeds the number of people located in the

⁵ The numbers of people associated with each descent group are given in Table 5.4

genealogical field. This is because many people are counted more than once due to their membership of up to five descent groups. Thus, a person who belongs, for example, to four descent groups possesses the forms of capital necessary to be able to share occupancy of four particular positions within the field.

Although the hierarchy of social status groups which used to govern social relations on Butaritari and Makin no longer existed, its effects were still evident in the distribution of land plots among the contemporary residents of Kuma. The question of land plot distribution and its relationship to association with the former social status groups and position within the genealogical field will receive detailed discussion in Chapter Five. However, it is appropriate at this point to anticipate that discussion and indicate the relationship which was found to exist between association with the former social status groups and position within the genealogical field.

The association of descent groups with the former social status groups was measured by identifying the total land plots to which their members had rights and finding the relative proportions of *rorobuaka*, *toka* and *uea* plots in the total. Those proportions are shown in Appendix Three, where it can be seen that, with the exception of descent group Number 80, each group was either entirely or predominantly associated with either *rorobuaka* or *toka* plots, or, in the case of descent group Number 67, with *toka* and *uea* plots. The distribution of the former social status groups among the zones of the genealogical field is shown in Table 5.4. The bottom rows of those tables show the ratio of *rorobuaka* and

unspecified plots to *toka* and *uea* plots for each zone of the genealogical field. Those ratios show a decline in the proportion of *rorobuaka*/unspecified plots to *toka/uea* plots with distance from the core of the field in Zones one and two. The figures indicate that those village residents with largely *toka* and *uea* ancestral connections tended to be less genealogically integrated in the village than those whose ancestral connections were largely *rorobuaka*. Relationships between religious affiliation and position within the genealogical field are discussed in Chapter Six and displayed in Table 6.4.

The construction of this representation of the genealogical field was, of course, a highly conscious, theoretical effort. Its purpose was to provide, within the limits of time and data availability, a synoptic representation of the networks of relationships which provided a regulative framework for the conduct of social action. For the people of Kuma, on the other hand, negotiating those networks of relationships was, to varying degrees, a practical accomplishment. In the cases of residents whose primary socialisation had taken place in Kuma, and whose habitus were attuned to its genealogical field, knowledge of the positions within the field of kin relationships which were available to them was a practical knowledge gained during immersion in the kin networks of their parents. These networks were given substance through such activities as participation in rite of passage feasts, shared use of family land plots and being sent on errands to the houses of other members of their parents' descent groups. In this way, in accordance with the ambilineal principle, the separate kin relationships of the parents were combined in their children. For those residents who had not been raised

from childhood in Kuma and whose habitus were not immediately attuned to its genealogical field upon becoming resident there, knowledge of their kin networks was more consciously acquired. One young man of *toka* descent who had recently taken up residence in Kuma with his wife, who was from Kuma, displayed an interest in local genealogies which rivalled my own. He acknowledged that his interest was motivated by a desire to identify consanguineal kinship links other than the one he knew to exist. Ibutuna, the old man who was a valuable source of genealogical information, was himself genealogically marginal in the village.⁶

The next sections of this chapter will discuss three different areas of village life for which genealogical considerations are profoundly important. The first of those to be discussed will be the impact of genealogical considerations upon common everyday activities focusing upon socialising and borrowing. The second to be discussed will be the less everyday events known as *bo* which are feasts associated with rites of passage in the lives of individual people. The third will be the practice, now declining, of groups of people descended from common grandparents being formed to cooperate in the cultivation of *babai*. It must be noted here that these discussions do not distinguish between the fifty descent groups which had land rights associated with them and the forty five which did not. The reason for this is that data were not obtained which would have enabled such distinctions to be made because the descent groups were not identified until after the fieldwork

⁶ Ibutuna, as a source of genealogical information, was discussed in Chapter Three.

had been completed. It is possible that stronger ties might, in principle, exist among group members who shared land rights than among those who did not. However, whether or not that might be the case in principle, it is of little significance in practice because subsequent analysis found that of the forty five descent groups without associated land rights, the memberships of each of all but three were duplicated in at least one other descent group with which land rights were associated. Consequently there were only three potential groupings of people, on the basis of descent group membership, which were not isomorphic with shared land rights. In view of that it can be said that in almost all cases, people who grouped together on the basis of shared descent from level six ancestors were also joint landholders.

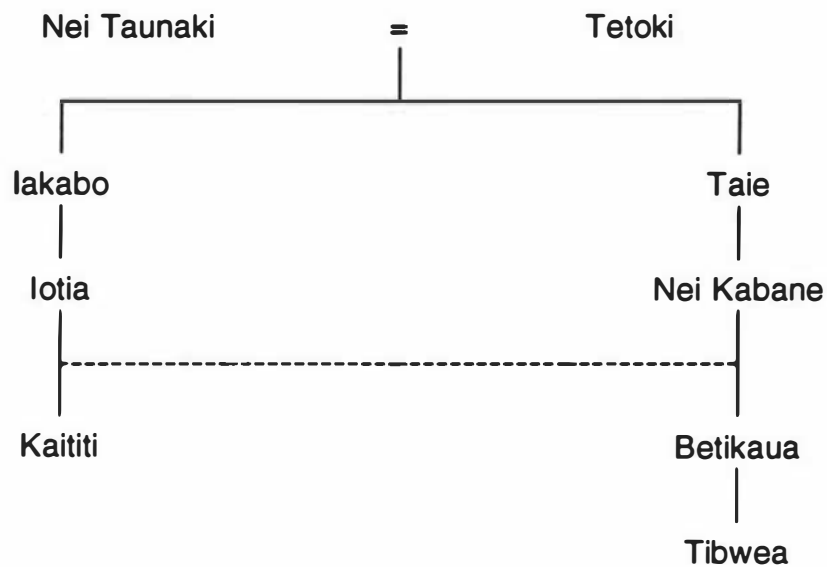
Socialising and borrowing

People in Kuma showed a marked tendency to socialise with and borrow from their close kin rather than those with whom they did not share close descent. They expressed this frankly themselves and the practise was confirmed by the observation of patterns of social intercourse within the village. Their propensity for borrowing from relatives and extreme reluctance to do so from anyone else was remarked upon above. To have sought assistance outside the family would have been to admit being in need and suggest that one's own family was unable to meet its obligation to assist one of its own.

People would visit one another simply for conversation or *maroro* and recreation or *kakibotu*. They might be on better terms with some relatives than others and be inclined to visit some rather than others, but the pool of potential co-recreationists was heavily weighted in favour of close kin. People predominantly socialised with members of their own age group and their own gender. Personal preference and considerations of material advantage were factors and the two were not necessarily mutually exclusive. During the early stage of my time in Kuma Nan Tibwea, a man living next to me, began to undertake frequent visits to a household at the northern end of the village, the head of which was Nan Kaititi. People noticed that Tibwea was spending a lot of time there and would jokingly ask his wife, Nei Rotia, whether he had found another woman. In fact Tibwea was motivated to increase his knowledge of canoe construction so that he could repair his own canoe and use it for fishing again. He had the canoe built for him when he returned from working on Nauru, with money to spend, a number of years before. Kaititi was an experienced canoe builder and related to Tibwea by descent and adoption. Their descent relationship was not very close, but they were brought closer by the adoption of Tibwea's father, Nan Betikaua, by the father of Kaititi, Nan Lotia as shown in Figure 4.2. This made Kaititi and Betikaua, who were second cousins by descent, brothers by adoption. Tibwea had not in turn been adopted by Kaititi, as sometimes happened in such cases, and Betikaua, who now resided on Marakei, had acquired no land right as a result of his adoption. However, a sufficiently strong connection existed for Tibwea to be able to activate the relationship without feeling any shame or *mamma*. Tibwea

subsequently restored his canoe and then spent much of the time he had previously spent visiting Kaititi fishing from it.

Figure 4.2. The lineal descent and adoptive links of Nan Tibwea to Nan Tetoki and Nei Taunaki.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Rite of passage feasts

Genealogical connections at the level of descent from a common great grand parent were regularly exercised through the *bo* which occurred frequently in village life. *Bo* is the prefix of the noun *bota*, an assembly or gathering. *Bo* are associated with rites of passage such as births, first birthdays, weddings, funerals and the reception of kin visiting from afar. Participation in those events is usually by those people sharing direct or

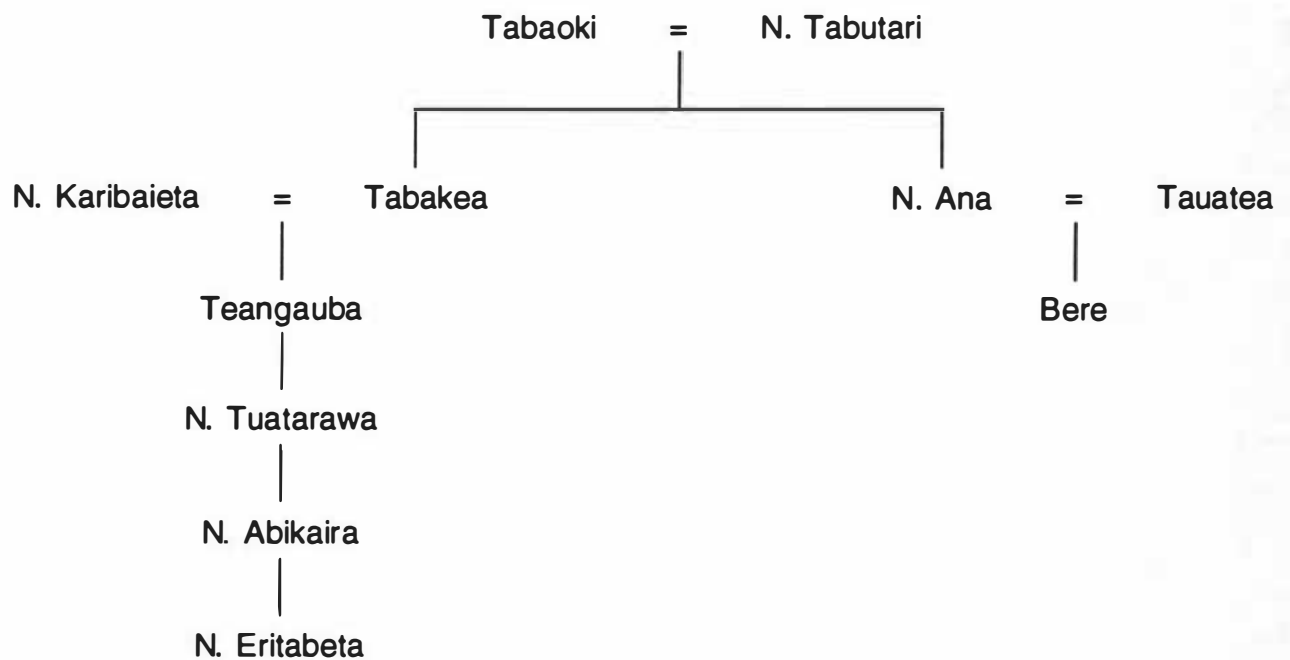
collateral descent from the great grandparents of the person or people responsible for the *bo*. When the gathering is to celebrate a rite of passage associated with a child, such as the celebration of a first birthday, it is the direct and collateral descendants of the great grandparents of the child's parents who participate. Older people who were asked who would be obliged to participate in *bo* which they were responsible for always identified the descendants of their great grandparents. Those sharing descent from a common great grandparent with the people responsible for the *bo* are expected to contribute food to the gathering. The principle responsibility is to contribute a *babai* tuber of the superior *ikaraoi* variety, a responsibility which is taken very seriously and failure to fulfil it -- or being caught failing to fulfil it -- is a potent source of *mamma* or shame.

The first of the *bo* discussed here was associated with the first birthday of a girl, Nei Eritabeta, the daughter of Nei Abikaira and Nan Teangamate. Teangamate, the father, was a Banaban from Rabi island in Fiji, with no ancestral links to Kuma and no cognatic kin within the village. Consequently his family did not participate in the *bo*. Nei Abikaira, the mother, was of Kuma ancestry, being the great great grand daughter of Nan Kirata and Nei Baroati, and Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari, both through her mother. She was not connected to any other Kuma descent groups through her father.

The participants in this *bo* were defined by an informant as the descendants of Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari who were the great grandparents of Nei Abikaira's mother, Nei Tuatarawa. Figure 4.3 shows

the two collateral lines of descent from Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari which were represented in Kuma at the time. Those lines originated with the siblings Nan Tabakea and Nei Ana, two of Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari's children. The participation in this *bo* was on the basis of shared descent from level seven ancestors rather than level six ancestors as was the case in the *bo* which will be discussed next. Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari were the founding ancestors of descent group Number 120 stemming from level seven of the genealogical table.

Figure 4.3. The descent of Nei Eritabeta.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

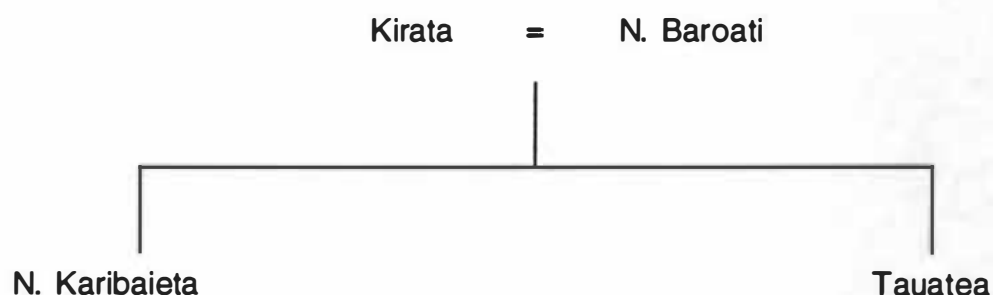
Figure 4.4 shows that the spouses of the siblings Nan Tabakea and Nei Ana, Nei Karibaieta and Nan Tauatea, were themselves siblings, both being children of Nan Kirata and Nei Baroati. Grimble (1989:131-

132) called this sort of arrangement interfamily exchange marriage and suggested that it was a common practice throughout the Gilbert Islands. An advantage of this practice was that it could reduce the tendency of descent group land plots to become fragmented from one generation to the next.⁷ Whether or not such marriages were always arranged with land consolidation in mind is impossible to know, but informants were well aware of the possibility of maximising landholdings by strategic marriage. This practice will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. My informant was Nan Tangira, a son of Nan Bere, and it is interesting, in retrospect, that he defined the gathering in terms of descent from Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari, when it could equally have been defined in terms of descent from Nan Kirata and Nei Baroati. It was perhaps significant that the definition he used involved descent from level seven through a male, Nan Tabakea, rather than through a female, Nei Karibaieta. I suspect that had Nan Tangira been telling me about a gathering which concerned a member of his collateral line founded by Nei Ana and Nan Tauatea, he would have defined the associated gathering in terms of descent from Nan Kirata and nei Baroati, through Nan Tauatea. I was unaware of this relationship while I was in Kuma and unable, therefore, to ask the people concerned whether or not this additional link between the collateral descendants of Nan Tabaoki and

⁷ Lambert also reports the use of this practice as a means of consolidating land holdings and enhancing solidarity between the two couples and their children. However he suggested that such marriages had a greater than usual chance of failing due to the likelihood of one set of partners being drawn into disputes between the other pair. He suggests marriages between sets of first cousins as a means of gaining the land consolidation have the same advantages as marriages between sets of siblings while minimising the risks of disputes spreading from one couple to the another. An example of such a pair of marriages is discussed in Chapter Five.

Nei Tabutari served to strengthen the links between them or not. However it is likely, in view of the incest prohibitions, that it would serve

Figure 4.4. The shared descent of Nei Karibaieta and Nan Tauatea.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

to reinforce the sense of genealogical closeness between the members of the two collateral lines.

There is a maxim "that 'the fourth generation of descendants from a common ancestor go free' for the purposes of marriage" (*e ewe te karoro*) (Grimble, 1989:130-131). Under this maxim the great great grandchildren of Nan Tabaoki and Nei Tabutari could marry, as could the great great grandchildren of Nan Kirata and Nei Baroati. However, as Lambert put it:

Approval of a marriage, especially when it is first proposed or when the couple elopes, depends partly on how many ancestors the bride and groom share in the third or fourth generations and partly on whether members of the two descent lines have previously intermarried (Lambert 1981:161).

In this case the people free to marry under the maxim *e ewe te karoro* shared descent from four ancestors in the fourth generation before their

own and marriage had occurred between members of the two descent lines concerned. Marriage was an important factor in determining whether or not a consanguineal kin relationship was considered to exist. For example, the unacceptability of marriage between two people on the grounds of it being incestuous would be, by definition, an indication of a close consanguineal kin relationship between them. On the other hand, the marriage of two people sharing descent from, but separated by, three or more generations from, a sibling pair, can release all of their descendants from the duty of treating members of the other line as consanguineal kin and turn "distant consanguines into near affines" (Lambert, 1981:160). It is possible, then, that the prior linking of those two collateral lines through interfamily exchange marriage was a factor underlying the genealogical depth displayed in the relationship between them. Apart from her siblings and matrilineal cross and parallel cousins descended from Nan Teangauba, Nei Abikaira's only other kin by descent from Nan Tabakea at level six was a second cousin, Nei Merikita. It was perhaps relative shortage of collateral kin from level six which most encouraged the retention of links with their level seven ancestors.

The majority of people who participated in that *bo* were drawn from the collateral line originating with Nei Ana and Nan Tauatea, there being forty adults in Kuma associated with that descent group. A smaller number, fifteen, were drawn from the collateral line with which the child, Nei Eritabeta, was associated. The total number of people from which the participants in that *bo* were drawn was fifty five, 16.6 percent of the 331 residents embraced by the genealogical field and 13.4 percent of the

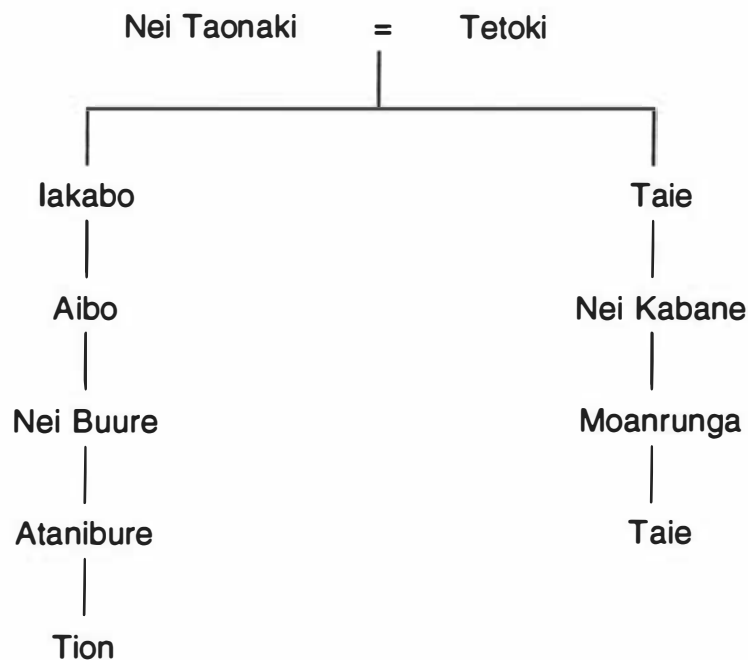
total village population. Those people were drawn from twenty eight of the village's seventy one households and between them contributed thirty four *ikaraoi babai* tubers.

The next case to be discussed displayed a lesser degree of genealogical depth than the first, the participants sharing descent from a level six ancestor couple, but greater numbers of people were involved. This was also a first birthday, in this case for Nan Tion, son of Nan Atanibure and Nei Kaita. Through his father Nan Atanibure was descended from Nan Tauatea and Nei Ana, descent he shared with sixty nine other Kuma residents.⁸ Through his mother he was descended from Nan Iakabo and Nei Bareia, descent he shared with 131 others. Atanibure's contribution was therefore 200 residents of Kuma. For her part Nei Kaita was descended from Nan Amon and Nei Terakoiti through her mother, a descent she shared with thirteen others. Through her father she was descended from Nan Karibau and Nei Eretia, a descent shared with the three descended from Nan Amon and Nei Terakoiti, and from Nan Motete and Nei Kaitamakin, a descent shared with nineteen others in addition to the earlier thirteen. Nei Kaita's contribution was therefore thirty two which, added to Nan Atanibure's 200 made a total of 232 people associated in some way with the feast. Those people represented 70 percent of the 331 people embraced by the genealogical field and 56 percent of the total village population of 411. They were drawn from forty nine of the village's seventy three households.

⁸ Also through his father, Nan Atanibure was descended from Nan Kirata and Nei Tetou (descent group Number 47), however all of those sharing this descent also share descent from Nan Tauatea and Nei Ana.

While the feast in honour of Nei Eritabeta brought together people sharing descent from level seven ancestors, Nan Tion's did not do so even though there were collateral descendants of six of his eight sets of great great great grandparents, or *tibutaratara*, resident in Kuma. That was consistent with the view expressed by informants, referred to earlier, that participation by lineal and collateral descendants of great grandparents of the adult or adults responsible for the *bo* was the norm. In the case of Nan Atanibure's extended family there was certainly no shortage of lineal or collateral kin descended from his great grandparents and not therefore the potential incentive to cultivate more distant links which seemed to be the case in the first *bo* discussed. In addition to that there was, in the case of one collateral line, a division apparent.

Figure 4.5. The descent of Nan Tion from Nan Tetoki and Nei Taonaki.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Figure 4.5 shows the collateral lines of descent from one set of Nan Tion's *tibutaratara*, Nan Tetoki and Nei Taonaki. The line descending from Nan lakabo was Nan Tion's line of descent. The members of the collateral line descended from Nan Taie did not maintain a kin relationship with the members of the collateral line descended from Nan lakabo, except one of Nan Taie's grandchildren, Nan Tibwea, whose father, Nan Betikaua, had an adoptive link to Nan lakabo's line, a relationship which was discussed earlier in this chapter. The lack of kin relationship between those collateral lines will be discussed in more detail, in the context of the division of Nei Taonaki's land plots between Nan lakabo and Nan Taie, in Chapter Five.

These two examples indicate the variability which can be associated with the groups which form in response to meeting obligations towards any particular feast. Of course attendance at such feasts was not restricted to consanguineal kin and always included at least some affines. However, the obligation to contribute *babai* tubers which rested with consanguineal kin was not shared by their affinal kin. Depending upon their age and gender, such affinal kin, in company with their peers among the consanguineal kin, would assist with such food gathering and preparatory activities as fishing, cleaning food, cooking, gathering fuel and weaving *inai*, mats woven from coconut palm fronds, for food to be placed on and for people to sit on outdoors. In addition, dependent older children and teenagers located in levels one and two would provide labour for food gathering and preparation. Although the rationale for any particular *bo* was as a rite of passage event associated with a person,

the focus of the *bo* itself was upon food, its acquisition, preparation and consumption.

Bo were usually held in the household compound where the person with whom it was associated lived. The women participants would be congregated around the household cooking area preparing food, chatting and resting between chores. Younger married men and youths would be fishing from canoes and with nets to maintain supplies of fish. Young unmarried women would gather shellfish, harvest breadfruit and small *babai* tubers of the *temaiaki* variety⁹ and maintain the supply of firewood. The most formal aspect of a *bo* was feeding the old men and other honoured guests who sat around the edge of the largest building the household could provide. The only time that all of the participants combined in any activity was in the evening if dancing was performed, usually in a *maneaba*. The *bo* was an event of production and consumption in which all participated. I was often struck by the similarity between the visual impression projected by such gatherings and the paintings of Breugel showing medieval villagers of all ages engaging in a variety of activities, playing, working, sleeping, sitting, resting side by side.

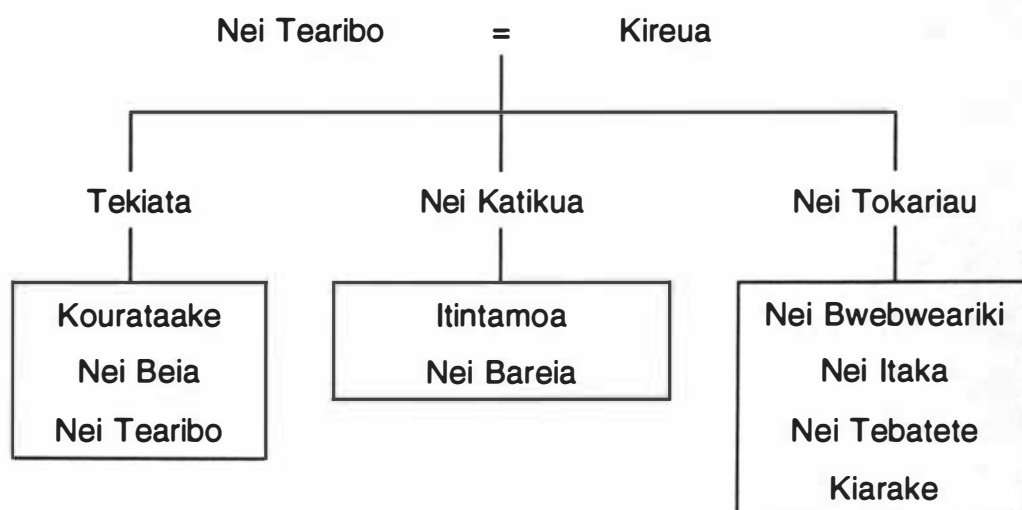
⁹ See Chapter Seven for a discussion of the different varieties of *babai*.

***Babai* pit pledging**

The importance attached to the obligation to contribute *babai* tubers to life crisis feasts was underlined by the practice of setting aside *rua* or pits with the promise (*berita*) that the tubers in them would not be touched for one year. This was to ensure that the individual with rights to that pit would be assured of being able to meet obligations arising during the following year. This was no longer practised uniformly throughout the village, although it seemed to have been in the past. However, it was still practised by a number of family groups, some examples of which will be discussed next. Only five groups were positively identified, although there were probably more than that. Nonetheless the practice had clearly undergone considerable decline, a process which probably began with the colonially imposed changes to residence practices, discussed in Chapter Six, which served to shift the centre of economic activity from large resident landholding kin groups to the smaller, contemporary, households which have existed for much of the twentieth century.

The groups of people practising *rua ni berita* (*babai* pit pledging) were, in each case, descended from common grandparents. The first group identified was comprised of the descendants of Nei Tearibo and Nan Kireua, who were: Nan Kourataake Tekiata; Nei Beia Tekiata; Nei Tearibo Tekiata; Nan Itintamoa Eria; Nei Bareia Eria; Nei Tokariau Kireua; Nei Bwebweariki Kaewaniti; Nei Itaka Kaewaniti; Nei Tebatete Tebau and Nan Kiarake Kaewaniti. Their descent is shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6. The descent of three groups of siblings practising pit pledging.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

As shown in Figure 4.6 all of those people were connected by descent from Nei Tearibo and Nan Kireua, some through their father, some through their mother. Nei Bwebweariki, Nei Itaka and Nan Kiarake, were descended through their mother, Nei Tokariau; their father, Nan Kaewaniti, was from Maiana, with no ancestral links to Kuma. Nei Tebatete Tebau had only the Kireua connection also through her mother, Nei Tokariau, because her father, Nan Tebau, was from Tanimaiaki village, with no land or pits in the vicinity of Kuma. Nan Itintamoa and Nei Bareia were descended through their mother, Nei Katikua, their father, Nan Eria, being from Abaiang. The children of Nan Tekiata: Nan Kourataake; Nei Beia and Nei Tearibo, were also descended from Bere Tauatea through their mother, Nei Tetang, but did not combine with their co-descendants from Nan Bere to pledge pits. In fact Nan Bere's grandchildren did not constitute a corporate group as far as pit pledging

was concerned, something which one of Nan Kourataake's matrilineal cross cousins, Nan Toniki Rainim, attributed to Nan Kourataake's affiliation with the descendants of Nan Kireua and Nei Tearibo.

Nan Toniki's father was Nan Rainim who lived on Marakei and was the younger brother of Nei Tetang, Nan Kourataake's mother. Nan Kourataake was the eldest of Nan Toniki's generation, being over fifty years old and approaching *unimane*¹⁰ status, whereas Nan Toniki, his siblings and remaining patrilineal parallel and cross cousins were in their thirties. Nan Toniki considered that if a pit pledging grouping of Nan Bere's grandchildren was to be formed, the onus for initiating it would rest with the oldest of Nan Bere's grandchildren, Nan Kourataake, and that it would be inappropriate for Nan Toniki or his patrilineal parallel and cross cousins to act without Nan Kourataake's initiative. Furthermore, Nan Toniki and his siblings shared no other genealogical links to Kuma, their mother being from Marakei, and their options for corporate alignment were therefore limited to their patrilineal cousins descended from Nan Bere and Nei Tireta.

For his part, Nan Kourataake had chosen to associate more closely with his father's family than his mother's in that instance because he and his siblings had inherited more pits from their father, Nan Tekiata, than they had from their mother, Nei Tetang. This was confirmed by the *Babai* Pit Register (KNA 4(6)/II/11) which listed pit numbers 314, 562, 720, 939, 8259 and 8346 under Nan Tekiata Kireua and pit number 8335 under

¹⁰ *Unimane* is a term applied to men over fifty years of age, These are the traditional leaders to whom the young defer.

Nei Tetang. Furthermore, the land Kourataake lived on in the village was associated with his father's family (KNA 4(6)II/6. case No. 13/56) and close to the residences of other members of the pit pledging group. In other matters, however, Nan Kourataake seemed closer to his maternal kin. This was evident in the people I used to see socialising with him at his house and in his decision, upon returning to Kuma after a long residence on Tarawa, to associate himself with the southern, administrative section of the village, associated with the *Natirea* style of dance, despite the fact that he resided in the northern administrative section, associated with the *Taubati* style of dance.¹¹ He attributed this to the warm welcome he received from the people of *Natirea* in contrast to his reception by the people of Taubatua. Also his matrilineal kin were almost all resident in the southern section and associated with *Natirea*. As an interesting twist to that, the late husband of Nei Tokariau, Nan Kaewaniti, had been an active exponent of the *Taubati* and all of Nan Kourataake's cousins and his aunt, Nei Tokareau, were associated with the *Taubati* as well as being members of the Northern administrative section of Kuma.

It seems unlikely, given his closer affective ties with his matrilineal kin, that Nan Kourataake's closer association with his patrilineal kin for the purpose of growing *babai* was for any other reason than that he had inherited significantly more pits from his father than he had from his mother. Nan Toniki's attempt to explain the lack of a pit pledging group comprised of his patrilineal cross and parallel cousins in terms of Nan

¹¹ The division of the village and the competing styles of dance will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Kourataake's membership of another group seemed more an attempt at rationalisation than anything else.

The dissolution of a formerly functioning pit pledging group was not infrequent, a recent example being the descendants of Nan Kainnako and Nei Atunimatang which dissolved in early 1994 due to lack of interest and commitment. The group had met fortnightly and had a system of fines for people who did not attend meetings. The group unravelled when several people began missing meetings regularly and refused to pay their fines. The other members responded to this open flouting of the rules by not coming to meetings either and the group finally collapsed. The use of fines to maintain group discipline in such situations seemed to be a response to the often remarked upon weakening of the authority of heads of families, a trend which seemed to be emphasised by the failure of the system of fines as well. The demise of that group and others was also consistent with the difficulty, widespread in Kiribati, of maintaining group endeavours other than the maintenance of the networks of relationships based upon consanguineal ties.

Nei Baurere, one of the children of Nan Toanuea, Nan Kainnako's son, said that she and her siblings practised *te rua ni berita* themselves, following the dissolution of the larger group shared with their patrilineal cousins. Unlike those cousins, who had genealogical connections in Kuma only through their mother, the children of Nan Toanuea and Nei Teina had connections through both parents but had not grouped with their matrilineal cousins, the children of Nei Teina's sisters, Nei Mere

and Nei Tiuea, to cooperate in *babai* cultivation. Those cousins, the grandchildren of Nan Teangauba and Nei Tabeta through their father, Nan Bunang Teangauba, had grouped, instead, with their patrilineal cousins who were descended from Nan Teangauba and Nei Tabeta through the siblings of Nan Bunang, who were Nan Teem, Nei Tuatarawa and Nei Ureta. None of those patrilineal cousins of Nan Bunang's children had other genealogical connections in Kuma and therefore had no choice in the matter of which of their kin to align with if they wished to cooperate in *babai* cultivation. The people who did have a choice were the children of Nan Bunang who had, like Nan Kourataake, made their choice on the basis of pit availability. Through their father, Nan Bunang, they had rights to nineteen pits, while through their mother, Nei Mere, they had access to six pits. The relative shortage of pits in their maternal line also affected their matrilineal cousins, the children of Nei Teina Buretau and Nan Toanuea Kainako, whose cooperation with their patrilineal kin for *babai* cultivation was discussed earlier.

These examples of an admittedly declining practise illustrate the articulation of social and physical space as people weighed the balance of social and physical resources available to them and positioned themselves in relation to both spaces in ways which were most advantageous to them given their total set of social relations and the strength of pressures to ally one way or the other.

Symbolic capital, movement and strategy in the genealogical field

The symbolic capital which was at stake in the genealogical field was lineage and this was acquired either by birth or adoption. However, in most cases of adoption birth remained the primary source of capital because when children were adopted it was usually by a sibling of one of their parents. The capital of most of those born in Kuma or whose families had been long established there, was seldom in doubt. For those people the genealogical field was a familiar environment within which movement was a practical accomplishment and the ranges of positions available to them widely acknowledged. The ranges of positions available to others, such as newcomers, however, were less widely acknowledged and sometimes became sites of struggle. The motives underlying disputed claims to descent group membership always seemed to be associated with claims to land. Such claims were made either on the grounds of the claimant having been adopted by a landholder or fathered by one. However, in Kuma, such disputes were rare and the land court minutes covering the years from 1956 to 1994 recorded only four claims to land based upon disputed adoption and paternity. It is, however, possible that a larger number of claims had been asserted but not taken to court for resolution.

In its embodiment of the network of consanguineal relationships within the village, the shape of the genealogical field was consistent with the possibilities, and impossibilities, for action in terms of the rights and responsibilities associated with shared kinship links. For example, parents holding a rite of passage feast for one of their children would

expect contributions of *ikaraoi* tubers from their consanguines, ranging from those with whom they shared descent from common level six ancestors. People sharing such descent were expected to interact in fulfilment of kinship obligations and were free to interact in terms of seeking assistance and sharing resources, tools and utensils. That freedom to act was reflected in their close social proximity to each other within the space of the genealogical field.

Their perceptions of the effects of the social distance within the space of the genealogical field were revealed by residents in their unprompted use of spatial metaphor in their references to "close" and "distant" kin (respectively, *utu ae kaan* and *utu ae raroa*). The effects of the structure of the genealogical space were clearly felt by residents and this was manifested in their interactions with one another: in whom any particular person felt comfortable about socialising with, borrowing from and seeking assistance from. The prospect of seeking assistance from non kin was accompanied by a feeling of revulsion deriving from the shame (*mamma*) associated with such a recourse. In those respects the effects of social distance seemed more keenly felt than those of physical distance and people would, if necessary, travel the length of the village to borrow something from kin which could have been borrowed with more physical convenience (but less social convenience) from a non kin neighbour.

The articulation of the genealogical field and physical space

Lineage, the form of symbolic capital by which the social space of the genealogical field was defined, had its counterpart in physical space as rights to real property in the forms of land, including some trees, and *babai* pits, including fresh water ponds (of which there were only two in Kuma). Consequently, the symbolic capital at stake in the social space was associated with physical capital in the form of rights to certain parts of the physical space. In order to understand the characteristics of any particular articulation of social and physical space it is necessary to examine the relationship between the pertinent symbolic capital and its physical counterpart(s). The articulation of social and physical space for which the genealogical field is the point of connection must therefore be examined with reference to the relationship between lineage and rights to land and *babai* pits. In this chapter the particular articulation which has been discussed is that associated with rights to *babai* pits. The relationship between lineage and land rights is the subject of Chapter Five and has not been discussed in detail here. However, it has been established that particular positions within the genealogical field were isomorphic with particular land rights and with that in mind it is possible at this point to analyze the articulation of the genealogical field with the physical space in terms of rights to both land and *babai* pits.

A qualitative difference has been identified between the social relationships based upon, respectively, shared land rights and rights to *babai* pits. Those based upon land rights were associated with stronger inter-kin obligations, rights and responsibilities than those based upon

babai pit rights. Yet the social relationships based upon *babai* pit rights were derived from more recent descent than those associated with land rights and it might have been thought that relationships based upon more recent descent would be more enduring than those based upon more distant descent. However, that was clearly not the case and the reason for it can be found in the difference between land and *babai* pit rights, the former being held collectively and the latter individually. The significance of this is that property rights which were shared among members of descent groups were isomorphic with kinship, while those held individually were not. In the case of shared rights, then, the relationship between social and physical space was close in the sense that the social capital residents possessed, by virtue of their descent from founders of particular descent groups constituting the genealogical field, had its equivalent capital in the physical space. That capital was in the form of shared rights to specific land plots, the rights to which had passed to contemporary residents through the founding ancestors of descent groups to which they belonged. Thus, when the capitals of both social and physical space were similarly shared, the articulation of social and physical space was direct because there was an equation between their respective capitals. In the case of the individual rights associated with *babai* pits, however, the respective capitals of social and physical space did not equate because although the social capital associated with descent from pit-holding ancestors was convertible into rights to *babai* pits, the converse did not apply. It did not apply because by being individualised, the pit rights were no longer shared, while the social capital associated with the descent from which the pit rights were derived did continue to be shared. Thus the individual rights to *babai* pits did not

provide the material reinforcement for consanguineal ties provided by shared land plot rights. This distinction seemed to be clear to residents as evidenced by the way their behaviour differed according to whether they were associating with each other on the basis of land rights or *babai* pit rights.

These distinctions between inter-kin behaviour, according to different material bases for social relationships, underline the view advanced in Chapter Two that people engage with their social and physical environments strategically and creatively, within the constraints of those environments. If it were the case, for example, that social action was determined entirely by the structure of the kinship network, it is unlikely that forms of association based upon rights to *babai* pits would be any less enduring than those based upon rights to Land plots. The qualitative difference between the two forms of association seemed to result from conscious, strategic decisions made by people after having balanced a number of material and affective considerations.

Summary

The genealogical field is the crucial dimension of the social space because consanguineal relationships regulate many social relationships and form the basis of the distribution of land-use rights. While the genealogical origins of Kuma lay between eleven and fourteen generations before the present, the basis of the contemporary field was much more recent. The genealogical field associated with Kuma was a

network of positions each of which represented a descent group whose membership was defined by shared descent from an ancestor couple who were the great grandparents of the group members who were mostly in the thirty to fifty age range, that is, five generations.

In constructing the field, the disposition of descent groups within it was determined by the relationships between them. Because descent and inheritance were reckoned ambilineally, people acquired descent group membership through both parents. The people occupying the level of descent which was used to define the descent groups were descended from at least four sets of great grandparents. Residents descended from grandparents who were half-siblings were differentiated from each other by being associated with another descent group and as a result some residents were linked to five descent groups. Not all residents could claim all their descent from Kuma ancestors and, consequently, many residents were linked to between one and three descent groups rather than the maximum four or five. A number of residents were recent settlers without consanguineal links within the village and they were not included in the genealogical field. A relationship existed between any two descent groups when they shared at least one member in common. As a result, the structure of the field was determined by affinal links which had been made by the members of preceding generations.

The spatial characteristics of the genealogical field could be represented visually as a series of eight zones, each of which was comprised of one or more descent groups. The zones were numbered from one to eight, from left to right. The first zone contained one descent

group of which nearly forty percent of the residents belonging to the field were members. The left hand side of the diagram of the field (Figure 4.1) represented the core in the sense that the average numbers of inter-descent group links were relatively higher there than it was to the right hand side of the field. There was a relationship between association with the former social status groups and position within the field and those with links to the former aristocracy were little represented in the core of the field, tending to be located in Zones three, four, five and eight.

The level of descent upon which the genealogical field was based was itself the basis for participation in rite of passage feasts known as *bo*. People sharing descent from common great grandparents were counted as close kin and expected to support each other's feasts by attending and each contributing a tuber of the superior *ikaraoi babai*. The members of the descent groups to which a particular person belonged were able to be approached by that person with requests for assistance, without the person feeling shamed. People so related were also more likely to socialise with one another than they were with others who were neither consanguines nor affines. Lower levels of descent were associated more with cooperation in daily economic activities than the ceremonialism of rites of passage.

While the reconstruction of the genealogical field in this study has been a highly conscious theoretical effort on my part, for the residents of Kuma who had received their primary socialisation there, knowledge

of the networks of potential relationships was a practical knowledge gained during immersion in the kin networks of their parents. People renewing links with the village after their descent group had been absent from Kuma for a generation or two made a conscious effort to find out the extent of their links to other groups represented there.

The effects of the social distance structuring the genealogical field were revealed in the distinctions drawn by people between kin and non kin and the implications of this for patterns of interaction among the residents. While the distribution of the symbolic capital associated with the field was seldom in doubt, it was occasionally contested in the course of struggle for position in the field. Such struggle was almost always associated with a claim to land rights.

The respectively collective and individual holding of rights to land and *babai* pits were associated with a qualitative difference in the social relationships which were based upon them. Collective land rights were associated with inter-kin ties which were more enduring than those based upon individually held rights to *babai* pits, despite the more recent descent upon which the latter were based.

Chapter Five

Land tenure

Introduction

The study of land tenure is concerned with systems of relationships between people and land (Crocombe, 1974:1), "to a multitude of reciprocal rights and duties that arise in relation to real property" (Lundsgaarde, 1974b:266-267). Lundsgaarde (1974b:267) suggests three questions which must be asked in relation to any particular tenure system. What parts of the physical environment are categorised as real property? What rights and duties are associated with each category? How are those rights and duties gained, held and lost? Such questions are fundamental to the central thesis of this study. They must be asked so that the social and physical environments to be examined can be delineated and the means by which they are brought into relationship can be understood.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw connections between the genealogical field of Kuma, which was the subject of Chapter Four, and the distribution of land use rights among village residents. The relationship between people and land is referred to in terms of rights rather than ownership because this more accurately represents the character of that relationship in Kiribati where fee simple ownership of land does not exist (Arnott, 1977:1; Lundsgaarde, 1974:vii). While people

might own rights to certain plots of land, they do not own the land itself. Although individual tenure is common in the islands to the south of Butaritari and Makin, the practice on Butaritari and Makin is for the rights to any particular plot of land to be shared, if not exercised, by a number of people, usually a group of siblings and their children. When people with no siblings inherit land rights they do not do so in fee simple, but in fee tail (Arnott, 1977:1), holding it in trust for their children. In recognition of that the sale or long-term leasing of land was subject to Land Court approval and one condition for the granting of such approval was that the landholder would have sufficient land remaining to meet the needs of his or her children.

In order to place the contemporary land tenure system in historical context this chapter outlines the characteristics of the pre-colonial system of land tenure on Butaritari and Makin and discusses the implications of the systems of descent and inheritance upon the distribution of land rights. Next is a discussion of the changes made to the pre-colonial system by the colonial administration which led to the system of land tenure which existed on Butaritari at the time of this study. The contemporary situation is then discussed with reference to the distribution of land use rights among the residents, households and descent groups with members resident in Kuma, using case studies to illustrate the range of landholding patterns found and the relationships between the location of descent groups in the genealogical field which was considered in Chapter Four and the characteristics of their landholdings.

The land associated with Kuma extended from the north-eastern end of the atoll for about 5.5 kilometres towards Keuea village and to the north of the village on seven uninhabited islets. All of that land was under legal tenure in the sense that the plots into which it was divided were identified in an official list of land plots and the distribution of rights to each plot indicated, but not detailed, in a register of landholders. The distribution of rights was indicated by the entry of the name of one person. In most cases the entry of the name was followed by reference to that person's siblings and sometimes by reference to the issue of some named person. However the distribution of rights was not further detailed in the register and the names of the siblings or the issue of the specified person were not entered. The details of how many people shared rights to particular plots may or may not have been known with certainty by the right holders themselves and any definitive judgement about the numbers and identities of those with rights was left to the Island Lands Court, whose members were chosen for their knowledge of the history of the lands and families in their village (Arnott, 1977:4). Those with rights to particular plots shared those rights over all of the plots as undivided shares (Arnott, 1977:4). Under the ambilineal system of descent which prevailed in Kiribati, shares in land rights were inherited by and through both males and females. Despite that, it was the practice in the southern islands of the group for sons to receive more land than their sisters. On Butaritari and Makin both received equal shares (Namai, 1987:33).

The land use rights with which this chapter is concerned are those which were indicated in the register of landholders and applied to the

plots defined in the list of land plots.¹ These rights applied principally to the coconut and breadfruit trees which were growing on the plots. In terms of other fruits of the land, use rights to all of the plots were available to all residents of the village. For example the fruit and timber of the pandanus was freely available for the taking from any land plot. The use of the various materials available on the land is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

The plots into which the land was divided were in the form of strips running from lagoon shore to ocean shore. The manner in which the land was subdivided was detailed in *The Lands List* which listed and numbered the lands on Butaritari starting from the Kuma end of the atoll. The primary subdivisions were named strips of various widths ranging from approximately seven to 105 metres with an approximate mean width of about forty two metres.² Ninety two different names were applied to 144 distinct numbered subdivisions, with some names being shared by several subdivisions. With three exceptions (Land numbers 47, 72 and 121) each distinct subdivision was further divided. In all but nine cases, each was divided into at least three further sections, with the nine exceptions divided into two. Those subdivisions were made on the basis of the three major status levels³ which used to be a central

¹ See Chapter Three for a discussion of the official land records referred to in this study.

² Two to thirty *eka*, with a mean of twelve.

³ The term status level is used in preference to class in order to avoid confusion between social divisions in a nonindustrial kin society and those in industrial market dominated societies to which the concept of class is usually applied. This distinction is made by Sahlins (1958:2-3).

feature of the Butaritari-Makin social system. Those were *uea*, referring to the High Chief and his children, *toka*, the aristocrats, who were descendants of a recent High Chief's younger siblings (Lambert, 1963:49)⁴ and *tabonibai* or *taan i makuri*, the commoners, who worked on the land of the High Chief. *Tabonibai* means finger or fingers and *taan i makuri* means workers, but with the decline of the chiefly system those now demeaning terms were replaced by the more honourable term *rorobuaka*, which means warrior.

Aspects of the pre-colonial system of land tenure

Under the pre-colonial system of land tenure, the High Chief held supreme rights over all land: both aristocratic and commoner families derived their rights to particular plots of land from the High Chief. In return for granting such rights the High Chief received periodic ceremonial gifts of food from both aristocrats and commoners. This food was grown by the commoners and conveyed to the High Chief by the aristocrats. The rights to land granted to a particular person were inherited by that person's descendants and that person became the founder of what Lambert (1971:149) terms a landholding non-exclusive ambilineal descent group. Such groups were non-exclusive because membership of one of the several potentially available to a person in an

⁴ Families could lose their aristocratic status when the High Chief who was either the High Chief who had established their aristocratic status or the descendent of the one who had been deposed in war. The members of these families became commoners, being replaced by aristocratic families deriving their status from the new High Chief.

ambilineal descent system did not preclude membership of others. The children of the founder would also belong to the landholding descent group with which their other parent was associated.

Membership of descent groups can be controlled by the application of criteria for inclusion in, or exclusion from, the group so that only some of the founder's descendants are included. One criterion is based upon the unilinear principle which requires that membership of the group is only acquired by the children of existing members who are of one particular sex. When the defining sex is male, the system is patrilineal and when the defining sex is female, the system is matrilineal. Ambilineal descent is a form of nonunilinear descent which, in its most unqualified form, can lead to the formation of descent groups which are open to all descendants of the founding ancestor whatever their sex or the sex of their ascendants in the line to the founder. Under ambilineal descent it is possible, in principle, for people to claim membership of any descent groups from the founding ancestors of which they can trace descent, while under unilinear descent people can only claim membership of the descent group from whose founder they can trace descent through either the male or female lines.

Under unilinear descent the automatic exclusion of the children of either the female or male descendants of the founder is an effective mechanism for limiting the growth of group membership in each generation. The potential for the exponential growth of nonunilinear descent groups can be checked by qualifying membership in various ways other than on the basis of descent. For example, group

membership can be made conditional upon eligibility to inherit rights to land or other property originating with the founding ancestor, so that only those descendants who are eligible to inherit those rights may claim membership of the descent group. Under that criterion inheritance might be patrilineal or matrilineal or bilineal.

A further criterion is for membership to be linked with residence so that only the children of those members who, following marriage, continue to reside in the locality or on the lands associated with the descent group, retain membership. Under such a criterion people who leave the locality of the descent group within which they have grown up to reside in the locality associated with the descent group of their spouse, would become excluded from membership of their original descent group as would their children, who would acquire membership of the group associated with their other parent, in whose locality they reside. Under this criterion, when residence is virilocal children acquire group membership only through their fathers, when uxorilocal only through their mothers and when bilocal through either their mothers or fathers, but not both. Finally, membership can be optative with people deciding themselves whether they will reside in their fathers' localities or their mothers'.

Under the pre-colonial system of land tenure the expansion of descent groups was constrained by residence criteria according to which the rights enjoyed by group members to particular lands or groups of lands varied according to whether or not they lived on and worked those lands. Because descent and land inheritance were ambilineal there was a

strong tendency, with the passage of generations, for both the members of the landholding descent group associated with any particular land plot and the land plots associated with succeeding landholding descent groups, to become increasingly scattered over the atoll. This was so because even though the land rights originally granted to a man might have been to lands which were close to each other within the vicinity of his village, the incest prohibitions made it likely that his spouse would be from a different village. In that case their children would be affiliated to two landholding groups, each with lands in a different part of the atoll. Their grandchildren would be affiliated with four landholding groups and associated with lands potentially more geographically dispersed than those of their parents.

In practice people worked those of their lands which were close to them, while their other, distant, lands were worked by their fellow landholding group members who lived closer to those lands. The relationships between people and the lands they worked were closer than their relationships with lands worked by other family members. Lambert (1971:148) applied Goodenough's (1966:38-42) distinction between provisional and residual titleholders to the two groups of people by describing those who worked a particular land as its provisional owners and their relatives who had rights to it, but worked other lands, as its residual owners. Those with residual rights to one or several plots would often have provisional rights to others, and vice versa. Those with only residual rights would have included people resident on plots to which their spouses had provisional rights. In view of the tendency for residence to be virilocal it was probably the case that the descendants

of female members of descent groups became disaffiliated at a greater rate than the descendants of males. The provisional owners functioned as caretakers of part of the landholding group's property and maintained their position by entertaining and feeding visiting residual owners.

The relationship between commoners and aristocrats on the land was similar to the relationship between provisional and residual landholding kin, with the commoners in the position of provisional titleholders and the aristocrats in the position of residual titleholders, because the commoners had primary responsibility for working the land and the aristocrats had privileges relating to the receipt of food and hospitality from the commoners. In addition, the aristocrats were not responsible for the cultivation of *babai* and, if they needed coconut land, borrowed it from the commoners, indicating that the commoners' claim to the land preceded that of the aristocrats' (Lambert, 1963:49 and 54).

Kin living away from the family lands could preserve their relationships with the provisional owners by attending and contributing to their rite of passage feasts. Kin living elsewhere could also retain ownership rights by returning periodically to cultivate their share of the *babai* pit. Failure on the part of absent kin to preserve their residual rights would result in those rights lapsing after several generations and the provisional rights of the resident kin becoming permanent. The obligations associated with group membership, and descent group membership was always associated with land rights, could become irksome, if not unmanageable, as a group expanded, both numerically and geographically and this provided a basis for the fission of descent groups as people disaffiliated

by renouncing their residual rights through neglect of their family responsibilities. Disaffiliation from a commoner descent group could also be undertaken for other reasons such as sibling rivalry and antagonism, and as a strategy to reinforce aristocratic status acquired through one branch of a family by renouncing membership and all land rights in a commoner branch of the family (Lambert, 1963:282).

Under the pre-colonial system, then, the rights enjoyed by members of the three social strata over any particular land plot on Butaritari or Makin were exercised over the whole of that plot. Under the pre-colonial system the total land mass was divided into individual named plots, running across the land from lagoon to ocean, which were not further subdivided in the way they are today.

The development of the contemporary system of land tenure

The contemporary system, under which each named strip was subdivided into sections which corresponded to the three now defunct social strata, originated in 1922 when the first Lands Commissioner in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Arthur Grimble, moved to reform the Butaritari and Makin customs of tribute payment to the High Chief and prepare for the introduction there of the system of individual land ownership which prevailed on the other islands of the Gilbert group.

The first stage in this reform was for the High Chief to be allocated one quarter of almost every piece of land on Butaritari and Makin.

(Lands which had already been alienated by foreigners prior to 1917, when it became illegal for non-I-Kiribati to obtain ownership of land in the Gilbert Islands (Arnott, 1977:8) were not included in this allocation and of the three Kuma lands which had not been subjected to status level-based divisions, two were known to have been owned by a European, Thomas Murphy, whose son Are Mobe (Harry Murphy) was registered as their owner in 1956). The remaining three quarters of each plot was allocated to the aristocrats and commoners customarily associated with it. Prior to the reforms of 1922 "the high Chief retained unrestricted control over his lands and could dismiss a Toka (*sic*) or Tabonibai (*sic*) at will. Since 1922 there has been no suggestion that he exercised any powers over any lands except his 'quarters'" (Cartland, 1953:3). The practice of taking food to the High Chief, although discouraged by early colonial administrative officers and the first Resident Commissioner, W. T. Campbell⁵, "appears to have survived until the Grimble settlement of 1922 and even later, but the High Chief had no direct means of enforcing such gifts" (Cartland, 1953:3).

Each land plot was associated with particular commoner and aristocrat decent groups and people's rights to particular lands were determined by their membership of the appropriate descent group. This membership was recorded in the Family Papers (*Beba n utu*) compiled on Grimble's initiative to provide administratively convenient written records of land ownership. The circumstances surrounding the preparation of those lists and the sources of the confusions which surrounded them were succinctly outlined by Cartland (1953:8) who is quoted in full, below.

⁵ Campbell held the post from 1895 to 1909 (Macdonald, 1982).

During the course of Mr Grimble's Commission a family or "utu" (*sic*) paper was prepared by the landowners in which they indicated those islanders, usually distant relatives, whom they were prepared to allow to feed off their lands when such parties were in the district. It was also suggested that such papers, which were prepared in the villages and not checked by the Commission, gave an indication of those parties in whose lands the preparers of the papers considered they had an interest should [the] owner die without issue [*mwiin iti*]. Whatever the true meaning of the paper it has caused the greatest confusion throughout the years. However the paper as evidence of ownership was rejected without reservation by the Commission both at Butaritari and Makin. Unfortunately some 10 years or so after the 1922 settlement the paper was misinterpreted by an Administrative Officer who admitted people on the family paper at Butaritari to the same rights on the lands as the true owners. The writings of both Messrs Maude and Cowell confirm the ruling by the Commissions at both Butaritari and Makin that the family paper conferred no rights of ownership. At Butaritari the Elders stated that in so far as land rights were in question "utu" (*sic*) meant all direct descendants of the person who last held the land as an individual.

The two sources of confusion seem to have been associated with the inclusion of what is termed the *mwiin iti* interest in land plots and the names of kin with rights to use land plots while visiting. The *mwiin iti* interest referred to the possibility that a person or group of lineal kin could gain rights to land plots following the death without issue of a person who was their collateral kin. The inclusion of people with occasional rights to use land plots seemed to be in recognition of the pre-colonial distinction between what Lambert, above, referred to as provisional and residual rights. The settlement of 1922 was understood by Grimble and the people of Butaritari and Makin to be an interim measure and there was an expectation on the part of the people that there would be a further Commission to complete the settlement (Cartland, 1953:5). It was nearly 30 years before the final Lands

Commission began its work there in 1951. During the intervening period there had been no division of landholdings and the numbers of people with rights to any particular plot had increased considerably (Cartland, 1953:8).

The reforms initiated by Grimble combined with the misunderstanding of the nature of the family papers changed the pre-colonial pattern of land tenure by removing the incentive for people with residual rights to disaffiliate through the customary mechanism for limiting descent group size, which linked land use rights to residence. That was compounded by the post-contact creation of a market for copra which created a demand for coconut, and hence coconut growing land, which had not previously existed. The land reforms and the coincident market for copra effectively removed the incentive for descent group disaffiliation. The reforms gave all descendants of a descent group founder equal access to all lands associated with the group and residence on the lands concerned no longer gave special rights (Lambert, 1963:137). Also, the land reforms rendered all lands equally valuable to their holders because the status of all landholders, as landholders, became equal with the removal of obligations between the three status levels, lessening the incentive for people to disaffiliate from lands which might previously have been associated with low social status. People were thus able to retain rights to lands which they would previously have lost eventually. They were able to retain these rights without the need to fulfil the obligations they had been required to in the past. Furthermore the addition of a money economy to the traditional subsistence economy provided a powerful incentive for people not to renounce rights to lands on which

coconut trees grew because copra provided their principal source of money income.

In 1951 work began to divide the land plots on Butaritari and Makin between the people who shared rights to them, rights which had proliferated in the years since 1922 (Cartland, 1953:8). It was intended, wherever possible, to carry out the divisions without fragmentation of land holdings and with the agreement of the land right holders concerned (Cartland, 1953:5). This work continued until 1956 when the three quarters of each plot shared by commoners and aristocrats was divided equally between them. The Commission hearings were held in Butaritari village. The villagers had been given the option of having claims heard in their village *maneaba* or going to the Government Station located at Butaritari village and they chose the latter (Cartland, 1953:18). Following this settlement only six plots remained under the ownership of groups larger than one group of siblings. (The six exceptions were not in the Kuma area and do not feature in this study.) The ownership of each plot was indicated in the Lands List and Lands Registers with the name of a person, sometimes living, sometimes not, which was followed by a column in which encumbrances on the land were recorded. In most cases this column contains reference to the siblings of the person named. When the person named had siblings of both sexes, that was indicated by the letters "mtmm", which stood for *ma tarina ma manena* (with brothers and sisters or with sisters and brothers, depending upon the sex of the person named in the register). When the person named had siblings of only one sex, that was indicated with either the letters "mt", which stood for *ma tarina* (with siblings of the

same sex as the person named in the register), or the letters "mm", which stood for *ma manena* (with siblings of the opposite sex to the person named in the register). In other words although a number of lands which were once registered under the name of one person might now be registered under the names of several of that person's children, their children, the grandchildren of the original person, still shared joint use of those lands with their matrilineal and/or patrilineal cross and/or parallel cousins. In some cases land was registered under a person's name without reference to their siblings and in those cases only that person's children enjoyed rights to that land.

The attempt by the 1956 Lands Commission to minimise the fragmentation of land plots was effective at the village level rather than the island level: plots owned by particular landowning groups were consolidated as much as possible within the boundaries of the named lands of which they were part. However, at the island level particular landholdings remained fragmented and most people on Butaritari and Makin had rights to land plots scattered over both islands.

The size of each plot was designated in what were known as *eka*, a term derived from the English acre, but not its equivalent. *Eka* was a rule of thumb measure of land area devised by the first Lands Commission in 1922 and based on the area of a *maneaba* or large village meeting house (Namai, 1987:34). According to a senior official in the Kiribati Lands and Survey Division the *eka* was now regarded as an indication of land width rather than area. He illustrated this by noting that when narrow lands were subdivided, the division was often made in the

centre of the island so that one plot ran from lagoon to centre and the other from centre to ocean. In those cases the two resultant plots were recorded as each having the same number of *eka* as the land had before being divided in two, which was only true if it was the width that was being indicated rather than the area. Cartland (1953:14) spoke in terms of the English-half acre having been adopted as a unit of measure by the old men of the Butaritari Lands Commission, of which he was Chief Lands Commissioner. But he gave no indication of how those areas were measured and the areas given in the land records are not considered to be sufficiently accurate to provide a basis for the determination of land taxes, which are simply levied on a per plot basis.

With the removal of pre-colonial mechanisms and incentives for people to disaffiliate from descent groups new mechanisms were developed and applied to regulate the access of increasing numbers of people to individual lands for the purpose of collecting coconuts for copra production. The primary mechanism devised to achieve this was to regulate the use rights to particular lands of the people registered as owners and their descendants by allocating groups of people turns to collect nuts from those lands. Turns were allocated on a weekly, monthly or annual basis depending upon the numbers of land plots and the numbers of people involved. For example in the hypothetical case of two siblings being registered as owners of four lands the turns were likely to be annual, with each sibling, or his or her descendants, using two of the lands for one year and then swapping for the following year. The descendants of the siblings registered on the land would, if necessary, allocate weekly or monthly turns among themselves to the particular

lands they were using in any year. In the hypothetical case of four siblings being registered to one land the turns were likely to be weekly to ensure that each sibling or his or her descendants were able to collect nuts for at least one week in four. The allocation of turns followed genealogical divisions irrespective of the relative numbers of people associated with these divisions. This meant, for example, that if two siblings were involved, one having thirty descendants and the other ten, the thirty would share between them the same amount of land as that shared between the ten (Lambert, 1963:288).

Prior to colonisation, and the changes to the system of land tenure which have just been discussed, the provisional landholding descent groups were the foci of both residence and economic activity. The members of the provisional landholding segments of descent groups lived together on their village land in a communal house called the *umatoro*. Those households and the sites they occupied were known as *kainga* (Lambert, 1971:151-152). That pattern of residence began to change in the early 20th century when the colonial government no longer allowed people to live in scattered *kainga* hamlets and required them to live within defined village boundaries (Macdonald, 1982:205). Knowledge of the *kainga* once associated with Kuma was hazy in the minds of contemporary residents, however, three of the oldest male informants agreed with each other that there had been three distinct *kainga*, the primary one being named Buariki and the other two Tewiwi and Tebunimane, all of which were names of plots of land within the village boundaries. According to Cartland (1953:3) a *kainga* was a number of plots grouped under an aristocrat and whose residents would present

produce to the High Chief as a group. However, the plots and aristocrat and commoner descent groups within the *kainga* apparently retained their separate identities. Those changes resulted in the primary unit of economic activity changing from the landholding descent group to the much smaller nuclear household.

The distribution of land use rights in contemporary Kuma

This section of the chapter will discuss the contemporary pattern of landholdings and land use in the area associated with Kuma. This discussion will begin with an analysis of the distribution of land plots among the individual residents of Kuma, among the households of the village and among the descent groups.

The distribution of land among those individual residents of Kuma with rights to land is summarised in Table 5.1. This table shows that the area of land available to any one person in the village ranges from 0.07 *eka* to 16.72 *eka*, with 58 percent having access to less than 2 *eka*, 27 percent to between 2 and 6 and the remaining 15 percent to between 6 and 16.72 *eka*. The six people counted as land users in the first row of Table 5.1 were people with ancestral links to Kuma, but without land rights there.

The distribution of land among households with members having land rights is summarised in Table 5.2. The households of government and

church workers are not included in this distribution because none of their members had land rights in the village.

Table 5.1. The distribution of land among Kuma residents.

Size ranges in <i>eka</i>	No.land users	% of land users
0	6	1.81
0.07 -- 0.99	93	28.10
1.00 -- 1.99	97	29.31
2.00 -- 2.99	28	8.46
3.00 -- 3.99	14	4.23
4.00 -- 4.99	23	6.95
5.00 -- 5.99	22	6.65
6.00 -- 6.99	8	2.42
7.00 -- 7.99	8	2.42
8.00 -- 8.99	4	1.21
9.00 -- 9.99	2	0.60
10.00 - 10.99	11	3.32
11.00 - 11.99	7	2.11
12.00 - 12.99	2	0.60
13.00 - 13.99	0	0.00
14.00 - 14.99	1	0.30
15.00 - 15.99	0	0.00
16.00 - 16.72	5	1.51
Total	331	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Table 5.2. The distribution of land among households.

Land area range	Number of households	Percentage of households	Cumulative percentage
0.58 -- .9	2	3.03	3.03
1 -- 5	27	40.91	43.94
6 --10	9	13.64	57.58
11 - 15	7	10.61	68.19
16 - 20	4	6.06	74.25
21 - 25	5	7.58	81.83
26 - 30	3	4.55	86.38
31 - 35	2	3.03	89.41
36 - 40	1	1.52	90.93
41 - 45	2	3.03	93.96
46 - 50	0	0.00	93.96
51 - 55	1	1.52	95.48
56 - 60	0	0.00	95.48
61 - 65	1	1.52	97.00
66 - 70	1	1.52	98.52
70 -100	0	0.00	98.52
111.73	1	1.52	100.00
	66	100.00	

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Table 5.2 shows that nearly 44 percent of households have 5 or less *eka* available to their members, about 30 percent have between 6 and 20 and nearly 26 percent have more than 20 *eka*. All except five households have *toka* land included in the plots available to them, however, the ratio of *toka* plots to *rorobuaka* plots is mostly low, with a mean of 0.64 and a range of 11.97. Of the 11 households with ratios

exceeding 0.8 9 are among the 14 households having access to 25 or more *eka*.

Dividing the land available to each household by the numbers of people in each provides another indication of the distribution of land and enables allowance to be made for the tendency of total land available to a household to increase with the numbers of household members having rights to land. The information on which this discussion is based is drawn from Appendix One. Allowing for the numbers of people in each household does not alter the pattern of association between ratio of *toka* to *rorobuaka* plots referred to above and the amount of land available to either the household as a unit or its individual members. However it does account for the presence among the category of households having access to 25 or more *eka* of one household in the village which had a low ratio of *toka* to *rorobuaka* plots. That household, with 20 members, was the most populous in the village and when it is compared with other households having similar ratios of *toka* to *rorobuaka* plots, indicating association with the former commoner social status group. The amount of land available to its members was similar to that available to the members of those other households, also. Of the other four households in the 25 *eka* and above category with low *toka* to *rorobuaka* ratios, three can be accounted for by the fact that their members had few fellow descent group members resident in the village to share the land with. The fifth such household owed its land wealth to several large blocks of land inherited by its senior male member as a result of his adoptive link to the son of a European trader who purchased land early this century before the alienation of land by foreigners became illegal.

There is then some relationship between people's ancestral connections with the former social status levels and the amount of land available to them. Given that aristocrats and commoners shared equally in the land the reasons for the apparent contemporary inequality are likely to be demographic. Of course one might expect that the numbers of commoners would exceed the numbers of aristocrats. That was the case prior to 1922, before which time intermarriage between commoners and aristocrats was not permitted, but the intermarriage which occurred subsequently was such that the numbers of aristocrats and commoners were about equal by the early nineteen fifties because the children of mixed marriages were "generally regarded as Toka (*sic*)" (Cartland, 1953:2). The major demographic factor is to do with residence and the marked tendency for the aristocrats on Butaritari atoll to be concentrated in Butaritari village (Sewell, 1983:81), the principal village on the island and the seat of the former High Chief. That tendency was also noted by Cartland when he visited Kuma in 1953 and suggested that the lands there were so well kept "presumably because the toka (*sic.*) all live at B'tari [Butaritari] Village and the workers [commoners] have not been so molested" (Cartland, KNA 29/IV/11 page 108). The persistence of that tendency is indicated by the fact that the numbers of connections between village residents and *rorobuaka* land were three times their numbers of connections with *toka* land.⁶

⁶ It is necessary to speak here in terms of numbers of connections rather than people because people are not necessarily connected exclusively to either *toka* or *rorobuaka* land, but in some cases to both. One person-connection was defined as the right possessed by one person to one plot of land. The numbers of people-connections to *rorobuaka* land were 6,299 and the numbers of connections to *toka* land were 1,980.

In addition to the land plots to which people resident in Kuma had rights there were a number to which they did not because the people with rights to them lived elsewhere. There were 299 of those plots, the majority of which, 142, were King's quarters, 39 *toka* plots and 48 *rorobuaka* plots. It is interesting that the *rorobuaka* plots outnumbered the *toka* plots because, given that *rorobuaka* land rights exceeded *toka* land rights by a factor of three, it might be expected that the number of vacant *toka* plots would have exceeded the number of vacant *rorobuaka* plots. Most of the *rorobuaka* land plots to which people resident in Kuma at the time of the study did not have rights were registered under the names of people whose recorded places of residence were other than Kuma. The breakdown of places of recorded residence and numbers of people registered with rights to Kuma lands is given below in Table 5.3, which shows that at least 20 of the 28 people were not Kuma residents.

Table 5.3. Recorded places of residence of absentee landholders.

Residence	Number of people	Percentage
Butaritari	11	39.29
Ukiangang	4	14.29
Keuea	2	7.14
Kiebu	2	7.14
Makin	1	3.57
Kuma	2	7.14
Unrecorded	6	21.43
Total	28	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

None of these people, nor their descendants, were interviewed and it is not possible to say with authority why none of them are resident in Kuma. However, as Appendix Two, shows, the numbers of plots involved per person were small, ranging from one to four with an average of 1.75 compared with the overall range for *rorobuaka* plots of 1 to 11 with an average of 2.43 and for *toka* plots of 1 to 29 with an average of 2.67.

Details of the complete landholdings of three of these people were obtained during the fieldwork and the total number of plots associated with those people are shown in parentheses following the number of plots they have in Kuma. In each of these cases the Kuma land plots were fewer than the non-Kuma plots, the latter being close to the villages they were recorded as resident in. In the case of Nei Burentuea Tongatu who was resident in the village of Keuea five of her eight land plots were in the vicinity of Keuea. Of the three in the vicinity of Kuma two were within the Kuma village boundaries and the third, which was close to the boundary between the Kuma and Keuea lands, was transferred to her father in 1960 (KNA 4(6)/II/37 case No. 28/60) and subsequently sold by him for 60 pounds in 1965 (KNA 4(6)/II/37 case No. 43/65). For a member of this family, residence in Kuma would only be attractive if his or her spouse had land there, because the village plots, while useful for residence, would not provide a source of economic livelihood on their own. In the cases of both Nan Burentarawa Kakiatu and Nan Bwebweata Ienraoi, the majority of their land plots were in the vicinity of Butaritari village where they were resident. Their Kuma land plots were very distant from Butaritari village, small in number and almost all within the village boundaries.

As noted above, 142 of the 229 plots associated with absentee owners were King's quarters. At least one of these was used by a person on the grounds that an ancestor of his had adopted a child of a High Chief and received rights to collect coconuts from one of the High Chief's plots. There might have been other case like that which I was not aware of. However the King's quarters are predominantly unused and neglected. The one person resident in Kuma with rights to *uea* land, Nan Tiebaba, had those rights to only four plots. These were registered in the name of his older sister, Nei Kammamma, and her siblings. All people spoken to, except Nan Tiebaba, felt that the *uea* lands should have been transferred to the commoners and aristocrats with rights to the remaining three quarters of each plot when the institution of High Chief was terminated. The transfer of rights from the High Chief to his siblings and children had been opposed until threats of retaliatory sorcery muted the opposition. The transfer of those rights was opposed because it gave the *uea* plots the same status as all other land and ended the possibility that they might be redistributed. The attempt to have the *uea* lands returned to the people is further discussed in Chapter Six. At present the *uea* plots seem to be subject to a degree of squeezing as adjoining landowners encroach on them from either side.

The relationship between landholding and the former social strata can be further illustrated by reference to Table 5.4 which shows the distribution of land among the zones of the genealogical space represented by Figure 4.1 and discussed in Chapter Four. Also shown in Table 5.4 is the distribution of *rorobuaka*, *toka* and *uea* land plots among the zones of the genealogical space. Table 5.4 shows that

Table 5.4. Distribution of land, landholders and former social strata among the zones of the genealogical field.

Zone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Land area available to people in each zone	67.5	240.5	217.5	270	67	35	1	186
Number of people in the zone with land rights ¹	131	204	113	64	32	32	14	63
Land area per person in <i>eka</i>	0.51	1.18	1.93	4.22	2.09	1.09	0.07	2.95
Number of Commoner (<i>R</i>) plots	18	70	25	15	4	9	1	37
Number of Aristocrat (<i>T</i>) plots	1	3	42	64	16	1	0	16
Number of High Chief (<i>U</i>) plots	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Number of unspecified (<i>O</i>) plots	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Ratio of <i>R</i> plots to <i>T</i> and <i>U</i> plots	18	23.33	0.59	0.25	0.25	9	0	2.3
Average number of inter-descent group links	19	7.5	5	4.2	5.2	5.3	4	

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

¹ Because of the multiple descent group membership enjoyed by many residents, the name of any particular person can appear more than once in a particular zone of the genealogical field. However, each person in any particular zone has been counted only once to obtain the totals given in this row.

concentrations of people to land are highest in zones one and two and decrease from zones three to seven. The ratio of people to land area consequently decreased at the same time as the average numbers of inter-descent group links decreased and inequalities of land distribution were particularly evident between people located in zones one, two, six and seven and those located in zones three, four and five. This trend was also found in the ratios of *rorobuaka* plots to *toka* and *uea* plots shown in the penultimate row of Table 5.4. A high ratio of *rorobuaka* to *toka* and *uea* plots was associated with relatively high concentrations of people to land while a low ratio of *rorobuaka* to *toka* and *uea* plots was associated with relatively low concentrations of people to land. It follows from this that the inequalities between people in terms of land distribution were associated with their relationship to the former social strata, with those people having rights to more *toka* land plots tending to have more land available to them than people with less or no *toka* plots available to them. The clusters of descent groups in zone eight were unconnected to each other as well as to the descent groups shown in zones one to seven and their genealogical marginality was reflected in the land available per person for these groups as a whole, even though the ratio of *rorobuaka* to *toka* and *uea* plots, at 2.3, was not particularly low. Appendix Three contains data about the distribution of people, land area and plots associated with the former social status groups among the descent groups in the village.

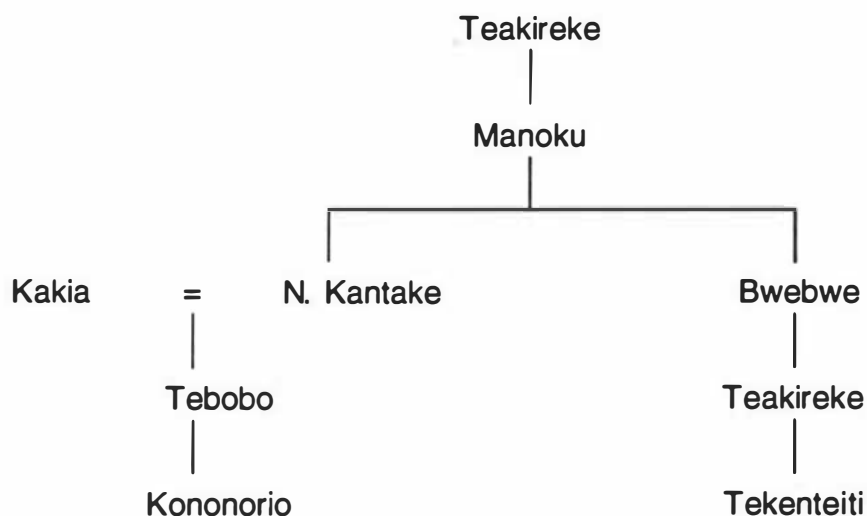
In one sense that pattern of inequality might seem unsurprising given that it was those associated with the former aristocratic status group who had more land per person than those associated with the former

commoner status group. However, it is surprising in view of the way in which the Lands Commission divided three quarters of each named land plot equally between the commoners and aristocrats. The reason for the inequality in Kuma was associated with the concentration of former aristocrats in Butaritari village, far from Kuma, which was discussed above. The less central location of those with connections to *toka* and *uea* plots is also related to the tendency for such descent groups not to have had members resident in Kuma continuously, during the past few generations at least. That characteristic of discontinuous residence applied also to those peripheral descent groups with mainly or only commoner affiliations. In the following paragraphs some examples of this will be discussed.

Nan Kononorio was one person who has taken residence in the village, having moved from Makin and resumed his descent groups' links with their Kuma lands. The Kuma land associated with one of the descent groups to which Nan Kononorio belonged was one six *eka toka* plot which was one of two plots registered in the name of his patrilineal grandfather, Nan Kakia Maake, during the Lands Commission hearings in 1956 (KNA 4(6)/II/6 land case No. 27/56). The second plot was in the vicinity of Butaritari Village. Nan Kakia himself was resident in Makin at the time and represented at the hearing by Nei Moanibure, possibly his sister. There does not seem to have been a continuous residence in Kuma of that descent group's members and Nan Kononorio himself associated all of his father's line with Makin island and Butaritari village. The only relative on his father's side resident in Kuma was Nan Teakireke, a first cousin of Kononorio's father, Nan Tebobo, see Figure

5.1, below. Nan Teakireke and Nan Tebobo shared rights to thirteen plots, Nan Teakireke through his father, Nan Bwebwe, and Nan Tebobo through his mother, Nei Kantaake. There was no formal arrangement for the use of these lands and both Teakireke and Kononorio practised what was known as *te kaunwae* (literally "competing feet") which meant they gathered nuts on a first come, first served, basis. The plot registered in the name of Nan Kaka Maake to which Kononorio had rights was not shared with Teakireke because it came to Kononorio through his paternal grandfather, while his link to Nan Teakireke was through his paternal grandmother, Nei Kantaake. Nan Teakireke as Nei Kantaake's collateral kin could only have gained a share of Nan Kaka's land rights if his brother, Nan Tebobo had died without issue.

Figure 5.1. The shared descent of Nan Teakireke and Nan Kononorio.



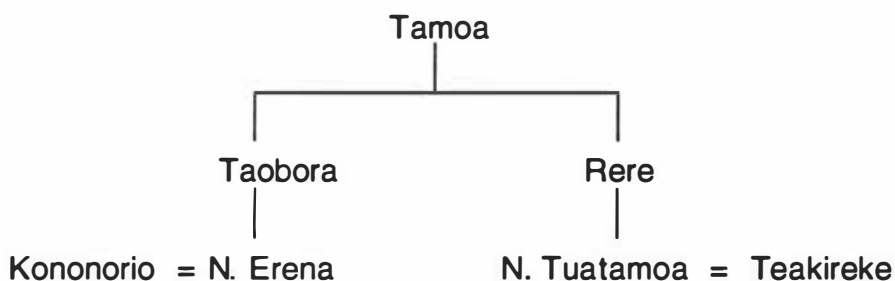
Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Nan Kononorio explained his decision to reside in Kuma by reference to his marriage to Nei Erena Taobora, who belonged to families long resident with Kuma. In view of the tendency for residence to be virilocal in Kiribati generally it seems unlikely that this would be a primary reason for moving to Kuma and the relatively underutilised land rights he had there was likely to have been a factor rather than have his wife move to Makin. However, Nan Kononorio's explanation can be given more weight in light of the fact that the wives of Nan Kononorio and Nan Teakireke were first cousins through their fathers, as shown in Figure 5.2., below. This only became apparent after I had left the field and I was unable to find out whether this situation was one of accident or design. However, whether intentional or not, such arrangements countered the tendency for landholdings to become increasingly dispersed from generation to generation as previously unconnected descent lines become linked by marriage. If, for example, Nan Kononorio and Nan Teakireke had married women who were not related, the numbers of people gaining rights to their land plots would have tended to be greater than was the case because they would have entered into relationship with two separate descent groups instead of one. The effect of marrying cousins, whether intentionally or not, was to consolidate their landholdings and the landholdings of the descent group they married into.

Another person with rights to *toka* land plots in the Kuma area who had taken up residence in Kuma for the purpose of using those plots was Nan Kaburoro. Kaburoro's wife belonged to long established Kuma commoner descent groups, while Nan Kaburoro himself was related to only one other village resident, Nan Tiebaba. Apart from three plots

totalling nine *eka* shared with Nan Tiebaba, Nan Kaburoro had rights to ten plots totalling 33 *eka* which he shared with no one resident in Kuma. Nan Tiebaba, who had himself moved to Kuma from Makin, was a son of Nan Uraura, the last High Chief of Butaritari and Makin. Nan Tiebaba had rights to four *uea* land plots totalling 12 *eka* in addition to seven *toka* plots totalling 29 *eka* which he inherited through his mother, three of which he shared with Nan Kaburoro and four of which he shared with Nan Nawi, another person with *toka* land rights who had moved to Kuma from Makin.

Figure 5.2. The shared descent of the wives of Nan Teakireke and Nan Kononorio.



Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

The largest group of people sharing rights to *toka* plots were the members of descent group number 83. The plots available to these people have been divided between them as shown in Appendix Four. That division was for the purpose of using the plots to collect coconuts from and the plots all remain registered under the name of Nei Motibure

(see Appendixes Four and Nine) and her sister, Nei Tiima. (The geographical locations of their plots is indicated in Appendix Eleven.) Any future judicial division of these plots would probably follow this informal division as the Land Courts tend to ask interested parties for their views on the manner in which plots should be distributed in cases which come before them. This allocation of plots followed the principle, noted by Lambert (1966:288) and referred to earlier, that such divisions followed genealogical divisions. In this case the plots available were divided approximately equally between the children of the siblings whose rights to those plots were registered by the Lands Court. The plots allocated to each of the children of those siblings were passed to their children irrespective of whether or not they had equal numbers of children. In this case it can be seen in Appendix Four that Nei Rabunaieta's share of the division is shared by two people, the half-siblings Nan Iaontamoā and Nei Tiima II. The cousins of Nan Iaontamoā and Nei Tiima II, on the other hand, each have sole access to the plots allotted to their parents because in each case they have no siblings resident in Kuma. Should, for example, the sister of Nan Koririntetaake II, Nei Makarite, return from Tarawa to live in Kuma, she would share with him the plots allotted to their mother, Nei Bwebwenraoi.

The single descent group with rights to the largest number of *toka* land plots was descent group number 94 which was associated with 61 plots totalling 148 *eka*. Following the 1956 Lands Commission hearings the rights to these plots were all registered with Nan Tibau Uataake and his sister Nei Tokanimango. Two of Nan Tibau's children, Nei Kakiabwere and Nan Kiritanuea were adopted by Nei Tokanimango and

her husband Nan Kuriba. In 1977 (KNA 4(6)/II/42, Minute Book 8, Land case 73/77) each of these plots, with one exception, was divided between Nei Tokanimango and Nan Tibau. Nei Tokanimango died in 1979 (her death occurred during my first visit to Kuma in a completely different capacity and I attended her funeral) and in 1987 the rights to her plots were registered with Nan Kiritanuea (Land Court Minute Book 13 Land case 82/87). The rights to the plots which remained under the name of Nan Tibau were exercised by his daughter and Nan Kiritanuea's sister, Nei Kakiabwere. Nan Kiritanuea lived on Makin while I was conducting fieldwork and his plots were used by his daughter Nei Tokontetaake and her husband Nan Bi, who was from Ukiangang village and without land rights of his own in Kuma. Nei Kakiabwere was very old and her plots were worked by her adopted son, Nan Taute, whose biological mother was Nei Kakiabwere's sister Nei Ketia.

An exception to the tendency of people whose land rights were predominantly to *toka* plots to be located away from the centre of the genealogical space is Nei Takineman who belonged, through her father who was from Ukiangang village, to *toka* descent groups 15 and 17 and, through her mother, to *rorobuaka* descent group numbers 23 and 24 which were centrally located in the genealogical space. Nei Takineman had rights to 12 *toka* plots totalling 42 *eka*. Four of those plots were on the uninhabited islet of Namoka six kilometres north of Kuma and it was perhaps an indication of their relative inaccessibility that she spoke of collecting coconuts from eight plots, which was the number available to her in the close vicinity of the village. Through her mother, Nei Takineman had rights to 20 *rorobuaka* plots and one *toka* plot totalling

77.5 *eka* which she shared with 144 other residents. However she did not exercise her rights to collect coconuts from those latter lands, saying there was no need for her to compete with so many people for her small share of coconuts from those plots when the eight plots (12 plots including those on Namoka) to which she had sole access were more than sufficient for her. However her rights to those plots remained and would pass to her children, who may or may not choose to exercise them.

There were other examples of people with ample land plots derived from their membership of one descent group either choosing, or being directed by an elder, not to collect coconuts from plots derived from their membership of another descent group which they shared with large numbers of other people. One such group were the children of Nan Maaborau and Nei Angabeiamakin. The four children and their children and grandchildren were 28 in number. Through Nan Maaborau they had rights to 89 *eka* and through Nei Angabeiamakin they had rights to 17.5 *eka* which they shared with eight other people, who were the siblings of Nei Angabeiamakin, and their children and grandchildren who were resident in Kuma. I was told by Nei Tebuti, a daughter of Nan Maaborau, that under his instructions they did not make use of the plots to which they had rights through Nei Angabeiamakin because he considered that would be unfair in view of the ample plots available to them through him. While acknowledging the justice of this, Nei Tebuti was uncertain whether the practice would continue after Maaborau's death and obviously felt some resentment about her father's decision. (The theme of resentment by children of their parents' alleged generosity towards

non family members was often heard as people recounted tales of land plots being given away by their fathers; I heard no stories of this being done by women).

The next set of relationships between descent groups and land plots which will be considered concerns a commoner descent group. By comparison with this the *toka* case studies which have just been discussed were relatively simple, involving small numbers of people and, as their peripheral location within the genealogical space would suggest, diffuse interrelationships.

The example discussed here is descent group number 24, comprised of the descendants of Nan lakabo and Nei Bareia. This was the largest group with 131 members resident in Kuma, distributed among 34 of the 73 households in the village. The members shared rights to nine lands, while rights to seven others were divided between three of Nan lakabo's and Nei Bareia's children and their descendants. Fifteen of those lands were inherited through Nan lakabo and one through Nei Bareia, the latter being *toka* land. Of the seven lands divided between the siblings, one was gifted to Nan Tebakaro lakabo by his adoptive sibling, Nei Maritina Nariki, daughter of his adoptive father, Nan Nariki Tekako, and one given to Nan lotia lakabo by one Nan Kabatikua as *aba n nenebo*, which meant that it was given to lotia by Nan Kabatikua as compensation for some injury committed by Nan Kabatikua or a member of his family to Nan lotia or a member of his family. The types of offence for which land or a canoe was due in compensation included murder and rape. However I was unable to discover the nature of the offence

involved in that case. In addition to these family lands there was one purchased with a canoe by Nan Kaititi, a son of Nan lotia, and owned privately by him.

Table 5.5: Distribution of land plots among the descendants of Nei Bareia and Nan lakabo.

Division	Size	Number of plots	Number of users	Households containing plot users
Aibo	11.0	2	21	30, 36, 37, 52, 60, 61, 69
lotia	12.0	5	13	33, 39, 53, 60
Kainako	11.5	3	36	2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 16, 26
N.Tearibo	11.0	2	34	1, 8, 21, 32, 38, 41, 67, 70, 72
Tebakaro	10.0	5	27	19, 46, 47, 48, 50, 68
<i>Kaunwae</i>	12.0	2	131	

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

The way in which rights to the use of these land plots were distributed among the members of the descent group is detailed in Appendix Five. (The geographical locations of the plots are indicated in Appendix Eleven.) In terms of approximate land area the division works out as shown in Table 5.5. The two plots on which the members practice *te kaunwae* are far from the village and one of them is relatively large at 10.5 *eka*. I understand that rights to these had been subject to a more formal regulation in the past but, as had frequently happened, the formal arrangement lapsed for want of the will to enforce it. Within each of the divisions the practise was *te kaunwae*, which meant that people gathered nuts on a first come first served basis.

The manner in which rights to five of the land plots came under the control of this descent group is worth discussing because it is an example of the sorts of land court decisions which are the subject of complaint and bemusement on the part of people all over Kiribati. In a 1967 Land Court decision (KNA 4(6)/II/40 Land case 26/67) the rights to five land plots, which had been registered with Nei Kabane Taie in 1956 (KNA 4(6)/II/6 Land case 29/56) were divided in two, leaving one half of each to Nei Kabane and transferring the remaining half of each to Nan Kainako lakabo. The case itself seemed to be concerned with the question of the right of the children of Nei Kabane to live on a village land plot registered under Nan Kainako and the right of the children of kainako to live on village land plot registered under Nei Kabane. The court decided that each of those two village plots would be divided in two with the rights to half of each being registered with Nei Kabane and the rights to the other half being registered with Nan Kainako. The division did not stop there, however, and all five of Nei Kabane's land plots were so divided.

Viewed in the light of the characteristics of the genealogical field (refer to Figure 4.1) to this case is interesting because it illustrates a possible implication of genealogical marginality. Nan Taie, Nei Kabane's father, was the brother of Nan lakabo and both inherited their land use rights through their mother, Nei Taunaki. However, while Nan lakabo's descendants were at the genealogical core of Kuma, in zone one, Nan Taie's descendants were less centrally placed in zone three of the field. The division between the descendants of those siblings was reinforced by the formal division of land rights between the two branches of Nei

Taunaki's descendants which was effected by the Lands Commission in 1956. Despite the division of land rights, the two branches retained equal rights to a fish pond area on one land plot registered to Nan Kainako lakabo. Those shared rights were the subject of a Land court case in 1966 (KNA 4(6)/II/40 case No. 12/66) and an appeal in 1974 (High Court Land Appeal No. 27/74). In the 1966 case the descendants of Nan lakabo asked that the rights to the pond be registered with them and it was only a last minute request by Nei Angabeiamakin, the only child of Nei Kabane's resident in the village at the time, that ensured that her name was included among those with rights to the pond. The descendants of Nan lakabo opposed the inclusion of any of Nan Taie's descendants on the grounds that they had not assisted with repairs to the wall enclosing the pond, but the court agreed to include Nei Angabeiamakin among those with rights. However, in 1974 the siblings of Nei Angabeiamakin appealed against their lack of inclusion with her among those with rights to the pond. The court confirmed the rights of Nan Taie's descendants to the pond because equal rights had been granted by the Lands Commission in 1956 and Commission rulings were not subject to appeal.

The cases which have just been outlined illustrate in a general way the sorts of tensions which can develop between people around issues of land rights. However, the cases are of particular interest in view of the light they shed on contemporary processes of descent group fission. The effect of the Land Commission decision to divide the land rights of the two branches of descendants, except for their rights to the pond, which would have been difficult to split, was to remove a major material basis

for solidarity between them, given that kinship was symbolised in shared rights to land. At the time the division was made the grandchildren of Nan Iakabo and Nei Kabane were in their twenties and thirties. They shared Nei Taunaki as a great grandparent and were subject to the responsibilities associated with such a relationship which were considered in Chapter Three. However, the genealogical links possessed by Nan Taie's descendants and the extent of their genealogical capital, was significantly less than that of Nan Iakabo's descendants. The less central position of Nan Taie's descendants than Nan Iakabo's has already been noted and the reasons for this will now be outlined and discussed.

The first distinction which can be drawn between the children of Nan Iakabo and Nan Taie is their number. Nan Iakabo had at least six children, five of whom had descendants in Kuma, while Nan Taie had two, only one of whom had descendants in Kuma. The second distinction was their differing degrees of connection to descent groups with members resident in Kuma. The grandchildren and great grandchildren of Nan Iakabo, as their central position within the genealogical space indicated, were well connected, being linked to 20 other descent groups altogether. The grandchildren and great grandchildren of Nan Taie, on the other hand, were connected to only four other descent groups. Clearly the number of different descent groups that it was possible for the members of any one group to be connected to was a function of how many nuclear families the group contained and that, in turn, was a function of how many people there were in the descent group to contribute to the formation of nuclear

families. In the case being considered here the factor by which the number of descent groups which descendants of Nan Taie were connected to was exceeded by the number of descent groups which descendants of Nan lakabo are connected to was a factor of five, the same as the factor by which the number of Nan Taie's children with descendants in Kuma was exceeded by the number of Nan lakabo's children with descendants in Kuma. The relatively small number of Nan Taie's descendants possibly encouraged Nan lakabo's descendants in their attempt to exclude them from having rights to the pond mentioned earlier and might also have been a factor in the way the division of Nei Kabane's land plots proceeded. If that was the case it was compounded by the fact that only Nei Angabeiamakin was in Kuma at the time, because Nan Moanruna was working on Banaba and Nan Betikaua was resident on Marakei. Before encountering this case in the Land Court records I was told of these events by Nan Moanruna who was at a loss to explain the grounds for a decision which resulted in the loss of half his descent group's land. It was interesting that Nan Moanruna acknowledged no genealogical closeness between himself and the descendants of Nan lakabo. He did acknowledge that there were genealogical links in the past, but the impression he gave was that they were too distant to be of any account. Nan Moanruna's attitude contrasted with that of his nephew, Nan Tibwea, whose father had been adopted by Nan lakabo's son Nan lotia, on the strength of which Nan Tibwea maintained a link with the descendants of lotia, as was discussed in Chapter Four. Nan Moanruna said he was too old to be very concerned about it any longer and left it to his older son to pursue the matter by appealing the Court's decision.

After leaving the field I discovered a story in Lambert's (1963:255) study of Makin island that suggested Nan Taie was resident there, rather than in Kuma as his brother, Nan Iakabo, was. The story Lambert recounted concerned assistance provided to an aristocrat named Nan Anga-beia by a commoner named Nan Taie. Nan Taie received a plot of land from Nan Anga-beia in return. There are two things which suggest that the Taie in Lambert's account was the same Taie who was Nei Kabane's father. Firstly, Lambert's genealogy of Nan Anga-beia indicated that he was of the same generation as Nei Kabane's father, being of the eighth generation after Nei Rakentai and Nan Teboi. Lambert's Taie was a contemporary of Nan Anga-beia so it is likely that they were of the same generation. Secondly, Nei Kabane's oldest daughter was named Nei Angabeiamakin and very possibly named after Nan Anga-beia. It is almost certain that her name would have been chosen by her mother, Nei Kabane, the daughter of Nan Taie, rather than by her father, Nan Bakatokia, because the prerogative of naming the first-born child was the mother's, if the child was a girl, and the father's, if the first-born was a boy. If it were the case that Nan Taie was resident on Makin rather than Kuma, the social distance between the descendants of Nan Iakabo and Nan Taie was less surprising.

Nan Taie's descendants, who formed descent group 68, had, as indicated above, five land plots which totalled 16 *eka* to which 31 people had rights. However, as was discussed earlier, Nei Angabeiamakin and her children did not use these plots because their father, Nan Maborau, considered that the lands to which he had rights were more than

sufficient for them. This left eight people to use the five plots, which they did on an informal *kaunwae* basis.

The case studies outlined here illustrate the variations which exist between individual people, households and descent groups, in terms of the availability to them of land use rights. The intimate connection between genealogy and land use rights has been illustrated by the relationship shown to exist between position within the genealogical field and the availability of land use rights. The inequalities which are evident in the differential availability of land use rights are associated with the extent to which the residence in the village by the members of a descent line had been maintained over recent generations. Those with least land were usually those with strong genealogical links within the village, while those with most were usually those who had returned to the village and resumed their descent group's presence after several generations of absence.

The articulation of social space and physical space manifested in the relationship between the genealogical field and the availability of land rights was clearly structured primarily by the characteristics of the genealogical field. At the interface of the two spaces were those residents of Kuma who possessed the social capital associated with land rights. In the context of land rights, the relationships between residents and social and physical space were determined by the social capital available to them through their descent. Each descent group was associated with a fixed amount of land and, as a consequence, the per capita distribution of undivided shares in that land depended upon the

number of people belonging to the group. The number of members a descent group had at any time was a function of how many it had had in preceding generations. The number of members in one descent group also had a bearing upon the number of other descent groups with which it could establish the affinal links in one generation which would form the basis of consanguineal links in the next generation.

In view of the above considerations, the pattern of contemporary land distribution can be understood as being largely a consequence of differences in the residence practises of commoners and aristocrats. Commoner descent lines had tended to maintain a constant presence in the village, in contrast to aristocratic descent lines, which had displayed an intermittent presence. As a consequence, eighty three percent of the village residents were associated with commoner descent groups and only seventeen percent with aristocratic descent groups (see Table 6.7). The genealogical field had two broad regions. One region contained almost entirely commoner descent groups with relatively small amounts of land per member and relatively high average numbers of inter-descent group links. The other contained descent groups which were predominantly aristocratic, with relatively large amounts of land per member and lower average numbers of inter-descent group links.

The isomorphic relationship between the respectively social and physical capitals of lineage and land rights was discussed in Chapter Four. However, as has been shown in this chapter, not all lineages were equal in the extent of the land rights with which they were associated. There were advantages, in terms of land rights, to being able to claim

membership of certain descent groups. While this was a potential focus for strategic action on the parts of ambitious residents, the possibilities for success were limited for people whose connection either through descent or adoption was not already recognised. However, newcomers to the village, aware of the possibility that they might claim some legitimate connection, would actively try to discover connections of which they were not yet aware. The most realistic basis of strategic action was for parents to arrange for their children to marry people belonging to land-rich descent groups. Such a strategy did not provide direct material benefit to the contemporary generation, but the children of such unions inherited full rights and those who had arranged them had the satisfaction of knowing that they had improved the lot of their descendants.

Summary.

In common with islands throughout Kiribati, the land area associated with Kuma village is divided into strips of land running across the land from lagoon shore to ocean shore. Each strip is a distinct land plot with a name. Each plot is entered in a list of land plots and numbered according to its order in the sequence of plots beginning at the north-eastern end of Butaritari atoll and proceeding to the south-west. In some cases several adjacent plots bear the same name, indicating that each had, in the past, been a single plot which had been subsequently further divided. In almost all cases those plots were further divided among a number of registered landholders. However, the manner in which the

plots on Butaritari and Makin were divided differed from those on other islands in Kiribati by being divided also in terms of the three social status groups upon which the society of Butaritari and Makin used to be based.

Under the pre-colonial system of land tenure the High Chief of Makin and Butaritari held ultimate rights to all lands and could confer or remove the rights to particular land plots enjoyed by the various non-exclusive ambilineal landholding descent groups. While descent group size is automatically limited, intergenerationally, by the strict descent criteria underlying unilinear descent, ambilineal descent groups can undergo exponential growth intergenerationally without the benefit of some non-descent based criteria of membership. Possible criteria are related to land inheritance and residence. Under the pre-colonial system land rights, apart from the absolute rights held by the High Chief, could be categorised as being either provisional or residual. The provisional holders of a particular land plot were those members of the non-exclusive ambilineal landholding descent group who lived on, or close to the plot and were engaged in its cultivation. The residual holders were the members of the same landholding descent group who lived elsewhere, on other plots associated with the group to which they held provisional rights. After several generations residual rights lapsed so that the descendants of residual landholders no longer shared kinship ties or land rights with the descendants of the provisional owners. In that way land plot fragmentation was minimised. Usually land plots were shared by commoner and aristocrat descent groups and the land use rights they enjoyed conditional upon them paying periodic tribute to the High Chief in the form of food. In making that tribute the division of labour between

the aristocrats and commoners was such that the commoners produced the food and the aristocrats conveyed it to the High Chief.

A new system of tenure, introduced in 1922 by Arthur Grimble, removed the absolute rights of the High Chief to all lands and gave him, instead, one quarter of each land plot. The remaining three quarters was shared between the aristocrats and commoners. Due to a misunderstanding, the new system did not distinguish between provisional and residual landholders and accorded the latter equal rights with the former. No redistribution of lands took place for over thirty years, during which time a proliferation of rights to individual plots occurred which necessitated the regulation of coconut collection from plots by a system of turns. The new system was accompanied by a change in residence practise as the residence of descent group members upon their land plots in large communal houses was replaced by village residence in smaller households based upon the nuclear family.

Between 1951 and 1956 a new Lands Commission undertook the redistribution of land plots, consolidating landholdings whenever possible and formally dividing the three quarters of each plot among the commoners and aristocrats who formerly shared it. The High Chief's quarter remained with him. The land settlement completed in 1956 formed the basis for the contemporary distribution of land plots and decisions made by the Commission were not able to be appealed. Wide variation in land distribution existed among the households, individuals and descent groups in Kuma. A relationship was evident between the

amount of land available to residents and their association with the former social status groups. It was found that those associated with the former aristocracy tended to have rights to more land than did those with mainly commoner connections. This imbalance resulted, not from an original unequal distribution between the two status groups, because each plot had been equally divided between commoners and aristocrats. Rather, the inequality resulted from the historical tendency for former aristocrats to reside in Butaritari village rather than in Kuma and other isolated villages. The resulting preponderance of commoners over aristocrats in the village resulted in a higher per capita distribution of land among aristocrats than among commoners.

Chapter Six

The political fields

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the characteristics of the political fields associated with Kuma. These fields are defined by relationships which cut across those defining the genealogical field and it is that lack of homology which distinguishes the political and genealogical fields from one another and justifies their categorisation as distinct fields within the total social space, each defined by its own forms of symbolic capital. The purpose of the discussion is to examine this dimension of social space and the ways in which relationships within it are manifested in physical space. Three aspects of physical space associated with the political fields will be considered: the division of Kuma in two parts, each with its own village council, the physical spaces associated with the domestic and public realms and the distribution of land-use rights. Since 1989 Kuma had been divided in to two sections (*makoro*) for administrative purposes to form a northern section and a southern section, each with its own village council. Each section had adopted a dance form to distinguish it from the other and these became the focus of intense rivalry between the members of the two village sections. The resulting conflict was accompanied by the use of the magico-religious practices associated with each dance form as weapons in the attempts by each side to gain symbolic dominance over the other.

Position within the political field was a function of the forms of capital associated with it: age, generation and gender, the most potent combination of which was age combined with maleness. Position within the political field was reflected in the relative locations of people within the physical space during events which had any degree of formality. During formal village meetings (*maungatabu*), for example, the principal participants in discussion were the male heads of households, each of whom sat in front of the other members of his household. Women always sat behind the men and if the household was large and well represented at the gathering many of its female and young members would be found sitting on *inai* (mats woven from coconut fronds) outside the *maneaba*. At rite of passage feasts (*bo*) older men congregated inside buildings, while women, younger men, youths and children would tend to be found outside.

In pre-colonial times the central figure in the political field encompassing Butaritari and Makin was the High Chief who had the ultimate power to grant and take away land-use rights. The codification of land tenure during the colonial period and the quartering of the High Chief's rights to land removed the direct relationship between the political field of the islands and the physical space in terms of the distribution of land-use rights. Following the abolition of the institution of High Chief in 1963 the relationship received a short-lived revival when a newly-formed council of old men was formed to press for the return of the king's quarters of each land plot to the people. Coexisting with the council of old men (*botaki n unimane*) on each island in Kiribati were island councils and village councils. The development of this system of

local government in Kiribati is briefly described below in order to introduce the more detailed discussion of the situation on Butaritari.

The persistence of pre-Christian magico-religious practices is discussed in the context of both island and village government. At the island level the supernatural potency customarily associated with the person and office of the High Chief survived the dissolution of that office and contributed to defeating attempts by Butaritari commoners and aristocrats to have the King's quarters of lands returned to them. At the village level, in Kuma, the division of the village had become associated with an identity politics based upon adherence to competing dance forms and their associated magico-religious practices.

Island politics

From the time of the first Resident Commissioner, W. T. Campbell, in 1895 until the departure of Grimble in 1932, the development of island and village government in the colony had been characterised by the imposition of increasingly draconian regulations which Grimble's successors took steps to mitigate (see Macdonald, 1982:125-142), culminating in the 1941 Native Government Ordinance which provided for the democratic election of island councils and the separate establishment of Island Courts.

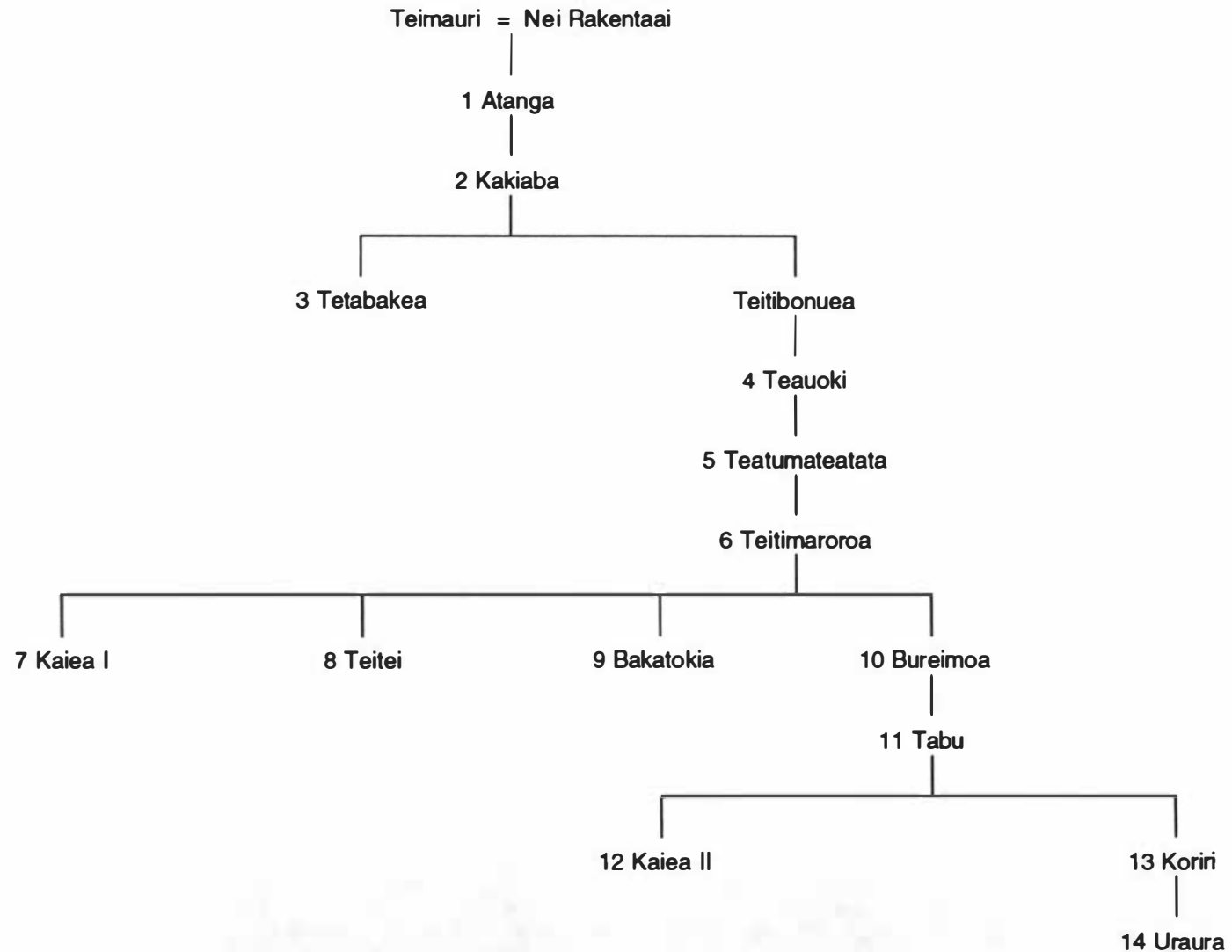
The Japanese occupation of the Gilbert group from 1942 until the end of 1943 and the disruption which followed it, delayed the implementation

of the 1941 Ordinance until 1948. Following its implementation, attempts were made by the colonial administration to persuade those customary leaders to assume public office on island councils. However, the old men had remained aloof from positions of government-backed authority, apparently content to exercise the personal authority associated with their customary position in society (Macdonald, 1982:186).

On the southern islands which had not had a High Chief, the council of old men represented a continuation of the pre-colonial gerontocracy. On Butaritari and Makin the influence of the old men continued to be exercised in the villages, which had, from pre-colonial times, enjoyed autonomy from the High Chief as far as the conducting of village affairs was concerned (Lambert, 1963:231). However, at the island level the customary influence of the High Chief precluded the exercise by the old men of the same degree of authority exercised by their contemporaries in the south. Their most significant responsibility at the island level seemed to be the occasional formation of a council of the heads of all Butaritari and Makin commoner and aristocrat descent groups to install a new High Chief (Lambert, 1963:237 and 1978:90). The genealogy of the High Chiefs of Butaritari and Makin is shown in Figure 6.1.

Following the discontinuation of the institution of High Chief in 1963 and the formation of new island councils under the 1966 Local Government Ordinance, the old men became more of a force at the island level and a council of old men on Butaritari was constituted on a

Figure 6.1. Genealogy of the High Chiefs of Butaritari and Makin numbered in order of succession.



Sources: Lambert, 1978: pages 85 and 91; fieldwork, 1994.

formal basis primarily "to press for the return of the King's Quarters¹ of lands back to the people" (Sewell, 1983:202). Until the discontinuation of the institution of High Chief in 1963, the King's quarters had been registered either under the title *Uea* or in the names of Nan Kaiea II, who became High Chief in 1912, and his brother, Nan Koriri, who succeeded Nan Kaiea II in 1954. Nan Koriri was the father of the last High Chief, Nan Uraura, who held the title from 1959 until his death in 1963 (Lambert, 1963:200). Nan Uraura's death was unexpected and he left only young children. Following disagreement between the combined councils of old men of Makin and Butaritari and a section of the High Chieftain family about which of two sisters to appoint to the position, the Resident High Commissioner, V. J. Andersen, declared the High Chieftainship abolished (Lambert, 1978:90-91). In the three years following the end of the institution of High Chief in 1963, almost all of those lands had been redistributed among the descendants of Nan Tabu under the names of Nan Kaiea II and Nan Koriri. In one court case in 1964 (KNA 4(6)/II/38 case No, 66/64) rights to land plots which had been registered as *Uea* lands or under the names of Nan Kaiea II or Nan Koriri, were transferred to descendants of Nan Tabu. In three court cases in 1966 (KNA 4(6)/II/39 case No's 2/66, 3/66 and 40/66) many of those land plots underwent further redistribution among Nan Tabu's descendants.

There had been an expectation among people on Butaritari that those land plots would have been reabsorbed into the three quarters of each

¹ See Chapter Five for details of the distribution of land plots between members of the three former social status levels.

piece of named land to which commoners and aristocrats held rights. However, the dispersal of rights to those plots from the institution of the High Chief to individual family members removed them from the public domain and any possibility of them being reabsorbed into the lands from which they had been carved under Grimble's land reform of 1922. It was that removal of the King's quarters from the public domain which incensed the old men. However, according to informants who had been members of the council of old men, their attempts to halt and reverse the dispersal of plots eventually ceased under the force of threat of retaliatory *tabunea* from the descendants of Nan Tabu.

The High Chief had customarily been considered to be "the most supernaturally potent of living persons" (Lambert, 1981:197). He was regarded as *kamaraia*, which meant that anyone showing him disrespect in any way would automatically be *maraiia*, or cursed. The curse was considered to act without the need for any action on the part of the High Chief himself, the knowledge of having shown disrespect being considered sufficient to induce illness or accident in or to the offender (Lambert, 1963:228).

There were two types of practice associated with the supernatural, they were *tabunea* and *te kawai*. To perform *tabunea* involved reciting an incantation or spell which had been composed for the specific purpose motivating the performance. *Te Kawai* were ritual performances without accompanying incantations. *Tabunea* were usually performed in conjunction with *te kawai* (Grimble, 1989:97). Grimble noted the appreciation of a clear distinction between *tabunea* and prayer (*tataro*)

in the minds of his informants and I found the same appreciation in mine. Put briefly, prayer involves a mental attitude of request and supplication addressed to a supernatural being (*anti*). *Tabunea*, on the other hand combine words of power with ritual to control or command the actions of a supernatural being to influence events in the natural realm. The centrality of *tabunea* in everyday life was well conveyed by Teeko in his vernacular history of Abemama² (included in Grimble, 1989:295-313) when he wrote

There was a kind of *tabunea* connected with the *ruoia*³ which was used to attract the attention of women and men to the dances. But then *tabunea* was a part of everyday life, and nothing was exempt from it -- joy and sorrow, work, marriage, burial, and many other things had *tabunea* attached to them. We say that "*Tabunea* is the master of the *iaongo* [thoughts, ideas, plans, solutions, wisdom] and the gateway to all things. *Tabunea* can be cruel; *Tabunea* can be kind; *Tabunea* is effective. It can cure the sick, and so on (in Grimble, 1989:305).

Thus engagement with both the physical and social spaces was accompanied by *tabunea*. The practices and techniques associated with the maintenance and acquisition of resources from the physical space were all the focus of associated *tabunea*. In the social space, the creation and maintenance of relationships could be assisted by *tabunea*, and positions of authority maintained by the threat of supernatural reprisal against any challenge to that authority. Thus a perceived ability to control events in a supernatural realm became a form of capital which had currency within the social space. However, the distribution of the different species of that capital was not equal. An extreme example of that inequality was the attribute of *kamaraia* associated with the High

² Translated by Reid Cowell.

³ An ancient dance form.

Chief. The efficacy, as a means of stifling opposition, of the suggestion of retaliatory *tabunea* by the members of the former chiefly dynasty suggested acknowledgement, on the part of the council of old men, of the potency of such action from that source. The caution displayed in that case contrasted with the zeal associated with the open battle between the *tabunea* of Taubatua and Natirea which will be discussed later in this chapter.

When asked about their attitudes to *tabunea* and Christianity, people indicated that the two represented two different dimensions of belief. While all professing Christian belief, they felt that their old pre-Christian beliefs were more helpful to them in their daily economic and social life (*bai n iaon te aba*). People were generally reluctant to be specific about *tabunea* they knew and practised, an unsurprising reluctance given the essentially secret character of such knowledge. There were *tabunea* which were associated with giving or obtaining assistance without causing harm or misfortune to anyone and there were *tabunea* known as *wawi*, which were for the purpose of killing people. However, people seemed to associate the term *tabunea* firstly with the *wawi*, a tendency which was, perhaps, associated with the recent conflict between Nan Timeon and Nan Kautintaoun. People were noticeably more forthcoming about their own involvement with *tabunea* when I made it clear that I knew there was both "good" and "bad" *tabunea*, in which cases some would acknowledge that they knew some "good" *tabunea*. One man taught me the words and actions of a *tabunea* called *Tekanangaraoi* which was for conferring good fortune upon the person whose name was inserted in the incantation. A *Tabunea* regularly performed upon the

completion of a house or *maneaba* was one known as the *kabouoka ni buraena*, the burning of the waste, in which pieces of thatch cut from the north, south, west and east sides of the roof were burned.⁴

Village politics

The political life of the village centred around two sets of institutions: the village councils and the churches. At the island level the Island Council and the council of old men each had a bearing upon the political life of the village, but the influence of neither was felt on a day to day basis by the villagers. The division of Kuma into two sections had taken effect in 1989 following a recommendation of the 1985 Census Commission that the number of Island Council members representing Kuma be increased from one to two. The responsibility for selecting village representatives for the Island Council rested with the village councils, each of which selected one representative. The allocation of an additional council representative from Kuma required the formation of an additional village council and for that purpose the village was divided into northern and southern sections.

The dividing line which was eventually agreed on was the one which had been introduced previously by the Kiribati Protestant Church (KPC) to divide the village for their own purposes. The division of the village and the formation of two village councils was followed by the construction of two village *maneaba*. Prior to the construction of those

⁴ See also Maude (1980) for details of rituals associated with different stages in the construction of *maneaba*.

maneaba there had been no civil village *maneaba* in Kuma for a number of years, the only *maneaba* being those associated with the Kiribati Protestant Church (KPC) and the Catholic Church. Other villages on Butaritari had been in the same position until a resurgence of civil *maneaba* (*maneaba aon te aba*) building on Butaritari during the 1980's.⁵

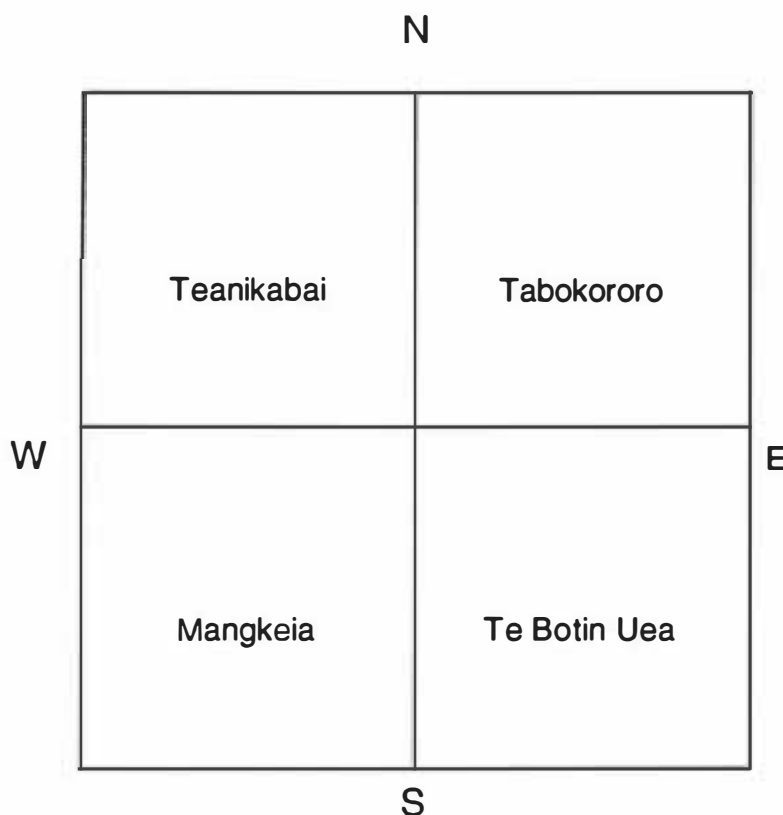
The absence of civil village *maneaba* on Butaritari was a situation which would have been inconceivable on the islands to the south, where *maneaba* had been the centres of village and island political life for hundreds of years. On those islands the seating area of village *maneaba* were divided into sections known as *boti*.⁶ The basis for *boti* membership has been the subject of some debate in the literature, particularly regarding the extent to which it was patrilineal. Grimble (1989:202-215) considered that although the ambilineal principal applied to land right inheritance, *boti* membership was reckoned patrilineally and not dependent upon the inheritance of rights to land plots associated with the founding ancestor of the *boti*. Grimble acknowledged, and discussed, cases of men having acquired *boti* membership through their mothers, but represented them as exceptions which proved the patrilineal rule. Goodenough (1955:74-75) disputed Grimble's interpretation, arguing that the key to *boti* membership was a shared right to the land plot or plots associated with the *boti*. Because land plots were inherited by men and women, *boti* membership rights must have

⁵ I observed this phenomenon whilst resident on Butaritari in 1981 and 1982.

⁶ For a detailed exposition of the *boti* see Maude (1963).

been available through fathers and mothers. However, given that in the southern islands men inherited greater shares in land than women did, there was a greater likelihood that a man would acquire rights to land plots associated with his father's family's *boti* than to land plots associated with his mother's family's *boti*. That, according to Goodenough (1955:74), was the mechanism which gave rise to a pattern of *boti* membership which Grimble interpreted as patrilineal. Maude (1963:54) and Lundsgaarde and Silverman (1972:97), however, disputed Goodenough's conclusion and affirmed Grimble's contention that *boti* membership was not based upon land rights.

Figure 6.2. Plan of *boti* divisions in the *maneaba* of Butaritari and Makin.



Source: After Grimble (1989:209)

Whatever the case was in the south, the descent groups known as *boti* in the southern islands had their closest equivalent in the landholding descent groups of Butaritari and Makin (Lambert, 1963:87) which were discussed in Chapter Five. However, the system of fixed sitting places obtaining in the south seemed not to have applied in Butaritari and Makin *maneaba*. According to information obtained by Grimble during his residence there from 1914 to 1933, *maneaba* on those islands had been divided into four *boti*, shown in Figure 6.2, above, each reserved for one of four grades of society: *te boti n uea*, in the south-east corner, for the High Chief and the members of his *utu* descended through males; *tabokororo*, in the north-east corner, for the *toka* and their *utu* through the male lines; *teanikabai*, in the north-west, for the conquered, or slave class, descended through their male lines; and *mangkeia*, in the south-west, for strangers without rights to land. However, that system was no longer extant during Grimble's residence and there seemed to be no fixed seating positions for the descent line members except that the position beneath the middle rafter on the eastern side was a place of honour reserved for the High Chief and village headmen (Lambert, 1963:89). Contemporary seating arrangements in the *maneaba* of Kuma were on the basis of household membership because the households were the basic units of the village council and it was unusual for anyone other than the male heads of the households to contribute to village council deliberations. There was a regularity to the sitting positions occupied by the households in the *maneaba*, however, I was told that those positions were not like the *boti* found in the islands to the south. According to informants, people were free to sit where they pleased. However, although that might have been

the case to begin with, a pattern of household seating had clearly developed through usage. More significantly, in terms of the perpetuation of pre-colonial practice, the chairperson (*tia babaire*) always sat beneath the central rafter on the eastern side of the *maneaba*, the position referred to earlier as the place reserved for the High Chief and village headman. The other office holders sat beside the chairperson.

Each village council was almost exclusively concerned with the affairs of its own village. There was no direct relationship between the village councils and the island council and there was no sense in which the village councils were subservient to the island council. The involvement of village council in island council affairs was limited to organising the supply of labour and materials needed for the upkeep of island council property, such as school and health clinic buildings, in the village and coordinating village participation in island-wide events such as independence day celebrations which were hosted by the island council. The village councils assumed responsibility for organising any collective endeavours which affected all of its members, passed village bylaws and enforced them with fines, the proceeds of which were retained in the village treasury for the benefit of all. The collective endeavours with which the councils were most usually involved included the maintenance and upkeep of their own *maneaba* and associated property and the organisation of work parties to carry out paid work for the island council, such as maintaining village school and medical clinic buildings. The Natirea council also had a women's club (*aia botaki aine*) which provided a venue for women to work together producing pandanus thatch (*rau*) and weaving mats.

The basic unit of the village councils was the household. The council of *Natirea* represented 46 households,⁷ each of which was counted as an equal shareholder (*bukinibai*) in the collective wealth of the council, irrespective of how many members it had. In that respect the distribution of cost and benefit associated with village membership followed a principle similar to that underlying the distribution of land-use rights. It was seen in Chapter Five that land-use rights were distributed according to strict genealogical criteria with siblings receiving equal shares irrespective of the numbers of children they had. A committee and officers were elected annually, from all of the adult members of all households and the memberships of both seemed to change completely every year. The reason given for a complete change was that it was to ensure that the responsibility was shared equally among the adults of the households. A full meeting of the council was held every month, at which all households were expected to be represented by their heads, at least. The head of the household was accompanied by other adult members of the household, both male and female. Unmarried adults who were not shareholders (*bukinibai*) were designated *taan takakaro* (literally: players) to indicate that they were members without financial responsibility. At the beginning of each meeting the roll was called and those household heads not present had a fine of two dollars imposed upon them.

⁷ Forty four of those households were located on the Na-tirea (southern) side of the boundary between *Natirea* and *Taubatua*. The other two were located on the *Taubatua* side, but some of their occupants had chosen to belong to *Natirea*. Because those households were physically located in the *Taubatua* part of the village and had members belonging to *Taubatua* and *Natirea*, I have included them among the twenty nine households of *Taubatua*.

The basic unit of the village council, the household, was also the basic unit of production and consumption. In view of that the origins of the contemporary basis for village administration can be found in the pre-colonial system under which the resident landholding descent group was both the basic unit of production and consumption and the basis of representation in the village council. In the details of their numerical and demographic composition the contemporary households varied considerably. In numerical terms, memberships ranged from one to nineteen with an average of five to six members.

Table 6.1. The frequency distribution of household membership numbers.

Number of occupants	Number of households	Percentage of households
1	2	2.7
2	6	8.2
3	7	9.6
4	11	15.0
5	13	18.0
6	14	19.0
7	8	11.0
8	6	8.2
9	4	5.5
10	1	1.4
11	1	1.4
12	1	1.4
15	1	1.4
19	1	1.4

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Table 6.1. shows the frequency with which different household membership numbers occur. The average membership range of five to six people is also the modal range and fifty-two percent of households contained between four and six members. In demographic terms household compositions ranged from five containing one or several unmarried adults to six containing children, unmarried adults, married adults and elderly relations.

Table 6.2. Types of household demographic composition and their frequency of occurrence.

Demographic composition of households	Number of households	Percentage of households
Children and their parents	30	41.10
Children, their parents and unmarried adults	12	16.44
Children, their parents and elderly kin	7	9.59
Children, parents, unmarried adults, elderly kin	6	8.22
Married couple	5	6.85
Children, unmarried adults and elderly kin	4	5.48
Unmarried adults and elderly kin	3	4.11
Unmarried adults	2	2.74
Children and unmarried adults	2	2.74
Unmarried adults and their parents	2	2.74
TOTAL	73.00	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

The range of demographic compositions contained ten different combinations, the frequencies of which are shown in Table 6.2. The single most prevalent composition, at forty-one percent, was clearly the nuclear family comprising a mother, father and their children. It should

be remembered that the composition represented in Table 6.2 was that which obtained at the time of the census I conducted at the beginning of fieldwork. Household composition was quite fluid and the composition of some households changed during the period of six months covered by the fieldwork. However, the pattern of household composition captured by the census was representative of the long term pattern and comparable to that recorded by Sewell on Butaritari over twenty years earlier (see Sewell, 1983:26).

The status of women as heads of households was ambiguous. There were several households headed by women and those women were named as being shareholders (*taan bukiniba*). However, the wives of male heads of households were not permitted to deputise for their husbands. That issue was the subject of lengthy debate at one meeting I attended from which three male household heads were absent. One of the men was reported to have been fishing at the time the meeting was to start, although his wife was present. A previous, minuted, decision was referred to which had ruled that wives could not represent their husbands at such meetings. In response to that a man asked another woman why she was at the meeting and not her husband. Before that woman could reply, a third woman said that she, herself, was there instead of her husband because the village council policeman had told her, when he informed her of the meeting, that if her husband did not attend the meeting she could do so in his stead. The second woman then replied that she was simply there with other family members and was not intending to deputise for her husband or anyone else. After considerable discussion, focusing upon the sanctity, or otherwise, of the

decisions recorded in the minutes of previous meetings, the Chairperson (*Tia babaaire*) of the council summed up to reaffirm the ruling that women could not deputise for men at those meetings.

There was an aspect of that incident which underlined the extent to which the principles of representation on village councils had changed in company with the changes to the social structure which followed from the reforms to the system of land tenure discussed in Chapter Five. Formerly, the representatives on the village councils had been the male heads of landholding descent groups. A man who had no rights to land plots associated with a village could not, by definition, be the head of a descent group holding rights to land plots in the region of the village. He would be termed an *iruwa* (literally, one who arrived by canoe). Such a man might be granted land by the High Chief in return for some service and in that way become the founder of a landholding descent group. However, he ranked below those people native to the village, who were referred to as *aomata* (people), and lacked the *aomata's* "privilege of speaking in the village council", although his descendants would achieve *aomata* status within three generations (Lambert, 1966:650). The man who was fishing at the time of the meeting, and whose wife was reminded that she could not deputise for him, was an *iruwa* from the village of Ukiangang who had no land rights in Kuma. His wife, on the other hand, was from Kuma and belonged to the descent group with the most land per member. Yet it was the husband, who would formerly have been without political rights in the village, who was recognised as the person to represent his household on the village council.

Apart from the three wives' responses to direct questions, the debate was conducted entirely by men, which was a common feature of such meetings. On the relatively few occasions when women did speak in the *maneaba* it was with a diffidence that did not characterise most men's participation. However, the ability of women to speak in the village council was further evidence of change as women had not, formerly, been permitted to speak in such councils. Their ability to address matters of importance to them was demonstrated during one council meeting I attended.

The meeting was preoccupied with hearing a complaint from some single women who were heads of their own households. The complaint was associated with Natirea's contribution to the construction of new buildings for the health clinic and re-roofing the village school classrooms. In this work the women made the thatch and string which the men used in the construction. However, no payment was made for materials, such as timber, string and thatch. Payment was made only for the work of construction, which involved the assembly of materials that had been provided without charge. Women living in mixed households shared in the payment of labour, albeit indirectly, because the male members of their households were involved in the construction work. Women in households with no males engaged in the construction, however, received nothing.

At least ninety percent of the speaking was by men. Most supported the women in principle and a common theme to their comments was the complementary nature of the division of the gender division of labour,

which was, in both the household and village council enterprises, consistent with what Bott (1957) termed a "segregated conjugal-role relationship". Some did not approve of the issue being raised as a complaint (*tangitang*), saying that they would have been much more kindly disposed towards a request (*bubuti*). An old lady then formally made the complaint a request which removed that ground for disapproval and it was agreed, by a show of hands, that the money received by the Natirea village council as payment for labour would be pooled and shared out equally.

It was noticeable that the committee members and office holders took little part in general discussion. The office holders usually confined their comments to matters directly related to the exercise of their respective offices, while I recorded no contribution to any debate from any of the ordinary committee members during the meetings I attended. In fact the committee had no power in its own right and met less frequently than the whole village council did. The only functional members of the committee were its office holders, who acted in accordance with decisions made by meetings of the whole council and reported directly to those meetings. The subservience of the committee and its officers to the whole council was illustrated by a decision of the council to fine the committee members five dollars each for their failure to act promptly in calling a gathering to welcome a visitor to the village. All of the committee members were fined, even though such responsibilities were, in practice, discharged by the chairperson acting alone.

The flow of power in the operation of the Natirea village council was from old to young and male to female. The deliberations which preceded formal decision making during *maungatabu* meetings were conducted almost entirely by men in the forty to sixty age group. However, once made, the implementation of any decision was usually straightforward because expectations about who would do what were quite uniform. For example, following the decision to refurbish the buildings associated with the *maneaba*, there was no need to debate who was going to do what because the division of labour in terms of gender and age was well established and according to it thatch and string could only be supplied by the women. The timber to be obtained from the bush could only be obtained by the young men. Responsibility for constructing the building could only be assumed by the mature, married men. The gender division of labour is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

The handling of money owned by a group or organisation was usually a delicate issue in Kiribati. The person in physical possession of the money was often the focus of intense suspicion for embezzlement, suspicions which were often well founded. Natirea had a collective system of holding and increasing the bulk of its funds which were not in the bank. The system began with a sum of ninety two dollars being divided between the forty six households, giving each two dollars, at a regular monthly meeting of the council. At the next meeting each household was required to return the two dollars plus ten percent, a total of \$2.20. That money was collected and recorded by the treasurer, following which the same amount was returned to each household to be held for another month to be returned with interest at the next meeting.

The system spread the responsibility for safeguarding the group's funds and ensured a high degree of transparency. By the time of my arrival at Kuma in 1994 the amount had increased to nearly six hundred dollars.

As well as being a place for meeting and deliberation, the *maneaba* was a venue for the offering of hospitality, an essential component of which was the performance of dance. Each *maneaba*, therefore, had its dancers, members of the community associated with the *maneaba* who had been trained in the performance of at least some of the customary dance forms in existence. In most *maneaba* throughout Kiribati the dance forms practised were the ancient forms of sitting dance *te bino*, *te buata* and *te tangi ni wenei* and the standing dances *te ruoia* and *te kamei*. The members of each *maneaba* took pride in their dancers and competition between *maneaba* was often fierce when dancers from the different *maneaba* on an island danced under the roof of one *maneaba* during island-wide events. However the rivalry in most cases was between groups practising the same dance forms supported by the same magico-religious rituals (*tabunea*). It seems that Kuma has had a particularly strong association with dance. For example, Lambert noted that during his time on Makin and Butaritari between 1959 and 1961 traditional dance was only performed in Kuma village on Butaritari and Kiebu village on Makin (Lambert, 1963:40).

When Kuma was divided between two village councils and the members of the households associated with each council built a separate *maneaba*, the people associated with each *maneaba* adopted entirely different types of dance. The people of the northern part of

Kuma adopted the *taubati* and the people of the southern part adopted the *natirea*. It was from the names of the dance types they adopted that the two village councils acquired their names: Taubatua and Natirea. The *taubati* was a dance form introduced from Samoa (Sabatier, 1971:363) and developed on Arorae, the southernmost island in the Gilbert group.⁸ It was quite different from the ancient, and more widely practised, I-Kiribati dance forms listed earlier. The *taubati* was introduced to Kiebu village on Makin from Arorae by one Ten Kawaaki and embraced by Nan Uraura sometime during the 1930's before Nan Uraura succeeded Nan Kaiea II to become the last High Chief of Butaritari and Makin. The old men of Makin village on Makin requested permission from the people of Kiebu to adopt the *taubati* as well but their request was denied. In response to that the people of Makin village decided to create their own dance form. According to informants the *natirea* was developed during the 1940's, following the end of the Japanese occupation of Makin and Butaritari, by Nan Nakibae, who was responsible for choreographing foot movements, and Nan Tetikai, who was responsible for choreographing hand and body movements (*kaina*).

I was unable to unravel the exact sequence of events associated with the introduction of the *taubati* and the *natirea* to Kuma, however, it seemed that both were introduced during 1988, prior to the completion of the two *maneaba*. The adoption of the two different dance forms became the focus of intense rivalry between the two village councils. During 1989 and 1990 relations between the members of Taubautua and

⁸ A similar dance form, also from Samoa and often seen in Kiribati is one known as *Bakatamoa*.

Natirea were bad. For example, it was customary on Butaritari for anyone passing a house to be called upon by its residents to stop and rest. However, during the height of the tension that practice was suspended if the person passing was from one section of the village and the residents of the house from the other, even if all of the people involved were close kin. During the same period an intense rivalry developed between Nan Timeon and Nan Kautinaoun, the composers of Taubatua and Natiria, respectively. Nan Timeon had a long declared interest in dance composition and its associated *tabunea* and had publicly declared his willingness to compete (*te kaunikai*) with any dance composer who cared to accept his challenge (Tarau, 1976:1).

At the 1990 independence celebration in Butaritari both Taubatua and Natirea were represented in dance and the rivalry was keen. Following that Taubatua, under Nan Kautintaoun, built a *nikawewe*, a shrine formed by a border of stones surrounding a larger stone representing a venerated spirit, behind their *maneaba*. In that area people used to gather in the pre-dawn and sing. One morning, they gathered in the *nikawewe*, wearing red *be* (cotton lavalava), with Nan Kautintaoun. Within the *nikawewe* was a stone upon which Nan Timeon's image was inscribed. The eyes and neck of the image were struck to produce a corresponding effect upon the person of Nan Timeon. Next the stone was plunged into a fire to bring about the complete demise of Timeon. The group then moved to the *maneaba* to anticipate their victory over Natirea.

All that time, according to the story, Nan Timeon had been present, also wearing a red *bē*, but unnoticed by the members of Taubatua. He slipped away, invisible, to rematerialise just north of Tenanoraoi, the *maneaba* of Natirea. Word was then sent to Taubatua that Timeon had been present at their ritual and the claim was substantiated with an account of what he had witnessed. Timeon declared that the "barbs" directed at him by Kautintaoun would return to smite Kautintaoun.

The next development seems to have been the announcement by Kautintaoun that he and the members of Taubatua would arrive at Tenanoraoi on 5 October, 1990. Word was sent to Timeon on Makin and the people of Natirea all gathered in their *maneaba* to await whatever was to happen. No one remained in their house at that time. Timeon arrived by plane from Makin and travelled to Kuma. On 5 October Kautintaoun was taken ill, suffering a swollen stomach and losing his sight. He was driven from the northern section of Kuma, past Tenanoraoi, to the hospital at Butaritari, where he died. The members of Taubatua did not come to Tenanoraoi and Timeon ordered the erection of a stone at the *maneaba* entrance to commemorate Kautintaoun's death. Members of Taubatua complained about the stone and the police removed it over the objections of Nan Kiritanuea Tibau, a man also regarded as versed in *tabunea* and the builder of Natirea's *maneaba*, Tenanoraoi. Following that, Timeon ordered a second stone erected and that was the one which remained in place during my fieldwork in Kuma. Natirea people spoke of several other deaths of Taubatua people who had been actively associated with Nan Kautintaoun.

Although relations between the members of Taubatua and Natirea were no longer openly hostile in 1994, the events just described were fresh in people's memories and formed an important part of the group identity of the members of Natirea. I did not obtain the Taubatua side of the story because my position as the guest of Natirea made it inappropriate for me to ask such sensitive questions of Taubatua people. However, what is important from the point of view of this study is not a balanced historical account of that conflict so much as its impact upon the development of a sense of group identity.

The events described were enshrined in combined dance and song. One dance regularly performed recounted the failure of Nan Kautinaoun to arrive at Tenanoraoui as he had promised, his subsequent death and the decision to erect a hard stone pillar in commemoration. Another dance recounted a failed *tabunea* conducted by the people of Taubatua within their *nikawewe* to have a star fall among them.

It was common on Butaritari for village councils to have a day set aside each year for the entertainment of their old residents. This day was called *aia bong karo* (old parents' day) and its timing was a matter for each council. Natirea held theirs on 5 October every year. On the day before the event was to be held in 1994 three men came to join me for breakfast. One of them asked me if I knew what the day was for. I replied that I supposed it was to honour the old. No, he replied, it was

to celebrate the death of Kautintaoun at the hands of the superior *wi wawi* of Nan Timeon Ienraoi on 5 October 1990.⁹

All three stressed that no-one else should be told, particularly no-one from Taubatua! To emphasise that, one of them said that his wife, who was also of Natirea, did not know about this because he had not told her. He had not told her because her father and all of her siblings were members of Taubatua. If he told her, she might tell her family.¹⁰ During the course of the next day I asked several of the old people why the day was held on 5 October and all replied without hesitation that it was to commemorate their victory over Taubatua.

The day was certainly to honour the old and provide them with a pleasurable and entertaining day, but the timing was explicitly political. The association between dance and village politics provides an example of dance as political behaviour which Hanna (1979:4) refers to. The association between dance and sorcery was very strong and it seemed that there could be no dance without *tabunea*; that dance was in fact preceded by *tabunea* (Tarau, 1976:1). Poort (1975:17) notes the

⁹ I knew Kautintaoun quite well when I lived on Butaritari in 1981 and heard of his death in this manner while speaking to a friend from Butaritari on Tarawa before travelling to Kuma in May 1994. My friend had little sympathy for Kautintaoun, considering him to have developed an inflated opinion of his abilities and importance, and having ended up biting off more than he could chew. Whatever did cause his death, there is no doubt that the events to which it is attributed did actually occur.

¹⁰ Despite what Nan Toniki told me, it seems likely that at least some members of Taubatua would have noted the coincidence of the date. In fact it probably suited the members of Natirea to have their opponents suspect more than coincidence without overt admission.

supernatural origins ascribed to dance in Micronesia, Polynesia and South-East Asia. In I-Kiribati mythology all of the gods except Nareau were dancers (Grimble, 1989:81-82). In the case of Kuma the supernatural basis of dance was used to support the use of dance as a form of political behaviour. In Kuma the supernatural, dance and village politics came together to illustrate two of the characteristics of dance referred to by Hanna and Poort, above.

There seemed to be no genealogical basis to the division between Taubatua and Natirea. The table in Appendix Seven shows the distribution of descent group members among the households of Natirea and Taubatua. Thirty four of the ninety five descent groups are represented in both Natirea and Taubatua. As a percentage of the descent groups that number is low at about thirty five percent. However, in terms of numbers of people, the members of those thirty four descent groups number 305,¹¹ about seventy four percent of the village population. Without making a much more detailed study of that aspect of village politics it is not possible to discount a genealogical basis for the village split. However, the available evidence supports the conclusion that the village division is one which cuts across kinship ties and is not genealogically based. In view of that and the strong ties which bound close kin together, the enmity which had existed between the members of Taubatua and Natiria was surprising.

¹¹ This total is not derived directly from the table in Appendix Seven because the figures in that table count each person once for every descent group he or she belongs to. In order to obtain a true total the multiple counting of people has been adjusted so that each person was counted only once.

It has already been noted that the position of the boundary between Natirea and Taubatua coincided with one previously established by the Kiribati Protestant Church to divide its members in the village into two groups. (Table 6.3, below, shows that the division was roughly equal in numerical terms, while Table 6.4 shows the division to be almost equal in terms of households.) This raises the possibility that the village civil division had some basis in religious affiliation. However, the analysis which follows indicates that although the two sections of Kuma have different compositions of religious association, there was no evidence of religious affiliation being an issue as far as the antagonism between the village sections was concerned. However, this analysis does indicate that the different compositions of religious affiliation can be attributed to inward migration and the characteristics of the physical space which are such as to favour new settlement occurring in the south of the village rather than in the north.

Table 6.3 shows the distributions of the four religious denominations represented in Kuma among the members of Natirea and Taubatua. In both parts of Kuma the Protestants comprise the single largest denomination. In Taubatua the predominance of Protestants is clear, at nearly seventy percent. In Natirea, however, Protestants account for no more than fifty percent and are nearly matched by Catholics at over forty percent. If the almost entirely Catholic origin of the memberships of the relatively recent Church of God and Baha'i denominations is taken into account there is virtually an even numerical split between those of Protestant origins and those of Catholic origins within Natirea.

Table 6.3. The distribution of religious affiliation of residents by village section.

village section	Natirea		Taubatua		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n
Protestant	122	50.00	116	69.46	238
Catholic	98	40.16	43	25.75	141
Church of God	18	7.38	1	0.60	19
Baha'i	6	2.46	7	4.19	13
Totals	244	100.00	167	100.00	411

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Table 6.4. The distribution of religious affiliation of households by village section.

Village section	Natirea		Taubatua		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n
Protestant	20	45.45	21	72.41	41
Catholic	19	43.18	6	20.69	25
Church of God	4	9.09	0	0.00	4
Baha'i	1	2.27	2	6.90	3
Total	44	100.00	29	100.00	73

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Table 6.4, showing religious affiliation by household for each village section, indicates that Catholic and Protestant households in Natirea are very closely matched. This is significant because Kuma has long been a stronghold of the Kiribati Protestant Church on Butaritari, in contrast

Table 6.5. The distribution of religious affiliation among the zones of the Genealogical field.

Religion	Zones of the Genealogical Field							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Kiribati Protestant Church	81.68	69.41	49.10	30.85	0.00	15.15	28.57	50.88
Catholic Church	16.79	24.66	43.11	63.83	87.50	54.55	28.57	49.12
Church of God	0.00	3.20	5.39	1.06	0.00	18.18	42.86	0.00
Baha'i Faith	1.53	2.74	2.40	4.26	12.50	12.12	0.00	0.00
Percentage Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Number Total ²	n = 131	n = 219	n = 167	n = 94	n = 32	n = 33	n = 14	n = 57

Source: Fieldwork, 1984.

² These totals differ from those in Table 5.4 because they count the members of all descent groups in each field, whereas in Table 5.1 only the members of descent groups associated with Kuma land plots were counted.

with the rest of Butaritari, whose residents were and are predominantly Catholic. Within the genealogical field (see Figure 4.1 and Table 5.4) the incidence of Catholic affiliations, whether current or lapsed, tends to increase with distance from the core of the field. That pattern is shown in Table 6.5 which indicates a direct relationship between genealogical centrality and association with the Kiribati Protestant Church. It also shows an inverse relationship between genealogical centrality and association with the Catholic Church. The tendency for association with the Catholic Church to increase with distance from the core of the genealogical field resembles the tendency, identified and discussed in Chapter Five, of association with the former aristocratic (*toka*) social status group to increase in the same way. This suggests a relationship between association with the aristocracy and membership of the Catholic Church. Reference to Table 6.6 shows that nearly three quarters of people associated with the former aristocracy were Catholics.

Table 6.6. The religious affiliations of residents associated with the former aristocratic (*toka*) social status group.

Village section	Nairea		Taubatua		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Denomination					n
Protestant	7	16.28	6	22.22	13
Catholic	31	72.09	21	77.78	52
Church of God	1	2.33	0	0.00	1
Baha'i	4	9.30	0	0.00	4
Total	43	100.00	27	100.00	70

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

However, association with the former aristocrat and commoner status groups does not, in itself, provide a basis for differentiating the populations of Natirea and Taubatua. Table 6.7 shows clearly that the proportions of commoners and aristocrats are almost the same in each section of the village. In view of this the primary basis upon which the populations of Natirea and Taubatua were differentiated seemed to be religious affiliation.

Table 6.7. The distribution of former status group members among the two sections of Kuma village.

Village section	Natirea		Taubatua		Total
	n	%	n	%	n
Aristocrat	43	17.62	27	16.17	70
Commoner	201	82.38	140	83.83	341
Total	244	100.00	167	100.00	411

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

The reason why Catholics constituted a significantly higher proportion of Natirea's population (40.16 percent) than of Taubatua's (25.75 percent) (refer to Table 6.3) is probably due to a combination of Kuma's historical Protestantism and the geographical location of Natirea at the southern end of Kuma village. The tendency for Catholics to be located away from the centre of the genealogical field and thus less genealogically integrated into the Kuma community is associated with their possession of more genealogical links outside the village than possessed by people closer to the centre of the genealogical field. The

association between a descent group's being distant from the centre of the genealogical field and its members having been discontinuously resident in the village over recent generations was discussed in Chapter Five in relation to the uneven distribution of land-use rights among contemporary residents.

For the members of a descent group to have resided discontinuously in Protestant Kuma they obviously had to have resided elsewhere. Apart from those who moved to urban Tarawa in search of work, or to live with kin already employed there, most people electing not to live in Kuma would have lived in other villages on Butaritari and Makin, all of which were predominantly Catholic. An approximation of the extent to which Catholics outnumbered Protestants on Butaritari outside Kuma can be obtained by subtracting the numbers of Protestants and Catholics in Kuma, obtained during fieldwork, from the numbers for all Butaritari obtained in the 1990 Census of Population (Statistics Office, 1993, Table 8:53). The figures obtained from this calculation are 2810 Catholics and 365 Protestants, indicating that, on average, Catholics outnumbered Protestants by a factor of 7.7 on Butaritari, outside Kuma. According to figures from the same census, on Makin, Catholics outnumbered Protestants by a factor of 4.0.

Given such a preponderance of Catholics over Protestants on Butaritari, it was likely that a significant proportion of people moving to Kuma to resume access to their descent group's or groups' land plots would be Catholic. The strong possibility that Catholic residents of Kuma tend to be associated with descent groups whose members have not

been in continuous residence in the village over recent generations is of significance in understanding the differing proportions of Catholics and Protestants in the two sections of Kuma. This is because Natirea, the section of the village with the higher proportion of Catholics to Protestants was located at the southern end of the village. As can be seen by reference to Figure 1.4 and Appendix Eleven, Kuma is located at the northern end of the islet it is on.

Entrance to the village by land is, of necessity, from the south. At the same time, the direction in which the village could most readily expand was to the south. Although there was room to the north of the village, it was relatively distant from the lagoon beach, to which people preferred to have ready access for such regular activities as net fishing, shell fish gathering and soaking Coconut husks prior to making string¹². The practice of maintaining residence on land plots contiguous with both lagoon and ocean might have become established during the pre-colonial period when land-use rights could extend from dry land onto the lagoon and ocean reef flats (Lambert, 1971:160). With only three exceptions, households located on land plots which were not contiguous with the lagoon beach were those of the health clinic nurse and the primary school teachers, all of whom were Government employees living in houses attached to their employment and situated on land plots leased by the Island Council from those holding rights to them.

¹² Activities associated with the lagoon and its beach are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Appendix Eleven shows that the widths of land plots within the village were noticeably narrower than those to the south, as could be expected in a residential area. As shown in Appendix Eleven, the widths of plots begin to widen noticeably from land number 46, suggesting that, at the time of the Lands Commission hearings in 1956, the southern extremity of the village might have been at land number 45. In view of the village's much smaller population at that time (280 in 1952, according to Cartland, 1953: Appendix G., compared to 411 in 1994) it is likely to have occupied significantly less space than it did in 1994. A clue to the pre-colonial extent of the village space can be derived from information I obtained about the location of an ancient *maneaba* constructed in the early days of Kuma's settlement. The site of that *maneaba* was referred to as *eta-n-maneaba* (top of the *maneaba*) and located upon land number 37, named Aoraereke, adjacent to a land named Nuka, which means centre. The large stone posts of that *maneaba* remained on the land and some were cut up and used in the construction of the *maneaba* of Natirea and Taubatua. In view of the centrality of the *maneaba* in village corporate life, the location of *eta-n-maneaba* on a land adjacent to one whose name denoted the centre and the significantly smaller population of Kuma in the past, it is likely that the centre of the village was, until relatively recently, north of the contemporary geographical village centre which was in the vicinity of land number 44.

The descent group exogamy noted in Chapter Four favoured the establishment of connections between descent groups because of the need for people to find marriage partners outside their own descent

groups. The connections created through the establishment of affinal ties by inter-descent group marriage were precursors to the consanguineal collateral kinship ties to which the descendants of those marriage partners become subject. The dynamics associated with descent group ~~endogamy~~^x coupled with the relative ease of travel to other parts of Butaritari atoll and people's decisions to take up residence in Kuma in order to exercise their land rights there, all combined to ensure the regular infusion of "fresh" descent groups into the village. However, due to the widespread nature of kinship ties throughout Butaritari and Makin it was likely that in many cases "fresh" descent groups would be connected to at least some of the descent lines which had been more or less continuously associated with the village since its origins.

The characteristics of the genealogical field indicate that the expansion of the kuma population which had occurred was clearly contributed to by inward migration as well as natural increase. The dominance of members of the Catholic Church in the composition of religious affiliation on Butaritari and Makin, apart from Kuma, was such that many people migrating into the village from other parts of Butaritari and Makin were likely to have been Catholic. That conclusion gains support from the higher proportion of Catholics in the composition of the religious affiliations of members of Natirea than in that of the members of Taubatua. That is so because the geographical expansion of the village which seems to have accompanied the expansion of its population has clearly been towards the south, resulting in the disproportionate numbers of Catholics resident in that part of the village.

There remains the possibility that the respective balances of religious affiliations in the two village councils was associated with the adoption and promotion of the particular dance forms which provided the basis of group differentiation and identity. For example, significance might be sought in the fact that the *Taubati*, the dance form adopted by the members of Taubatua, had been introduced by Samoan missionaries of the London Missionary Society to the southern Protestant islands of Arorae and Tamana. However, the extent of that significance must be mitigated by the fact that the residents of Kiebu, the village on Makin which introduced the *Taubati* from Arorae, were predominantly Catholic. In addition to that Nan Uraura, the then heir to the position of High Chief, who embraced the *taubati* while resident in Kiebu, was himself Catholic. In view of the apparent lack of religious basis for the adoption of the *taubati* by the predominantly Protestant members of the northern section of Kuma, there seems no reason to conclude that relatively high proportion of Catholics among the residents of the southern section of the village had a bearing on their adoption of the *natirea* from the village of Makin, which, while predominantly Catholic, was less so than Kiebu.

One question which has not yet been addressed is concerned with why Kuma people adopted these contemporary dance forms rather than the ancient forms whose practice was much more widespread throughout Kiribati. Informants in both Natirea and Taubatua told me that they preferred their respective dances to more traditional forms because they required less intensive training and less elaborate preparation in terms of dancing accoutrements than the traditional forms. The traditional dances were sometimes performed in the Catholic and

Protestant *maneaba* where the *taubati* and *natirea* were never performed because adherents of both would be present and physical violence likely to result.

In view of the strong pre-Christian magico-religious spiritual basis of ancient and contemporary I-Kiribati dance, the apparent lack of association between dance and affiliation with post-contact religious forms is, perhaps, not surprising. It is noteworthy that the course of events which occurred in Kuma, with respect to the adoption of conflicting dance forms, resembled that which had occurred earlier on Makin island, as noted earlier. It is possible that events in Kuma unfolded with the earlier events on Makin as a conceptual model for Kuma residents. To address that question would require a more detailed and focused study of these events and relationships between Kuma village and Makin island than has been possible in this study.

The dynamics underlying the relationships between the aspects of social and physical space explored in this chapter have been different from those underlying the relationships discussed in Chapters Four and Five. In those chapters the genealogical rules underlying participation in rites of passage, kinship obligations and the inheritance of land rights, were strongly prescriptive, restricting random social action by imposing a tight normative framework within which social action was conducted by agents. By contrast the relationships between the village and island political fields and the physical space were characterised by considerable fluidity, creativity and overt struggle. A fundamental component of the armoury employed in the associated struggles was the

purported manipulation, through magico-religious practices, of a non-material realm in order to effect change in the material realm of social and physical space.

The fluid field of village and island politics contrasted with the more stable structure of the genealogical field and its relationship with physical space through the distribution of land and *babai* pit rights. Cutting across consanguineal relationships, the field of village politics in Kuma was characterised by a fervour which was perhaps a cathartic release from the normative framework associated with the genealogical field. Yet, despite its distinction from the genealogical field, the political field retained some interesting associations with the structure of the genealogical field and its structuring by zones of differing degrees of genealogical interconnection followed inevitably from the practise of descent group exogamy which resulted in the steady inward migration of people to the village.

In the context of the political field, connections between social space and physical space were apparent in the gendered use of space at any public gathering and particularly during the deliberations of village councils. They were also apparent in the physical division of the village to accommodate two village councils. It was in the relationships between those two councils that the fervour and cathartic release referred to above was evident.

The different compositions of the populations of the two village sections could be understood in terms of another articulation of social

and physical space in which the structure of physical space was primary because it was such that the only direction in which the village could expand was southward. The characteristics of the genealogical field were relevant to this question because Catholicism was associated with distance from the core of the field, as was loose integration in the field. It seemed, therefore, that the growth of the village to the south had been associated with population growth to which inward migration had contributed.

Summary

The fields of island and village politics are defined by relationships which cut across those defining the genealogical field. The social relations associated with the political fields were manifested in physical space in a number of ways. The physical space of Kuma was divided in two, with each section being host to a separate village council. That division was reinforced by each council adopting a different style of dance and using the resulting rivalry as the basis of a politics of difference between the two sections. Pre-Christian magico-religious practices had been used by each side in its struggle for preeminence. The physical spaces of *maneaba* were structured in terms of seating patterns, which reflected age and gender relations. The direct link between the political field of the island and the distribution of land rights which had characterised the pre-colonial society when the High Chief had ultimate rights to all land plots, no longer existed. Following the dissolution of the institution of High Chief, an unsuccessful attempt to recreate such a link was made when

an island council of old men was formed to reclaim the King's quarters of lands for the holders of their associated commoner and aristocrat land plots.

The development of island government following World War Two took place in the context of easing the draconian restrictions associated with models of island government imposed by colony administrators from Campbell to Grimble. The introduction of a new model developed during the 1930's was delayed by the Japanese occupation of the Gilberts during World War Two. When it was introduced the old men, the traditional leaders throughout most of Kiribati, did not assume the prominent role in the official village council which it had been hoped they would, preferring to rely upon the traditional basis of their authority, rather than seek legitimacy from the colonial government. On islands to the south of Butaritari and Makin, the old men exercised their traditional authority in parallel to the elected island councils. On Butaritari and Makin the strength of the institution of High Chief had meant that the old men had not been associated with the same tradition of leadership as their southern peers and their influence on island affairs was largely confined to participation in the installation of new High Chiefs. The failure of the council of old men to obtain the return of the King's quarters was attributed by many people to the threat of retaliatory sorcery from the family of the former High Chief.

Pre-Christian magico-religious practices were of two types: *tabunea*, which involved the incantation of words and *te kawai*, which involved ritual action without incantation. *Tabunea* were usually performed in

conjunction with *te kawai*. *Tabunea* differed from prayer (*tataro*) in that prayer involves an attitude of supplication towards a supernatural entity, whereas *tabunea* involves an attitude of command towards a supernatural entity. *Tabunea* was associated with all aspects of life and residents regarded their adherence to Christianity and use of *tabunea* as pertaining to different aspects of their lives.

In terms of village government, Kuma was divided in two by a boundary previously drawn by the Kiribati Protestant Church to divide their membership into two equal groups. Each section had its own *maneaba* and village council, the northern section being named Taubatua and the southern section Natirea. The basis of representation on the village councils were households, the basic units of production, whose heads were responsible for representing them at council meetings. The basis of representation in pre-colonial village government was also the then basic unit of production, the landowning descent group. While the contemporary and pre-colonial systems of representation were both based upon units of production, they differed in that whereas the old system was based also upon the possession of land rights in the village, the contemporary system was not. Council meetings were dominated by men although women had equal speaking rights and contributed forcefully on matters of particular concern to them.

Apart from providing a venue for deliberative meetings, the *maneaba* was associated with hospitality towards visitors and the performance of dance. Each of the two village *maneaba* was the venue for a different style of dance and rivalry between them was a basis of a general rivalry

between the members of Taubatua and Natirea. The division had no apparent genealogical basis and although the two sections had different compositions of religious affiliation, there seemed to be no religious basis for the division either. The difference in religious affiliation seemed to result from inward migration and the tendency for the associated village growth to occur in the southern section of the village.

Chapter Seven

Material culture

Introduction.

To speak in terms of the material culture of a group of people or a society is to speak of the means by which its members engage with their physical environment as they produce the things they need to meet their basic human needs of food, shelter and clothing. The exact form in which those needs are met and the means employed to meet them differ from culture to culture. Each discernible form represents a particular expression of the articulation of a particular social space with a particular physical space. This study focuses upon the articulation of social and physical space in a particular community and this chapter's contribution to the study is to describe and discuss the material culture prevailing in Kuma as a manifestation of the articulation of social and physical space.

For most of the time that the atolls of the Kiribati have been inhabited the three basic needs of food, shelter and clothing were met entirely from locally available resources by a neolithic material culture. With contact, colonisation and the introduction of elements of industrial technology, the neolithic basis of the material culture was rapidly replaced. However, although steel replaced shell for the blades of cutting tools, for example, the handles holding the steel blades were the same as those which had held the shell blades of old. New materials were

used for the same purposes and in the same ways as old materials had been. However, apart from metal, used in tools, cooking utensils, cooking vessels and fish hooks, and fibres such as cotton and nylon used in clothing and fishing tackle, the majority of the materials used, and resources exploited, were the same as those used and exploited before contact. New materials allowed old needs to be met less laboriously. The design and construction philosophy of canoes, for example, remained unchanged with the introduction of sawn planks, cotton sails and nylon monofilament to sew the planks together. The design, construction philosophy and materials used in the construction of housing was also almost completely unchanged.

The most pressing demands upon the material culture of Kuma were the provision of food, housing,¹ clothing and tobacco, and meeting those demands was a part of daily life for all residents in one way or another. Food and housing needs were met largely within the subsistence economy, although imported essential items such as tea and flour as well as non-essential items such as rice and corned beef, were purchased largely with money obtained from copra production. Copra production was also the principal source of money to purchase clothing

¹ I was informed by several residents that for people on Butaritari the two most primary material necessities were string and fire. String was crucial because almost everything made in rural Kiribati, including buildings and canoes, was lashed together with it. Fire was of equal importance because without it food could not be cooked. This was particularly the case with *babai*, which could not be eaten raw in the way that fish and coconut could. It might seem surprising that my informant did not accord primacy to food and water instead of tools. That he did not do so was consistent with the perception held on Butaritari and throughout Kiribati that food and water were readily and easily available on Butaritari. Given that ease of availability, the pressing need became the means to cook it.

and tobacco. At least some aspect of the provision of food and its preparation were part of the daily routine of all except very young children. The combination of high rainfall and impermanent building materials made activities associated with house maintenance part of the weekly routine of most households. Most households were involved in the collection of coconuts for copra production several times per week.

Those broad areas of activity are the subjects of this chapter. The tasks associated with meeting those needs will be discussed in terms of where each is conducted in the physical space, the gender and age divisions associated with the tasks and the pattern of socialisation underlying the gender division of labour. The discussion will be conducted under the three broad headings of building, food acquisition and production, and socialisation. The discussion of building includes the acquisition and processing of all materials used in the construction and furnishing of buildings. Food acquisition and production is discussed in terms of the three sources of food in contemporary Kuma (and rural Kiribati generally): the land, the sea and the store. Socialisation is discussed in the context of the manner in which children were introduced to economic activity, the way their introduction differed according to their gender and the significance of that pattern of socialisation for reproducing the particular articulation of social and physical space revealed by the study.

Building

Each household was comprised of at least two buildings, one for sleeping and general living purposes, called a *bao* and one for cooking, called an *uma ni kuka*. In addition to those about forty percent of households had a bathing enclosure called a *roki* and about the same percentage had one or two additional buildings such as a walled storage hut or larger *maneaba* style house.

The *bao* was a type of house which had been used occasionally in the pre-colonial period (Lambert, 1963:23) but made compulsory by the Colonial Administration in association with the consolidation of the scattered *kainga* settlements² into villages which occurred in the early twentieth century under the first Resident Commissioner, W. T. Campbell (Macdonald, 1982:205). The word *bao* refers broadly to anything which is sat on, whether for rest or travel and is applied equally to houses and vehicles. A raised floor distinguishes this type of house from the communal *umatoro* in which people had lived in their *kainga* settlements. The *umatoro* had been built on the ground and enclosed by low walls. *Bao* are of two types, *kiakia* and *buia*. *Kiakia* are smaller than *buia*, having their platform floors integral to the whole structure, being attached to the house posts. *Buia* have free-standing platforms which are not attached to the house posts. Both *buia* and *kiakia* have a ridged roof over the platform usually supported by four posts, with larger *buia* having six posts. The height of the platform floor above the ground

² The pre-contact system of *kainga* settlement was discussed in Chapter Six.

ranges from about 800 mm to 1200 mm, with larger *buia* having the higher floor. Both *buia* and *kiakia* are open-sided, having blinds made from woven coconut leaf mats called *bakatarawa*. Each section of blind consists of four or five *bakatarawa* held together with string, one above the other, and able to be lowered quickly to protect the inside of the house against rain squalls and strong wind. The roofs of *buia* and *kiakia* are covered with thatch made from either coconut leaves, known as *ato*, or from pandanus leaves, known as *rau*. The surface of the floor platform is formed by coconut frond (*ba ni*) midribs, from which the leaves have been removed, called *ba*, which run across the width of the platform, tightly packed, side by side, lashed to supporting timbers with coconut fibre string, called *kora*. A variety of timbers are used to frame these houses. Larger *buia*, those approximately four or more metres in length, are usually supported on posts and beams made from the unsplit trunks and larger branches of the pandanus tree (*pandanus tectorius*), called *te kaina*. The posts do not sit on or in the ground, where they would be subject to rotting, but are held clear on coral foundation stones. Their roofing timbers are often split or sawn pandanus wood.

Smaller *buia* and *kiakia* are rarely framed entirely with pandanus wood although it is usually used for floor and roof beams. Other timbers used for posts, roofing and floor framing, particularly in small buildings, include *te uri* (*guettarda speciosa*), *te aitoa* (*lumnitzera littorea*), *te non*, (*morinda citrifolia*), *te ngea* (*pemphis acidula*) and *te tongo* (*rhizophora mucronata*). Timber from the coconut tree (*cocos nicifera*), called *te ni*, is used in the same ways as pandanus timber, but less often. This is because pandanus is more durable than coconut and is more freely

available. The economic importance of coconut palms as essential factors of copra production makes them less attractive to fell, although this does not apply to senile palms 60 or more years old which have declining yields. Coconut palms are not freely available because they are the property of the people holding rights to the plots on which they grow. Pandanus, on the other hand, are freely available because they are regarded as having no economic importance as sources of either food or money.

On Butaritari pandanus grow prolifically in the bush away from the village. Their fruit is freely available and eaten mainly by children. Both fruit and trunks may be taken by any resident from any land plot. The lack of importance of this plant to landholders was underlined by the way they would be burned off along with scrub and grass during land clearing (see also Sewell, 1983:75). In Kuma, at least, the supply of pandanus for all the uses to which it was put was clearly sufficient to meet the demand for it at the time of the study.

The *uma ni kuka* is a low, earth floored, building with sufficient headroom only for sitting or standing bent at the waist. Sometimes it forms an extension to one end of a *buia* or *kiakia* which is separate from the household's main sleeping and living *buia*. *Uma ni kuka* which stand alone are usually very humble structures, their small size allowing them to be built from small, easily obtained timbers. One end of the *uma ni kuka* serves as a store for the firewood which is required to keep the open-hearth cooking fire burning. The roof of a free standing *uma ni kuka* reaches almost to the ground on three sides and is thatched with

either *te rau* or *te ato*. In some households the fuel storage capacity of the *uma ni kuka* was supplemented by an adjacent lean-to roof, the *uma n aia*, in which fuel was stored. The fuel, or *aia*, used on the cooking fire was any easily obtainable dry, flammable, vegetable matter. Timber was not usually cut from living plants for fuel. The two principal sources of fuel were fallen branches and coconut fronds collected from the bush and coconut husks and shells which were the byproducts of copra production and the use of mature coconut flesh as food for people and pigs.

The bathing enclosure or *roki* is a simple structure of four sides framed with light timbers and clad with a thatch of either *te rau* or *te ato*. A hessian copra sack provides an entrance curtain. The floor is covered with coral pebbles or *atama*. These are often not used by the members of the households which had one and they seemed to be used mainly by the old and the sick. It is easier to shower close to the well, or *maniba*, drawing water with a bucket and immediately pouring it over one's head, after stepping back a few paces from the edge of the well. Of course there is no enclosure when bathing in this way and people simply bathe with their clothes on if bathing during the day or bathe after dark for a more thorough wash. Using the *roki* for bathing involves filling a basin at the well and carrying it to the *roki*, a process involving more time and effort than simply bathing by the well.

Four households had an additional house built like a *buia* but without a raised platform floor, in the style of the *umatoro*. The floors of these were on the ground, covered with pebbles on which were spread mats

woven from coconut palm fronds and called *inai*.³ Two of those houses were used as places to work in, one was used for some of the household to sleep and one was used as a private *maneaba* for the commercial screening of videos.

There were 13 canoe sheds, called *bareaka*, housing the larger canoes, or *wa*. They were all located along the lagoon shore (*i tanrio*), some were associated with the household they were next to and others not. The *bareaka* are long thin structures standing on posts which might be pandanus or one of the other timbers referred to earlier. The roof beam supported by the posts was usually pandanus log and the roof timbers might be any of those referred to earlier. The *bareaka* covers the width of the canoe hull, *te wa*, while the outrigger platform, *te kiaro*, and float, *te rama*, protrudes from one side of the *bareaka*. The roof is thatched with either *rau* or *ato*.

The final structure which all households possessed was a slatted wooden platform standing about 1.5 m high, called *te kai n raurau*, upon which plates and other eating and cooking utensils were kept.

The materials from which all of those structures were made came from the bush land outside the village. The bush land to the north and east of the village was called *buakonikai* and the bushland to the south was called *tanikamotu*. *Buakonikai* is a term used throughout Kiribati to refer

³ The *bakatarawa* referred to earlier is half an *inai*. Whereas the *inai* has the remnant of the midrib running along the centre of its length, the *bakatarawa* has the remnant of the midrib running along the length of its upper edge.

both to the bush outside a village and to the ocean side of an island, although the latter is more often referred to as *tanrake*, the ascending side of the land. When *buakonikai* refers to the ocean side it is usually referring to the east and *buakonikai* is also sometimes used to refer to the eastern direction at sea as well. The term *tanikamotu* seems peculiar to Butaritari, I was unable to find reference to it in any literature nor discover its derivation from informants in Kuma. However, the prefix *tan* means to face, so *tanrake*, referred to above, means facing the ocean coast, which is referred to as *rake* because to reach it from the lagoon shore required one to go up, *rake*, from the relative down, *rio*, of the lagoon shore. So *tanikamotu* seemed to refer to facing *kamotu*, but to what exactly *kamotu* referred was uncertain. I first learned the usage of *tanikamotu* by hearing third parties use the term. Until then people would refer to all the bush lands by the more widely used term, *buakonikai*, when they were speaking to me, assuming, correctly, that I was unfamiliar with the other term.

An important difference between *buakonikai* and *tanikamotu* was proximity to the village. *Buakonikai* was all adjacent and close to the village, while *tanikamotu* extended to approximately 3.5 kilometres from the southern edge of the village. Also, the land plots associated with *buakonikai* were in most cases land plots upon the western halves of which people lived.

The gathering, manufacturing and assembling of the materials and components required for the various types of building discussed earlier was characterised by a division of labour which was defined in terms of

both gender and age. The felling of trees, the processing of timber into building components and the assembly of the components to form a building, was the responsibility of men and youths. The extent to which those different tasks were divided among the participating men on the basis of age depended upon the size of the building and the number of men involved. A large public building, such as a *maneaba*, (or a small publicly owned building such as a *kiakia* built to house a visiting researcher) resulted in what might be considered to be an ideal intergenerational division of labour.

In such cases, the cutting of trees in *buakonikai* and *tanikamotu* and their carriage to the village building site, was carried out by youths and men aged from about fifteen to thirty. Processing the timber into building components was the responsibility of men in the thirty to fifty year age groups. When the younger men had delivered the raw materials they would rest and watch the work of trimming, cleaning and splitting being carried out by the older men. As the latter rested they would be replaced by younger men and in that way an informal system of apprenticeship operated whereby the basic building skills required by all men in the village were passed from generation to generation.

One man, usually in the forty to sixty years age range with knowledge of the principles of customary building practice and any necessary ritual, who was known as the *tia kateitei*, would be directing the work. Having specified the timber required and the manner in which it was to be prepared, the *tia kateitei* would direct the assembly of the building, taking responsibility for ensuring the correct proportions were maintained. The

building assembly involved all of the framing members being lashed together. The bulk of that lashing would be performed by men in their twenties to forties. The connection of rafters, *oka*, to the roof beam, *tatanga*, was a crucial bond which required an elaborate lashing. Those lashings were often either done by older men in their sixties or supervised by them.

The final process in the construction would be securing the thatch to the outermost roof framing timbers, the *kai ni kakari*. That was a job requiring agility and strength and was performed by youths and men in the fifteen to twenty-five years age group. If the building had a platform floor members of the same age group would be involved in the relatively simple lashing work associated with securing the coconut frond midrib floor covering to the flooring frame.

Two essential components of the building have been referred to but nothing has yet been said about their manufacture. Those are string and thatch, the manufacture of which was primarily the responsibility of women. Whereas timber could be cut, processed and assembled in a short space of time without delay, the production of string and thatch took much more time from the point at which a decision was made to produce it until it was able to be used. That was particularly the case with string, which required at least two months between starting the process and having string ready to use.

The fibres for string making were obtained from the husk (*benu*) of green drinking coconuts (*moimoto*). The nuts were obtained by a youth

or man who climbed a tree which was growing suitable nuts and dropped as many as were needed to the ground. The involvement of males in that stage of the process was necessary because climbing coconut trees was not considered to be a suitable activity for girls and women. The dropped nuts were taken to the house site and husked on a pointed wooden spike called a *koro*. This work was known as *te koro m benu* and was carried out by both men and women. From that point, however, responsibility for the production of string was assumed entirely by women and their daughters. The husks were placed in a retting pit (*te rua ni benu*) on the lagoon flats and held down with rocks and coconut palm fronds where they were left to soak in sea water for two or three months. During this retting process, which was known as *tao-benu*, the husk material⁴ surrounding the fibres rotted while the fibres (*benu*) themselves became stronger. Fibre could be soaked in fresh water and, if speed was required, it could be boiled in fresh water. According to an informant this provided a softer fibre which was more pleasant to roll.

After retting, the fibres were removed (*tae-benu*) from the retting pit and wrung by hand to remove surplus water. Next the fibres were beaten (*tiri-benu*) with a mallet (*kai n tiri benua*), made, by men, especially for that purpose from the dense hard wood of *te ngea* (*pemphis acidula*), to loosen the fibres which were then spread out in the sun to dry. After drying they were ready for twisting into string and could be stored indefinitely until needed. The production of *kora* from the prepared *benu* was carried out in two stages. The first stage involved

⁴ Koch (1986:168) calls this *taeia* or *butae*, the former is unknown to me and the latter word means excrement. However I did not hear these terms used myself.

taking a pinch of fibres (averaging about thirty individual fibres) and rolling them between the thigh and the flat of the hand, an action known as *kakano*. This action consolidated the pinch of fibres into a unit called a *binoka*, measuring about twenty millimetres in length. When a number of those units had been prepared the next stage began. The ends of two units were overlapped and rolled together between hand and thigh. This continued until as many *binoka* as necessary had been joined to form the required length of string or *kora*. The standard unit of measure for string was the *tiki*, a length of 10 *nga* or fathoms, which is 60 feet or 18.3 metres.

The second essential building component for which women had primary responsibility was the manufacture of thatch from pandanus leaf, *rau*, and coconut leaf, *ato*, both of which will be described now. The first stage in making *rau* was to gather dead pandanus leaves from pandanus stands in *buakonikai* and *tanikamotu*, an activity known as *te bo rau*. Both men and women did this collection, although it was more usual to see women doing it than men. Once collected the leaves were flattened (*te toro rau*) by holding an end of the long leaf in each hand and sliding the leaf backwards and forwards several times, with the hands held close together, over a post (*te kai n toro rau*), about 50 mm in diameter, secured in the ground.⁵ When flattened, the leaves were ready to be used to form sections (*inaki*) of thatch. Each section of

⁵ Hockings (1989:174) reported from Onotoa, in the south of the Gilbert group, that the leaves were soaked in fresh water for seven days to make them pliable and increase their resistance to decay. I did not see that done on Butaritari and assume that the extremely wet conditions there compared with the southern islands might account for that.

thatch was based upon a length of coconut frond midrib (*ba*) about 2 metres long. About 40 mm of the base end of each leaf was wrapped around the *ba* and back over itself so that for about 25 mm from the *ba* the leaf was in two layers. The two layers of leaf were held together by a skewer made from the midrib (*noko*) of a side leaf of a coconut frond. The length of each section of thatch was covered by overlapping leaves attached to the *ba* in the manner just described.

The production of palm frond thatch (*ato*) began with the collection (*koro ato*), usually by women, of fallen brown coconut fronds. On most islands in the Gilbert group collection of the fronds was followed by their being soaked in fresh or brackish water to soften their leaves for ease of weaving. In Kuma, on the other hand, the fronds were, whenever possible, collected during, or immediately following, heavy rain and woven immediately, thus avoiding the need to soak them. *Ato* was much quicker to make than *rau*, but that advantage was offset by its lesser durability and it was usually used to thatch *uma ni kuka*, *roki* and store houses rather than the main living houses (*bao*), which were almost always thatched with *rau*. *Ato* was never used to thatch *maneaba*.

Thatch making of both types was a regular part of the work routine for the women of every household. Even though a household might not have spare, made up, *inaki* set aside it would be unlikely not to have a supply of flattened pandanus leaves available to enable any need for thatch to be promptly met. The frequency with which informants said that they collected pandanus leaves for thatch-making ranged from daily to monthly and those frequencies were associated with the frequency with

which they said they engaged in leaf flattening and the assembly of *inaki*. One woman who did that on a daily basis said that she made up one *inaki* per day on a regular basis. The year I was doing fieldwork might have been one with a heavier than usual demand for thatch because the village school buildings, the village health clinic buildings, the Natirea *maneaba*, Te nano raoi, and three small buildings associated with the *maneaba*, all required rethatching. However due to the heavy rainfall experienced by Butaritari, thatch did not last much beyond three years and within two years individual *inaki* began to wear out and leak. Because of that the roof maintenance (*te onoi-rau*) of private houses was an ongoing process as *inaki* were replaced one-by-one as necessary. The production of *ato* was closely related to the weather, being a job mainly set aside for periods of heavy rain.

Other important items associated with buildings such as *maneaba*, *bao* and *kiakia* were drop-blinds (*bakatarawa*), coconut frond mats (*inai*) and pandanus leaf sitting and sleeping mats. Whereas the coconut fronds used for *ato* were fallen ones, the fronds used for both *inai* and *bakatarawa* were cut from the tree while still green but nearing the ends of their lives. If the tree from which fronds were to be cut was no higher than a person, they could be cut down by a woman, but the cutting of fronds from higher trees which needed to be climbed was done by men and youths. Once cut, the fronds were left to dry in the sun for several hours before being woven. The mechanics of the weaving of *ato*, *inai* and *bakatarawa* are described in detail by Koch (1986).

The production of pandanus mats, like the production of pandanus thatch, involved more work than its coconut frond counterpart. Pandanus sitting mats were called *roba* and measured around 2 m x 1 m, but could be smaller than that. Sleeping mats were of three types, the single sleeping mat (*kie ni matu*), double sleeping mat (*wenewene*) and child's sleeping mat (*kie n ataei*). The weaving of sleeping mats was much finer than that of mats for sitting and they display a great variety of patterns woven into them with leaves of different tones of brown and yellow.

The leaves for those mats were gathered by men and women and were cut from the plant while still green. The leaves were taken to the house site and heated (*ang*) by being passed slowly over hot embers to dry and toughen them. The two serrated sides of each leaf were then removed from the central midrib and rolled up from one end, then unrolled and rolled up from the other, before being laid in the sun for about one week to dry and bleach. Finally the leaves were rolled up together in a large storage roll and kept until needed. When it was decided to use the stored leaves, they were removed from the large roll and rolled together in smaller rolls of ten or so leaves and each roll beaten all around its circumference with a heavy cylindrical mallet of *te ngea* called an *ikuku*. Each leaf was then divided in two, lengthwise, before each part of the divided leaf was drawn over a combing board (*bwere*) to produce strips of leaf of uniform width for the final weaving of the mat.

In their pursuit of the materials required for making thatch, women's access to all parts of the physical space was the same as men's. As far

as the physical land space was concerned there was no sense in which it was gendered in terms of there being men's areas and women's areas to which access or use rights were gender specific. The practice, on Butaritari, of joint participation in *babai* cultivation contrasted with the southern islands, on which it was a purely male preserve. It contrasts, also with other parts of Micronesia, for example see Alkire (1968:281-282). However, for women, the relationship between the domestic space, the village space and the space of *buakonikai* and *tanikamotu* was different from the character of that relationship for men. The particular responsibilities borne by women in relation to the construction and maintenance of buildings had a constancy absent from the more spasmodic character of the responsibilities borne by men. That characteristic of the sexual division of labour will be further discussed in the context of patterns of socialisation, later in this chapter.

Food acquisition and production.

There were three sources of food on Kuma, the land (*tarawa*), the sea (*marawa*) and the store. Each of those sources will be discussed in this section of the chapter and the relationships between the exploitation of the various resources associated with each of those sources and gender and age. The principal customary food produced on the land was *babai* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), this tuberous plant was a member of the araceae family and grew in stagnant non-saline water. In marshy areas of the islands *babai* could grow without the ground needing to be prepared, but in most parts of the islands the ground was significantly

higher than the water table and in order for the plant to be grown in such places pits, called *rua ni babai* (usually *rua* for short), were dug down to the water table for the plants to be grown in.

In 1957 Catala (1957:67) commented that *babai* was not a staple food and commented on the decline in its cultivation.⁶ However true that was of the islands south of Butaritari and Makin, it was unlikely to have been true of Butaritari and Makin at that time and it was certainly not the case during my residence on Butaritari in 1982, nor during my fieldwork in 1994. A table providing comparative figures from a socio-economic survey of four islands in the Gilbert group (Geddes 1982:40) is reproduced here, in Table 7.1, to illustrate the extent to which Butaritari (and Makin) differed from the islands to the south in terms of its inhabitants' consumption of subsistence foods.

There were two principal varieties of *babai* cultivated on Butaritari, the *ikaraoi* and the *temaiaki*⁷, each of which had a different cultural significance. *Ikaraoi* was the variety which was suitable for presentation at rite of passage feasts (*bo*) and ceremonial public occasions, while *temaiaki* was a staple daily food outside the breadfruit season. In comparison with the drier islands to the south, *babai* grew very easily on Butaritari.

⁶ Catala did note that Marakei, the next island south of Butaritari, seemed to be the island where *babai* was most extensively grown (Catala, 1957:68). However it is surprising that he did not include Butaritari among the other islands upon whose *babai* cultivation he commented, given that he did apparently visit it (Catala, 1957:iv).

⁷ *Teimaiaki* is the term most commonly applied on Butaritari to the variety of *babai* known elsewhere in Kiribati as *katutu*.

Table 7.1. Percentage frequency of major subsistence foods consumed on four Gilbert Islands.

	Butaritari	Abemama	Tabiteuea North	Tamana
Local protein	40.6	61.0	20.7	19.7
<i>Babai</i>	36.6	5.8	1.8	1.0
Breadfruit	17.2	2.0		5.9
Pandanus	0.4	6.4	20.8	4.0

Source: Geddes, 1982:40, Table 5.1.⁸

A significant botanical difference between the two varieties was that the *temaiaki* produced side shoots and could reproduce themselves spontaneously, whereas the production of shoots on the *ikaraoi* required artificial stimulation. *Ikaraoi* was grown in carefully prepared pits using methods of cultivation much more elaborate than those employed in the cultivation of *temaiaki*. The primary method of reproducing *ikaraoi* was to replant the top part of the tuber. The top was cut off about the width of a finger below the leaf stalks and all leaves except the terminal bud removed. The top, thus prepared, was planted at the edge of the pit, where it was drier, and left until the development of its root system was indicated by the unfolding of the plant's first two leaves (Catala, 1957:71), at which stage it could be transplanted to the wet main area of the pit. According to Catala (1957:71) it was necessary to start new plants in dry soil because until established with their own roots they could quickly rot in water. The new shoot was placed in the water on a

⁸ Column five from Table 5.1 in Geddes, 1982, was concerned with Nanumea island in Tuvalu and has been omitted from Table 7.1.

base of old pandanus leaves and humus, mixed with mud (*bokaboka*), built up around the base of the incipient tuber.

When the plant developed its first leaf the process of feeding it (*ribana*) began. Throughout Kiribati there were numerous fertilizer recipes and cultivation techniques in use. Knowledge of particular methods and their associated mythico-religious practices was retained within families and closely guarded. It seemed that the greatest variety of such knowledge existed, and was used, in the dry, infertile, southern islands of the Gilbert group (Sewell, 1983:59) where successful *babai* cultivation was most difficult to achieve. While a variety of recipes and techniques were used on Butaritari, *ikaraoi* plants were commonly fertilised with the dry breadfruit leaves (*ba n te mai*) which were swept up daily from under the breadfruit tree or trees (*mai*) associated with each household. The breadfruit leaves were mixed with mud (*bokaboka*) from the pit and often other leaves and vegetable matter as well. The fertilizer was retained in place around the tuber by a circular basket known as *te-koro-buki-ni-kana*. As the tuber grew and more fertilizer was added, more layers of these baskets were added, one on top of the other, and larger plants would have up to six layers. One observation of the first fertilising of a young plant and the preparation of its first *koro-buki-ni-kana* will be described next.

Nei Tuatamoa carried a basket of fallen breadfruit leaves from the vicinity of her house to a pit a short walk away. She was accompanied by her 12 year old adopted granddaughter. A pile of coconut fronds had already been assembled beside the pit to be plaited to provide

containment for the breadfruit leaf mulch. To plait the fronds Nei Tuatamoa sat on the ground, legs outspread, with the base of the frond midrib facing her and between her legs. In this configuration the individual leaves were angled away from the her. To plait the leaves along the midrib of the frond she took a handful of leaves in each hand, with her palms uppermost. One hand was then turned through 180 degrees to fold the bunch of leaves it held over the midrib. That movement was then performed by the other hand so that the bunch of leaves it held overlapped the first bunch. That sequence of movements was repeated rapidly along the entire length of the frond. When plaiting was complete, the midrib was bent in a number of places along its length to enable the whole length to be bent to encircle the babai stem.

Next, she loosened the soil around the base of a small *ikaraoi* plant, above water level, with her hands, pulled mud (*bokaboka*) up from below the water level and deposited it on the area of loosened soil and around the base of the tuber in a process known as *wibokaboka*. Then two plaited fronds were wrapped around the base of the loosened soil, one on top of the other, and filled in with breadfruit leaves. The coating of soil placed on the base of the tuber during *wibokaboka* was necessary to protect the tuber from the decomposition of the fertilizer which was harmful to them (Sewell, 1983:59). For the size of plant concerned, a depth of two fronds was sufficient, but as it grew more layers would be added, up to about six.

Temaiaki were replanted in the same way following harvesting. However their ability to reproduce spontaneously meant that a pit of

temaiaki could be left untended for long periods of time, yet remain a food reserve, despite the inevitable death of old tubers, because those would be balanced by the spontaneous growth of new tubers. *Temaiaki* were often planted in pits alongside *ikaraoi* and were also found in the atoll's extensive areas of marshy land, in which areas *temaiaki* was the predominant variety. Although *Babai* pits were found throughout *Buakonikai* and *tanikamotu*, they were concentrated in *buakonikai*, the bush area adjacent to the village on its eastern and northern sides. According to the *Babai pit register*, 1047 of the 1134 (ninety two percent) registered pits were on land plots in that region and of that number, 799 (seventy six percent of the pits in *buakonikai* and seventy percent of the total number of pits) were in the region to the east of the village which ran along the centre of the island between the village and the ocean shore. It was in those pits that the majority of cultivated *ikaraoi* were planted because the regular cultivation they required made it desirable for them to be close at hand. Close proximity to the village also served to discourage theft of valuable *ikaraoi* tubers because any such action carried out so close to the village stood a very good chance of being seen by someone.

Whereas the land plots discussed in Chapter Five ran across the island from lagoon to ocean, the *babai* pits occupied a zone running along the length of the island, cutting across the land plots. Rights to *babai* pits were not necessarily associated with rights to the land plots upon which they were dug. It was possible for a person without rights to a particular land plot to secure, from the landholders, the right to dig a *babai* pit on that plot. Once the landholders gave their permission,

usually after receiving some payment, the pit could be registered with the Land Court. Once registered with its owner, the holders of the land upon which the pit was located had no rights to the pit, which became a real property distinct from the land around it.

Each registered *babai* pit was listed in the register of *babai* pits with the name of the land plot upon which it was located. In the many cases where pits crossed boundaries between land plots, each pit was only listed with one of the land plots it was on. That situation was recognised by the Land Appeal Court in 1974 which noted the following.

On 13th December, 1974, the members of the Lands Court were asked if pits registered on one land could extend into another. After considerable discussion it was agreed that pits crossing land boundaries had not been registered in both lands and that therefore many pits registered in one land would in fact extend into a second. (Butaritari Appeal 42/74, 18 December, 1974)

That situation was not surprising in view of the recognition of land and pits as two distinct forms of real property. However, it is possible that the contemporary situation results from the expansion of *babai* cultivation in company with population increase. It is likely that in the past, as is now the case, any person or group digging a new pit did so on land to which they held rights, or purchased the right to dig a pit on land held by others. Subsequent expansion would have led to the present situation of large areas of individually registered pits, contiguous with each other. Under such a process of gradual expansion the integrity of land boundaries would have been difficult to maintain. The extent of the *babai* pits associated with Kuma is shown in Appendix Eleven where the

contiguous nature of the pits in the vicinity of the village can be clearly seen.

A visual survey of the Kuma pits indicated that significantly more of the total area of pits was devoted to tubers of the *temaiaki* variety than was devoted to *ikaraoi*. That perception was consistent with figures based upon a survey carried out by Sewell (1983:63) which indicated that the pit area devoted to *temaiaki* was nearly four times the pit area devoted to *ikaraoi*. This was unsurprising in view of the more ceremonial use of *ikaraoi* and the well established place of *temaiaki* as a daily staple.

Responsibility for *babai* cultivation was borne primarily by women, although the digging of new pits was the responsibility of men. However, men did participate, particularly in the cultivation of large *ikaraoi* tubers, but they were not often involved in the regular harvest (*rourou*) of *temaiaki* for daily consumption. Pits were inherited equally by both men and women. That sexual division of labour contrasted with the division in the southern islands where *babai* cultivation was a male preserve. Nei Botika, a woman from Nikunau married to a man from Kuma, told me that she had had no involvement with *babai* cultivation until moving to Kuma and had been taught the necessary skills by her husband.

Babai was harvested by removing the layers of *koro-buki-ni-kana* and fertilizer encircling the tuber and digging the tuber from the ground with a long handled, small bladed spade called a *butika*. The tuber was most usually prepared for consumption by having its outer surface peeled off,

then being split and cut into smaller sections and cooked by boiling. It was also frequently used in grated or cooked and crushed forms to produce a variety of pudding-like dishes such as *buatoro*, *itamaria*, *bekei* and *kabuibui ni babai*. Those foods are wrapped in *babai*, banana or breadfruit leaves and either boiled or baked.

The consumption of *babai* as a staple carbohydrate had a seasonal character because its consumption reduced during the two periods of the year when breadfruit⁹ (*te mai*) was available. The first of those periods spanned the period from May to July or August, while the second period spanned the period from December to March. During those periods different trees fruited at different times and consequently breadfruit were not equally available to all households at any particular time. In Kuma each household had at least one tree growing on its house site and only the members of the household had the right to pick fruit from the trees on their site. However, people whose house site trees had not yet fruited would often borrow fruit from their consanguineal kin whose trees had fruited, with the implicit understanding that the favour would be returned when the later fruiting trees bore fruit. There was one tree which was treated as common property, a tree which was on the land plot occupied by the *maneaba* of the southern section of the village and not associated with any particular household.

There were three principal varieties of breadfruit in Kuma. The most common was *mai kora*, whose fruit contained seeds. the two other varieties were *bukiraro* and *motini wae*, both of which were seedless.

⁹ *Artocarpus*.

Mai kora was grown from seeds, while the seedless varieties were grown from cuttings. Apart from *babai*, breadfruit was the only customary food plant for which a degree of conscious cultivation was essential. However in the case of breadfruit, that cultivation did not extend beyond the time that a tree was established.

The harvesting of breadfruit was, like that of *babai*, carried out mainly by women and girls. The fruit were cut down with a sharp knife tied to the end of a long pole called a *butika*. Fruit which were too high to be reached in that way would be cut down by a boy or young man who had climbed the tree, something which women and girls were discouraged from doing. The fruit were harvested (and cooked) while their flesh was hard, and were not damaged by their fall, unless the ground below the tree had rocks protruding from it, in which case two people holding an *inai* outspread would position themselves beneath the fruit to be dropped and attempt, with mixed success, to catch it.

The significance of the coconut palm as a source of materials for buildings and household equipment has been discussed and its significance as a source of food will now be considered. The coconut palm provides food from two sources, the coconut itself and the unopened inflorescence of the tree. The flesh of the coconut was consumed daily in one form or another. In the morning, breakfast was often accompanied by a drink of tea mixed with grated coconut which was sometimes referred to as *te moi n Biti* (the drink of Fiji). Grated coconut flesh was wrung to produce coconut cream (*te ran i ben*), which was used in the preparation of *bekei* as well as being boiled to produce

coconut oil (*te baa*). The flesh of mature coconuts was frequently eaten with shellfish and fish, and was particularly favoured to complement dried fish. The earliest stage of their development at which coconuts were consumed was when their flesh was jelly-like (*mara*) and this was fed to infants. The next stage of development at which they were consumed was the *moimoto* stage at which the meat was fully developed, but soft, and the nut contained the maximum amount of water (*ranin te ben*). The principal use of *moimoto* was as a drink, but it was consumed most commonly by people when they were working in the bush or fishing from a canoe; it was rarely consumed at home, where tea or *karewe* (discussed next) were preferred. The reason for that seemed to be due to *moimoto* fluid not being sweet, while a strong preference for sweet drinks was found throughout Kiribati. Consequently the *moimoto* was used as a convenient thirst quencher in situations where the provision of other beverages was inconvenient.

Perhaps the coconut palm's most significant contribution to nutrition was obtained from the unopened inflorescence (*ari*) of the tree, from which a sweet juice called *karewe* was extracted. Prior to opening, the inflorescence was encased in a spathe and the process of extracting *karewe* began with the selection of a spathe which was fully grown but unsplit. The spathe was bound with *kora* to prevent it opening and a section of spathe removed from the end to expose some of the inflorescence, which was bound tightly as well, to prevent the flowering branches from opening. The end of the inflorescence was cut and from the wounded ends of the branches a liquid was exuded. Initially the liquid was tart and not collected, but after several days the flow

increased and became sweet. The initial wounding of the inflorescence branches was followed by further cutting three times per day until a flow of sweet fluid was established. Thereafter, a thin section of the end of the inflorescence was sliced off twice each day, morning and evening, to maintain the flow.

The *karewe* was collected, twice each day, in containers made from whole coconut shells (*ibu*). A portion of the *karewe* was consumed fresh, as a cordial mixed with water. Periodically some would be set aside to produce vinegar. The remaining *karewe* would be boiled to reduce it to a molasses-like syrup called *kamaimai*. When well boiled, *kamaimai* could be kept for long periods and was used as a sweetener for drinks and food. *Kamaimai* production was sometimes organised cooperatively between several households and was organised so that the pot in which the *karewe* was boiled moved from house to house, spending a week at each. The household members would agree on a uniform quantity of *karewe* to be contributed by each every day and that would be delivered to the household with the boiling pot. At the end of an agreed period the *kamaimai* produced would be divided among the participants. The production of *karewe* was the responsibility of men and youths and was the first skill in which boys received systematic instruction. Once collected in the *ibu*, however, *karewe* entered the female domain.

A post-contact source of prestige food was pig meat. Pigs were introduced to the Gilbert group by visiting ships during the nineteenth century (Macdonald, 1982:17) and are now important fare at right of passage feasts, their provision being the responsibility of the hosts.

Every household in Kuma had at least one pig and the maximum number of pigs for one household was seven. The total number was about 220 with an average of three pigs per house, ranging from piglets to fully grown pigs ready to be slaughtered. Pigs were fed primarily on coconut flesh and consumed, on average, three nuts per day. At that rate of consumption over 600 nuts were being brought into the village every day for the pigs to eat. In addition they were fed a variety of leaves and fish scraps. The responsibility for the host of a feast to provide fresh pork was of similar magnitude to the responsibility for the host and his or kin to provide *ikaraoi* tubers, which was discussed in Chapter Four. However, unlike the case with *ikaraoi*, the host's kin were not expected to contribute pigs.

The coconut tree provided the principal source of money for the purchase of contemporary staples such as tea, flour, tobacco and soap from the village stores and copra production was a regular part of the village economy. In common with the other islands in the Gilbert group, there was a direct relationship between the price paid for copra and the amount produced. In 1980, while on Abemama island I witnessed the frenzy of copra production which occurred during the week between a copra price drop being announced and the reduction taking effect. During that period people worked day and night, drying the flesh over fires to maximise the amount produced. On Butaritari during my fieldwork, a rise in the price paid to copra producers was immediately followed by a visible increase in copra cutting activity. It was in relation to copra production that the land plots to which people had rights assumed their greatest economic significance. The land use rights

associated with being a registered landholder did not include exclusive rights to many of the resources on the land, but did accord exclusive rights to the coconut trees and their fruit.

A byproduct of copra production was coconut husk and shell both of which were used as fuel for cooking fires. Mature fallen nuts were collected (*bo ben*) by people from their land plots during the times allocated to them if access to their family land plots was regulated in that way, or whenever they pleased if the plots were accessed on the basis of first come first served. Those cutting copra usually carried the whole nuts they had collected from *buakonokai* or *tanikamotu* back to their household site where the nuts were split (*oro ben*) in two with an axe and spread out to dry under the sun. After a day drying like that the flesh was removed from the shell and spread out on old *inai* to finish drying.

A few households practised what was known as *rai ben*, the exchange of mature nuts for money. Small retailers would also sometimes exchange nuts for goods, usually small items such as a stick of twist tobacco or a matchbox full of tea. The rate of exchange during 1994 was ten cents for three mature nuts. The purchaser would then make copra with the nuts and profit from the transaction in that way. One household in particular practised *rai ben* on a relatively large scale. That household (number five; see Appendix Eleven) was located close to the southern extremity of the village, on the edge of *tanikamotu*, and had to be passed by anyone carrying copra or whole nuts into the village. In terms of proximity to the principle source of nuts they were well placed. Their

relative isolation from the rest of the village¹⁰ was valuable for two other reasons, also. Firstly, people could drop off some nuts to sell without the rest of the village knowing about it. Secondly, a lot of the nuts bought by that household were sold by children as a source of pocket money. As the head of that household told me, the children were not particular about whose lands they collected nuts from. Everybody knew it happened and, whilst irritating, it was not considered to be a serious problem. However, it was much more comfortable for everyone to have the commerce conducted out of sight. According to the head of that household they practised *rai ben* because it saved them having to collect nuts from his own land plots, which he shared with many other people and it appealed to his entrepreneurial leanings.

In addition to being a source of mature nuts for those holding rights to it, each land plot was available to the village's Protestant Pastor and Catholic Catechist for one day each per week. Each was free to collect any fallen nuts on any land on his appointed day, irrespective of the denomination of the landholders. The majority of the nuts collected in that way were gathered by and for the Protestant Pastor. That was partly because he had a larger membership from which to draw assistance with collection and, perhaps mainly, because the Protestant mission in Kuma owned a truck, which enabled nuts to be collected in large numbers and from distant land plots. This arrangement did not bother most people I questioned about it and during periods of active engagement in copra cutting people would make sure that they had

¹⁰ The two households within sight of household number five were occupied by a sibling, and her children, of number five's male head.

gathered as many nuts as they could before the missionaries did their rounds. However, the members of the Church of God and Baha'i Faith were less sanguine about an arrangement which required them to contribute to the running of other churches while excluding theirs from any benefit.

Copra production figures for Kuma for the two years preceding the study: 1992 and 1993, were 55.215 tonnes and 49.901 tonnes respectively. The manager of the Cooperative store in Kuma, who was responsible for purchasing copra from Kuma producers, estimated that twenty five percent of the copra he bought was supplied by the Protestant and Catholic missions in the village. At the then current price of \$0.24c per kilogram, the missions earned an average of about \$6,300.00 per annum over those two years. over the same period the per capita income of village residents from copra sales was about \$46.00, or \$259.00 per household, on average.

Apart from copra income, villagers earned occasional wages from employment by working under contract to the Island Council on the upkeep of the village school and health clinic. An unknown amount of money came into the village as remittances from sons working on overseas ships. However, as the copra figures, and observation suggest the per capita income was low and easily consumed by purchases of tobacco, tea, flour, soap and the occasional purchase of small luxury items.

Sea food was obtained from three principal geographical zones: the reef; the lagoon and the ocean. Ocean fishing, whether by canoe, spear, trap or line from the edge of the ocean reef, was undertaken only by men. Lagoon fishing from canoes was only undertaken by men while net and line fishing in the shallow lagoon waters covering the reef flats at high tide were undertaken by both men and women. Collection of shell fish from the lagoon and ocean reef flats was undertaken more often by women than men, although any shell fish gathering requiring diving was undertaken only by men. Except for canoe fishing the organisation of any seafood gathering activity rarely involved more than the members of one household. In 1994 there were 24 canoes in Kuma, whereas the 1990 census indicated that there were 40.¹¹ That apparent discrepancy might be explained by the fact that all but the five one man canoes each provided food for more than one household, as well as being crewed by men from more than one household. Each household with regular access to a canoe might, therefore, have claimed to have owned a canoe with the result that some canoes were counted more than once.

Ocean fishing was undertaken in the larger canoes, of which there were twelve during 1994. Those canoes ranged from about six to eight metres in length and carried from two to four crew each. The main fishing ground worked by canoes from Kuma was the passage between Butaritari and Makin (see Figure 1.4), which was also worked by canoes and boats from Makin. The ocean was reached through a passage in the reef to the north of Kuma and canoes would leave the village in the

¹¹ Source: unpublished breakdown of summary Table H7 in *Report on the 1990 Census of Population*

dawn period known as *te tingaro*. The principal method of fishing employed was trolling (*katiki*) with lures for a variety of tuna species such as *ati* (*katsuwonus pelamis*), *baiura* (*thunnus albacares*) and *ingimea* (*neothunnus macropterus*). Other species caught included swordfish, or *raku* (*istiophoridae* sp.), barracuda, or *nunua*, and wahoo, or *bara* (*acanthocybium solandric*). Fishing in the ocean to the north and west of Butaritari was only undertaken during the period March to late August, during the summer solstice, a period known as the *aumaiaki*,¹² which was the period of fine and calm weather. The winter solstice, the *aumeang*,¹³ was the period of stormy weather with strong westerly winds which lasted from late August to March. During the winter solstice the ocean fishing canoes were used within the lagoon, if they were used at all. The westerly winds characteristic of that period made the eastern ocean coast a lee shore and many smaller lagoon fishing canoes were carried across the island to the ocean beach where they could be launched over the ocean reef on high tides to fish in the ocean along the eastern shore for the duration of the *aumeang*.

All of the canoes in Kuma had been built there by one or other of the seven resident Kuma canoe builders (*tia kaba*), of whom three were widely considered preeminent. With the exception of three which had been rebuilt from larger canoes originally built from imported redwood planks, all were planked with locally cut breadfruit timber. The preferred breadfruit variety for that purpose was the seeded *mai kora*, which was

¹² The term *aumaiaki* referred to the passage of the sun back from the south to pass to the north.

¹³ The term *aumeang* referred to the passage of the sun from the north to pass back to the south.

not only the most durable breadfruit timber, but also the most prolific. With the exception of paint, sail cloth and, sometimes, putty, the materials for planking, framing, outrigger floats and platforms, masts, paddles and bindings were all obtained locally. While only a few men were trained to build canoes independently, most mature men were able to carry out minor repairs. Anyone building a canoe for their own use was often a source of attraction for young men who would watch the work to learn what they could and, perhaps, by showing interest and helping with minor chores, accumulate social capital which might increase the chance of an offer to crew on the canoe later.

Reef fishing occurred on both lagoon and ocean reefs during night and day. At night on a new moon young octopus (*kikao*) were caught by torch light for both food and bait. They were caught by youths and young men. The collection of a variety of molluscs was undertaken on both lagoon and ocean reef flats, but mostly the former, by women and girls. Species which were commonly obtained were *koikoi* (*asaphis deflorata*), *te katura* (*atactodea glabrata* Gmel.) and *nouo* (*strombus luhuanus*), all of which were obtained by digging beneath the sand on both lagoon and ocean reefs. Any molluscs obtained by diving, such as giant clam (*kima*), were gathered by men and youths.

Seafood was mostly consumed while fresh, although some of the fish of a particularly large catch would be dried. However, noticeably less salted dried fish was produced in northern islands than was the case in the south, something which people attributed to the high rainfall in the north which made it more difficult to dry fish well. However, when fish

drying was done it was primarily women's work. In fact, once fish reached the beach or household site it entered the realm of women. During the daytime, women of the households represented in the crew of a fishing canoe would meet the canoe when it arrived at the beach. There they would receive the catch, divide it and carry it to their houses for preparation and consumption. When fishermen returned at night, they would carry their catch to their houses and wake the women to prepare the fish. At such times, the entire household would usually wake up and eat some of the catch as soon as it had been prepared, whatever the hour. A common practise was for some of the catch, usually larger fish, to be cooked whole on embers, a method of cooking known as *tinimaki*. Smaller fish would be cleaned, split and soaked in vinegar made from fermented *karewe* before being eaten raw. Shellfish and crustacea were obtained in quantities suitable for immediate consumption and were not usually preserved in any way, even though shellfish were frequently preserved by drying in the southern islands.

Socialisation.

The gender division of labour cut across all of the resources exploited. For example, use of the pandanus was divided between the sexes in terms of trunk and leaves, each of which was associated with different parts of buildings. Use of the coconut was divided between the sexes in terms of wood and *karewe*, on the one hand, and leaves, on the other. The exploitation of the marine zone was likewise divided in terms of sex, with the deep lagoon and ocean being the preserve of men, while the

shallow lagoon and lagoon flats were the preserve of women. Gendered access to particular parts of the physical space existed with respect to the region of space occupied by the branches and leaves of trees, the deep lagoon and the ocean; all of which were the customary preserve of men. Apart from those regions, all others parts of the physical space were equally accessible to women and men.

The gender division of labour manifested in the use of the physical space and its resources was reproduced through the socialisation of children as they were introduced to the occupations associated with their gender. There were marked differences in the training of boys and girls in terms of its content and when it began. The economic activities and skills boys and girls were exposed to were consistent with those they would be expected to perform when they were grown. However, girls tended to become involved in the economic activities of the household earlier than boys did. Ten men and ten women were questioned about their participation in sixty one different subsistence tasks and asked about the ages at which they began to perform those tasks in which they did engage. Table 7.2 displays the results of that questioning, showing that the first significant period of participation on the part of the men questioned began at around age ten, with another period beginning at around age twenty. For the men, the process of becoming involved in subsistence economic activity extended from childhood into adulthood and they tended not to have begun participation in all of the activities associated with males until in their twenties, after marriage. Women, on the other hand had achieved almost full participation by the time they were twenty. Comparing men and women at the ages of eighteen and

nineteen, it can be seen that men have assumed about fifty five percent participation while women have achieved over ninety percent.

Table 7.2. Frequency with which men and women began to participate in subsistence tasks at different ages.

Ages at which participation commenced	Men		Women	
	Percentage of tasks	Cumulative percentage	Percentage of tasks	Cumulative percentage
4			0.83	0.83
5	0.79	0.79	0.83	1.66
6			8.26	9.92
7	1.57	2.36	1.65	11.57
8	2.36	4.72	12.40	23.97
9	3.15	7.87	4.96	28.93
10	25.20	33.07	38.84	67.77
11	2.36	35.43		
12	3.15	38.58	11.57	79.34
13	0.79	39.37	6.61	85.95
14	1.57	40.94		
15	0.79	41.73	4.13	90.08
16	0.79	42.52		
17	3.15	45.67		
18			0.83	90.91
19	9.45	55.12		
20	30.71	85.83	8.26	99.17
22			0.83	100.00
24	12.60	98.43		
25	0.79	99.22		
31	0.79	100.00		
Total	100.00		100.00	
	n = 254		n = 242	

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

The sudden increase in men's participation at twenty is in marked contrast to women, whose participation underwent the same sort of increase at age eleven. The different patterns of participation revealed by analysis of informants' answers to questions on the subject was borne out by the observation of daily village life in which the high degree of involvement of girls in the work of the household was in sharp contrast to that of boys. Sewell (1983:156) noted the same pattern over twenty years earlier. Lambert recorded a traditional simile comparing sons to uncultivated *babai (temaiaki)* and daughters to cultivated *babai (ikaraoi)* (Lambert, 1981:180-181). The point of the simile was to illustrate the difference in upbringing of boys and girls and the greater effort devoted to the occupational training of girls than of boys. Whatever its underlying intent, if any, the effect of this pattern of socialisation was to reinforce the close association of women with the domestic realm and its regular routine of subsistence and cash earning tasks.¹⁴ It served also to reinforce the association of men with the physical space outside the domestic realm as boys ranged over *tanikamotu* and *buakonikai* in play while their sisters did domestic chores. The customary domestic, homemaking emphasis associated with women's place in the division of labour has tended to be reinforced by both outside and indigenous agencies involved in community development in Kiribati. Indigenous agencies, in particular, such as Church women's clubs and the Women's Federation (*Aia maia ainen Kiribati*) emphasise the concept of complementarity as the basis of the division of labour.

¹⁴ Having said this, it should be noted that women on Butaritari and Makin engage in more work outside the physical space of the household and village than do women in the islands to the south. The involvement of women in *Babai* cultivation on Butaritari and Makin has already been contrasted with the complete non-involvement of women in the south.

Summary.

The concept of material culture applies to the means by which people engage with their material environment to meet their basic needs of food clothing and shelter. The social basis of the production process, coupled with its exploitation of the resources of the physical environment means that the study of any particular material culture can be approached in terms of it being a particular manifestation of the articulation of social and physical space. The pre-contact material culture of the islands of Kiribati was entirely neolithic. Despite the post-contact introduction of steel to replace shell cutting tools, the design philosophy and construction methods of many objects of the contemporary material culture remained unchanged.

The two types of building found in all households were the raised floor sleeping and living houses known as *bao* and the low-built cooking houses known as *uma ni kuka*. The *bao* had been made the standard living house when colonial regulations required the practice of scattered *kainga* settlement to be replaced by village residence. In *kainga* settlements people had lived in large communal house called *umatoro*. Some households had additional buildings such as small earth-floored houses in the style of *umatoro* or *maneaba* and bathing enclosures. Along the lagoon shore were a number of canoe sheds called *bareaka*. These consisted of a thatched roof erected on four to six wooden posts.

Houses were roofed with either pandanus or coconut leaf thatch and framed with a variety of timbers. The size of tree from which timber was obtained was related to the size of the house and the dimensions of the

timbers required. Timber was obtained from the areas outside the village known as *buakonikai* and *tanikamotu*. All types of timber except coconut and breadfruit were freely available to anyone from any land plot. Coconut and breadfruit, which were used for canoe building and rarely used for house building, were included in the real property associated with the land plots on which they grew and could not be felled without permission. All building members were bound together with string (*kora*) made from coconut husk fibre. Thatch was likewise bound to the roofing members.

The production of building components and their assembly was subject to a strict division of labour in terms of age and gender. All work associated with the felling, processing and assembly of timber and securing of thatch to the roof, was the responsibility of men and youths. Within that gender group the work was further differentiated in terms of age. The heavier and less skilled work was carried out by the younger men and youths, under the direction of older men. More skilled aspects of the preparation and assembly of building components was undertaken by men of middle age. This division of labour was most evident in the construction of communal buildings such as *maneaba* and large private *baos* involving relatively large work forces. Less specialisation was evident in the construction of small private dwellings. The production of string, thatch, mats and other furnishings was the preserve of women and girls. Girls became skilled in the tasks associated with them much earlier than boys and men did in theirs. As a result the tasks associated with women were not subject to the degree of intergenerational differentiation which characterised tasks associated with men. In their pursuit of the raw materials they used in their contributions to the building process, males and females enjoyed equal

access to all parts of the physical space and any differentiation was in terms of the parts of plants associated with their respective contributions.

The principal cultivated food crop was the swamp taro *babai* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*) of which there were two principal varieties: *ikaraoi* and *temaiaki*. While both were grown in swampy pits known as *rua*, *temaiaki* produced shoots spontaneously and did not require cultivation, *ikaraoi*, on the other hand, did not shoot spontaneously and required careful cultivation. The prolific *temaiaki* was consumed on a daily basis, while *ikaraoi* was a prestige food grown for presentation at rite of passage feasts. The division of labour associated with *babai* cultivation on Butaritari and Makin was less clear cut than on islands to the south where it was a male preserve. In Kuma men and women participated, although women were generally more closely involved on a regular basis than were men. The *babai* pits occupied a zone running along the axis of the island, at right angles to the latitudinal land plots. *Babai* pits were a form of real property distinct from the land plots on which they were located.

Breadfruit, the second major source of carbohydrate, required cultivation only until the tree became established. Once established and fruiting the tree provided an alternative source of carbohydrate to *babai* during the two breadfruit seasons of every year. The harvesting of breadfruit was carried out mainly by women and girls using long poles with knives attached to reach and cut down the fruit. Youths assisted when it was necessary for the tree to be climbed to recover fruit beyond the reach of poles. Breadfruit trees were real property associated with the land plots upon which they grew.

The coconut palm provided a variety of foods and drinks, as well as a range of building materials and was probably the single most exploited plant. The most significant nutritional contribution of the palm was palm toddy, known as *karewe*, extracted from the unopened inflorescence of the palm. Toddy extraction was a male occupation and only very occasionally undertaken by a woman. Once extracted, toddy entered the female domain where it was used in the preparation of drinks and foods and often preserved by being boiled to produce a thick, sweet, syrup known as *kamaimai*.

Pigs provided a post-contact source of prestige food and the host of any rite of passage feast was expected to provide pork to feed those attending. Almost every household had at least one pig and sometimes many more.

Copra production was the primary source of cash income for Kuma residents and the right to collect nuts was the principal financial benefit associated with the possession of land-use rights. While most people processed most of their own copra, they sometimes exchanged whole mature nuts directly for cash or store goods. The village Protestant and Catholic missionaries had sole rights to all fallen nuts on all land plots on one day each per week and their joint copra production was estimated to constitute one quarter of the village total. Occasional employment on the maintenance of buildings owned by the Island Council was another source of income for most households. An additional source of income for some residents was in the form of remittances from sons and husbands working on overseas ships.

Sea food was obtained from the reefs, lagoon and ocean. The associated division of labour was such that all ocean fishing and lagoon fishing from canoes was carried out by men only. Line and net fishing in the shallows of the lagoon was carried out by both men and women. Shell fish gathering on the reef flats was undertaken mainly by women, although any which could only be reached by diving were gathered by men. Reef fishing was conducted by day or night depending upon the particular species sought. Almost every day during the summer solstice from March to late August, ocean fishing canoes trolled the waters between Butaritari and Makin for pelagic species such as tuna. During the winter solstice from late August to March, when strong westerly winds were common, the focus of ocean fishing shifted to the ocean shore of the atoll which became a lee shore under such conditions. Canoes were built in the village by a small number of local builders using mostly locally available materials.

Sea food was consumed fresh as much as possible, although a large surplus of fish would usually be salted and dried for later consumption. Once caught, the responsibility for further preparation of fish was assumed by women, who used a variety of methods to process it.

The systematic training of girls in their occupational tasks began earlier than did that of boys and girls achieved full participation in the range of tasks associated with them earlier than boys and young men did. By the time they were married, young women were generally fully trained, whereas young men did not begin to participate in some tasks until they were married.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

The articulation of social and physical space

The early chapters were concerned with the development of the theoretical framework informing this study and its application to the case study which forms the basis of this thesis. Chapter Two was concerned solely with conceptual issues and developing the theoretical framework applied to the study. Chapter Three discussed the methodological issues associated with the application of the framework to the particular community studied. Chapter Four dealt with the genealogical field, which was the embodiment of the networks of consanguineal relationships underlying many aspects of social life and the distribution of land-use rights. Chapter Five was concerned with land tenure, discussing the historical basis of contemporary patterns of tenure and the relationship between the characteristics of the genealogical field and the distribution of land-use rights among the villagers. Chapter Six dealt with the fields of village and island politics, both of which embodied relationships which seemed to cut across the consanguineal relationships embodied in the genealogical field, although there was a relationship between the religious compositions of the two sections of Kuma village and the structure of the genealogical field. Chapter Seven discussed the material culture associated with the village and the effects of the division of

labour upon the different uses made by males and females of the physical space of the island and surrounding sea.

Chapters Two to Four were concerned, primarily, with social space, its conceptualisation and representation. Chapters Five to Seven were concerned with relating those characteristics of social space which were most pertinent to each chapter to the use of physical space by the village residents. It will be recalled that the concept of space used in this study is that of relative space and that the shape of a relative space is determined by the structure of relationships which define it. Furthermore, space was understood as a restriction on random process because of the constraints created by the particular shape of any particular space. As far as physical space is concerned, the idea that its shape and structure can be a constraint upon action and movement within it is quite familiar. The extension of the idea to social space, however, is much less so. Yet, as was argued in Chapter Two and illustrated in Chapter Four, the effects of social space can be as readily perceived as can those of physical space. That contention was supported by consideration of the characteristics of the genealogical field which regulated social action in several ways. In its embodiment of the network of consanguineal relationships within the village, the shape of the genealogical field was consistent with the possibilities, and impossibilities, for action in terms of the rights and responsibilities associated with shared kinship links. Parents holding a rite of passage feast for one of their children would expect contributions of *ikaraoi* tubers from their consanguines with whom they shared descent from common great grandparents. The Kuma residents sharing such descent were

expected to interact in fulfilment of kinship obligations and were free to interact in terms of seeking assistance and sharing resources, tools and utensils. That freedom to act was reflected in their close proximity to each other within the space of the genealogical field.

Closeness within the field, then, was associated with the possibility of certain types of actions being undertaken and the likelihood that they would be. The term "likelihood" is used advisedly because people's actions were by no means absolutely determined by the expectations embodied in the normative framework associated with kinship responsibilities. Consequently, particular actions on the parts of members could not be expected to follow mechanically from the prompting provided by any particular basis for association between descent group members. However, different likelihoods were associated with the three different bases of association discussed in Chapter Four: rite of passage feasts; *babai pit* pledging and socialising and borrowing. In the case of rite of passage feasts, the likelihood of participation by all resident descent group members was so great as to be virtually certain, so seriously was the responsibility taken. In the case of *babai pit* pledging, on the other hand, the ties were much less secure and the practice was clearly in decline. It might be thought, applying genealogical criteria, that *pit* pledging would be the more enduring because it was based upon more recent descent. However, because that was not the case, explanation was sought elsewhere. The key to the difference seemed to be associated with the distribution and holding of property rights because while the descent groups which formed the bases for participation in rites of passage were associated with collectively held

land rights, the rights to the *babai* pits associated with the pit pledging groups were held individually by the members. Because the property rights associated with *babai* pits were not homologous with contemporary kin ties, it was unnecessary for people to maintain those particular rights by participating in collective kin activities.

The ties between descent group members seemed to have been reinforced by the fact that, in Kuma, they were also joint shareholders in the real property represented by land plots.¹ Because shared landholding was synonymous with kinship, the denial of kinship which would be implied by failure to fulfil a kinship obligation as fundamental as participating in the rites of passage of fellow descent group members would have been tantamount to denying shared property rights as well. Of course under the pre-colonial system of land tenure, such a denial would have led to the lapsing of rights so that either provisional rights became residual, or residual rights lapsed entirely. Under the contemporary system of tenure, a person failing to fulfil kin obligations would still retain property rights under the law, but would be in the contradictory position of sharing property rights with non-kin. The only way to have satisfactorily resolved such a situation would have been for a formal division of the land plots to have been made between the recalcitrant and the other members of the descent group. Given the widespread acceptance of the practice of joint landholding, such a recourse would have the disadvantage of opposing convention. In

¹ It was noted in Chapter Four that not all descent groups were associated with land rights. However, it was also noted that in all but three cases groups of people without land rights through one descent group shared land rights through their membership of another.

addition, the complexities of landholdings would have made any redistribution a major undertaking. It seems, then, that strong incentives existed for the active maintenance of kin relationships as long as they were associated with shares in real property.

The association between kin relations and real property can be further illustrated by reference to the practice of *babai* pit pledging, which was also discussed in Chapter Four. In that discussion it was revealed that pit pledging groups were formed by groups of siblings which had inherited *babai* pits from the same ancestor. In cases where a group of siblings had inherited pits from only one source, their choice of other sibling groups to combine with was limited to those who had also inherited from the same source. In other cases, where a group had inherited pits from several ancestral sources, its members combined with the other sibling groups with which they shared inheritance from their largest single source of pits. Pit inheritance differed from land plot inheritance in that rights to pits tended to be held by individuals, whereas rights to land plots were held, with few exceptions, by kin groups. Consequently, kin groups which had their basis in *babai* pit rights were relatively small and excluded those who did not share in pits from the same source, even though those so excluded might be counted as kin by virtue of their sharing descent and rights to land plots. However, although groups could be formed by people who had inherited pits from the same source, their formation was not automatic and they could be relatively easily dissolved. The reason for the ephemeral character of pit pledging groups seemed to be associated with the relative autonomy enjoyed by those eligible to belong to them. That autonomy had its basis

in the holding of pit rights by individuals rather than descent groups. A consequence of those rights being individually held was that rights to pits did not share the isomorphism with kinship which characterised rights to land plots.

The foregoing discussions of the two bases of kinship association which were linked to property rights, were concerned with two different ways in which social and physical space were articulated. In each case the character of the articulation was conditioned by the manner in which the property rights concerned were distributed among those entitled to them. Property rights which were shared among members of descent groups were isomorphic with kinship, while those held individually were not. In the case of shared rights, then, the relationship between social and physical space was close in the sense that the social capital residents possessed, by virtue of their descent from founders of particular descent groups constituting the genealogical field, had its equivalent capital in the physical space, in the form of shared rights to specific land plots. Those rights had passed to contemporary residents through the founding ancestors of the descent groups they belonged to. When the capitals of both social and physical space were similarly shared, the articulation of social and physical space was direct because there was an equation between their respective capitals.

In the case of the individual rights associated with *babai* pits, however, the respective capitals of social and physical space did not equate because although the social capital associated with descent from pit-holding ancestors was convertible into rights to *babai* pits, the converse

did not apply because by being individualised, the pit rights were no longer shared, while the social capital associated with the descent from which the pit rights were derived did continue to be shared. Thus the individual rights to *babai* pits did not provide the material reinforcement for consanguineal ties provided by shared land plot rights.

While the social capital associated with descent group membership had its equivalent in the physical capital represented by undivided shares² in the land plots associated with descent groups, it was not equally distributed among the descent groups. That was indicated by the unequal distribution of land rights among the fifty descent groups which had land rights associated with them. The inequalities were, as discussed in Chapter Five, associated with location in the genealogical field and connection to the former social status groups. The amount of land available per person tended to increase with distance from the core of the genealogical field and people associated with the former aristocratic social status group enjoyed rights to more land per person than did those associated with the former commoner social status group. Associated with that pattern was the tendency of former aristocrats and their descendants to be less centrally located in the genealogical field than were commoners and their descendants. Given that land had originally been allocated equally to commoners and aristocrats, the reasons for the contemporary inequality were found to be associated with the fact that fewer people with aristocratic links lived in Kuma than did those with commoner links, for reasons discussed in Chapter Five.

² The concept of undivided shares was introduced in Chapter Five.

The articulation of social space and physical space manifested in the relationship between the genealogical field and the availability of land rights, which has just been discussed, was clearly structured primarily by the characteristics of the genealogical field. At the interface of the two spaces were those residents of Kuma who possessed the social capital associated with land rights. As far as land rights were concerned, the relationships between residents and social and physical space were determined by the social capital available to them through their descent. Each descent group was associated with a particular fixed amount of land and the per capita distribution of undivided shares in that land depended upon the number of people belonging to the group. The number of members a descent group had at any time was a function of how many it had had in preceding generations. The number of members in one descent group also had a bearing upon the number of other descent groups with which it could establish the affinal links in one generation which would form the basis of consanguineal links in the next generation. In view of those considerations, the pattern of contemporary land distribution can be understood as being largely a consequence of differences in the residence practises of commoners and aristocrats. Commoner descent lines had tended to maintain a constant presence in the village, in contrast to aristocratic descent lines, which had displayed an intermittent presence.

Apart from purchasing land, which had rarely been done in Kuma, there was nothing that people could do to improve their own landholdings. Furthermore, there was nothing they could do that would alter their own position within the genealogical field. As was discussed

in Chapter Five and noted above, contemporary consanguineal links were the result of affinal links created in previous generations. Consequently, if a person wished to undertake actions designed to improve or increase the social and physical (land rights) capital available to their kin, any resulting benefits would not be felt directly until the next generation. For example, if a man arranged for his son to marry a woman who had rights to a lot of land plots, the resulting capital accumulation would accrue to the man's grandchildren, not to his son and certainly not to himself. It can be seen, therefore, that the scope for consciously influencing the structure of genealogical space was really confined to long term strategic action.

For contemporary residents, therefore, the genealogical field was a network of relationships into which they were born and which constituted a well defined environment within whose structure they moved, employing, as needed, the social and physical resources available to them. As a social field, it was one in which most of the residents had received their primary socialisation; whose structure they had internalised, as they grew up, during ongoing association with their fellow kin and regular visits, with their parents and other kin, to the land plots to which they had acquired rights.

The stability of the structure of the genealogical field and its relationship with physical space through the distribution of land rights contrasted with the more fluid field of village and island politics which cut across consanguineal relationships, while retaining some interesting associations with the structure of the genealogical field. The field of

village politics in Kuma had been characterised by a fervour which seemed a cathartic release from the normative framework associated with the genealogical field. Connections between the social space of this field and the physical space were apparent in the gendered use of space at any public gathering and particularly during the deliberations of village councils and in the physical division of the village to accommodate two village councils.

The physical division of the village to accommodate two councils followed the division earlier adopted by the Protestant Church to divide its membership in two halves to provide a competitive framework for fundraising. The adoption of that division seemed to have been promoted by the Protestant majority of Kuma in preference to one suggested by the Island Council which would have divided the whole population equally. By the Protestant boundary being adopted, the village population was not equally divided, even though the Protestant population was, because the southern half of the village had many more Catholics resident than did the northern half. It was unclear whether or not the different population sizes and characteristics in terms of religious affiliation had any bearing on the antagonism between the two councils. However, it was clear that the different compositions of the populations of the two village sections could be understood in terms of another articulation of social and physical space in which the structure of physical space was primary because it was such that the only direction in which the village could expand was southward. The characteristics of the genealogical field were relevant to this question because Catholicism was associated with distance from the core of the field, as was loose

integration in the field. It seemed, therefore, that the growth of the village to the south had been associated with population growth to which inward migration had contributed. In view of the predominance of Catholicism elsewhere on Butaritari and Makin it seemed likely that a significant proportion of immigrants from other villages would be Catholic.

Finally, in examining the material culture of the village, it was seen that in most of their subsistence activities people had access to many resources from any land plot, irrespective of whether or not they held rights to it. The basis of that articulation of social and physical space was in the division of labour in terms of gender and age, but principally gender. In terms of that articulation, the physical space was not divided into territorial sections or distinct plots as it was in the other articulations discussed above. Instead it was differentiated in terms of the different resources with which men and women were concerned. Often the differentiation was in terms of different parts of the same plant, for example. The only sense in which the physical space was segregated between men and women was that women did not climb trees, fish from canoes or dive below the sea. However, in terms of having access to the rest of the land beach and reef areas, there was no distinction between genders.

The social and physical manifold of the community studied has been shown to be comprised of several linked social and physical spaces, structured and articulated in different ways. The genealogical field was found to be the primary point of connection between social and physical space because the symbolic capital of lineage was isomorphic with the

physical capital associated with rights to particular parts of the physical space in the form of land plots and, to a lesser extent, *babai* pits. The political field was associated with uses of physical space which cut across genealogical considerations, being structured by considerations of age and gender. The field of material culture was likewise associated with relationships between social and physical space structured by considerations of age and gender, apart from those economic activities which involved the use of land plots for copra production and *babai* pits for food.

While treated as distinct social fields, genealogy, politics and material culture were nonetheless linked together and influenced one another. For example, the manner in which the genealogical field was structured by zones of differing degrees of genealogical interconnection resulted from the descent group exogamy characteristic of the community because it required for its maintenance a regular infusion of people from other parts of the atoll and further afield. The demographic structure of the political field of the village was influenced by that infusion because the physical expansion of the village associated with it could only occur in one direction. The result of that was for one of the two territorially based political units of the village to expand at a greater rate than the other. Associated with that expansion was the differentiation of the two units in terms of their respective compositions of religious affiliation because inward migration occurred from a region of predominantly Catholic affiliation to one which had been predominately Protestant.

In defence of method

In keeping with the relational ontology underlying the theoretical framework employed in this study, the emphasis throughout has been upon relationships. The community studied has been understood as a network of relationships and the characteristics of those relationships were, in turn, used to understand the ways in which the social environment of the village was related to its physical environment. The approach was valuable in terms of this study because it forced attention upon the multi-dimensional networks associated with the genealogical field. Had that aspect of the social environment not been engaged directly, it would never have been possible to work out the distribution of land among the members of the community. Nor would it have been possible to discover the factors underlying that distribution.

In applying the theoretical framework, more emphasis has clearly been placed upon structural aspects than upon action, whereas, ideally, both should receive equal emphasis. The reasons for the imbalance in this study are associated with the study's scope and the material constraints associated with it. Because the study had to embrace an entire community, it was necessary to delineate the structural basis of that community before any other work could be undertaken. In view of that, priority during fieldwork was given to obtaining the data necessary to recreate the networks of relationships underlying the structure of the community. By comparison the collection of data associated with people's attitudes, strategies and reasons for doing things was less comprehensive. However, from its inception the study was conducted

with the underlying assumption, clearly articulated in Chapter Two, that social agents engage creatively with their social environments and are in no sense automata. Consequently, although the concept of field has been extensively discussed in this thesis and the concept of habitus little mentioned, the relational character of the two concepts has always been in mind and whenever reference has been made to a field, the existence of habitus attuned to that field has been assumed.

Nonetheless, there are aspects of this study which raise questions calling for further work. The events associated with the conflict between Natirea and Taubatua invite more attention than could be given in this study. That conflict raises questions about many aspects of social relationships, but one potentially fertile area is associated with dance and its use as a political tool. Another area of enquiry suggested by this study is the question of socialisation and the acquisition of habitus in such a community. Such a focus would, potentially, provide an understanding of the processes by which the structures of the genealogical field became internalised and components of the habitus of the people associated with the field.

This study concludes with the hope that by increasing knowledge of the dynamics underlying one atoll community it will contribute to advancing the understanding of others. It is also hoped that the broad conceptual framework developed for this study might be applied to communities in societies quite different from that in which this study was conducted.

Appendix One.

The distribution among households of land area and plots associated with the former social strata. Continued on next page.

House number. (House number 0 refers to the unallocated lands)	Total land area (<i>eka</i>) available to the household	Number of people in household	Land area (<i>eka</i>) per person in household	Numbers of plots associated with each status group. R = commoner T = aristocrat U = High Chief O = Unspecified				Ratio of R ----- T + U
				R	T	U	O	
0	635.00	0	635.00	46	318	142	2	0.25
1	30.04	7	4.29	29	1			29.00
2	1.72	3	0.57	21	1			21.00
3	6.02	8	0.75	21	1			21.00
4	1.59	2	0.80	30	2			15.00
5	3.44	5	0.69	21	1			21.00
6	33.87	7	4.84	18	23			0.78
7	4.68	4	1.17	45	3			15.00
8	1.66	1	1.66	44	3			14.67
9	36.01	5	7.20	37	4			9.25
10	1.17	2	0.59	10	1			10.00
11	4.83	4	1.21	10				0.00
12	17.16	15	1.14	27	1			27.00
13	15.40	3	5.13	33	23			1.43
14	9.41	7	1.34	24	13			1.85
15	8.06	4	2.02	11	23			0.48
16	3.19	3	1.06	30	2			15.00
17	15.70	4	3.93	2	24			0.08
18	0.71	2	0.36	2				0.00
19	9.02	5	1.80	51	3			17.00
20	5.92	7	0.85	24	2			12.00
21	21.54	5	4.31	58	4		2	9.67
22	43.22	5	8.64	17	14			1.21
23	3.73	1	3.73	14	1		2	4.67
24	27.05	10	2.71	18	2		2	4.50

House number. (House number 0 refers to the unallocated lands)	Total land area (eka) available to the household	Number of people in household	Land area (eka) per person in household	Numbers of plots associated with each status group. R = commoner T = aristocrat U = High Chief O = Unspecified				Ratio of $\frac{R}{T + U}$
				R	T	U	O	
25	30.30	8	3.79	28			2	14.00
26	31.69	19	1.67	66	5			13.20
27	15.55	4	3.89	42	5		2	6.00
28	0.00	8	0.00					0.00
29	70.04	7	10.01	13	60			0.22
30	3.46	3	1.15	30	2			15.00
31	6.90	6	1.15	9	1			9.00
32	10.41	7	1.49	25	1			25.00
33	111.73	9	12.41	23	66		1	0.34
34	2.77	6	0.46	26	1			26.00
35	0.00	3	0.00					0.00
36	14.04	7	2.01	46	4			11.50
37	1.05	2	0.53	27	2			13.50
38	4.28	6	0.71	29	2			14.50
39	2.88	3	0.96	34	2			17.00
40	25.10	3	8.37	10	29	4		0.30
41	15.53	6	2.59	38	3			12.67
42	9.93	6	1.66	24	3			8.00
43	18.40	4	4.60	24	2		2	6.00
44	3.46	6	0.58	4	1			4.00
45	41.48	5	8.30	12	27			0.44
46	16.58	9	1.84	36	3			12.00
47	7.15	5	1.43	60	5			12.00
48	22.04	5	4.41	67	5		2	9.57
49	61.00	9	6.78	5	12			0.42
50	5.65	12	0.47	36	3			12.00
51	0.58	9	0.06	12				0.00
52	21.47	5	4.29	33	1			33.00
53	4.54	4	1.14	46	4		1	9.20

House number. (House number 0 refers to the unallocated lands)	Total land area (<i>eka</i>) available to the household	Number of people in household	Land area (<i>eka</i>) per person in household	Numbers of plots associated with each status group. R = commoner T = aristocrat U = High Chief O = Unspecified				Ratio of R ----- T + U
				R	T	U	O	
54	0.00	5	0.00					0.00
55	53.38	8	6.67	18	24		1	0.72
56	5.55	7	0.79	9				0.00
57	25.81	5	5.16	14	15			0.93
58	0.00	4	0.00					0.00
59	2.41	4	0.60	9	2			4.50
60	12.55	6	2.09	42	2		1	14.00
61	18.47	6	3.08	33	1			33.00
62	1.98	2	0.99	13	2			6.50
63	0.00	6	0.00					0.00
64	0.00	11	0.00					0.00
65	1.96	5	0.39	21	2			10.50
66	0.00	4	0.00					0.00
67	3.32	3	1.11	44	3			14.67
68	1.26	2	0.63	25	2			12.50
69	15.60	8	1.95	54	4			13.50
70	2.02	3	0.67	20	1			20.00
71	4.38	5	0.88	9	1			9.00
72	8.57	6	1.43	54	3			18.00
73	3.40	6	0.57	12	2			6.00

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Two.

Names and recorded places of residence of absentee landholders.

Land owner	Owner's father	Residence	Number of plots
Akineti	Namane	?	1
Ataniman	Tetake	?	4
Babaku	Taebutu	Ukiangang	1
Banimone	Utimawa	Kuma	1
Barabuti	Kakiawi	Butaritari	2
Bina	Tenene	Kuma	1
Birimaere	Nawaia	Kiebu	1
Borere	Babera	?	1
Bountarawa	Tirae	Butaritari	1
Burentarawa	Kakiatu	Butaritari	4 (23)
Burenteuea	Tongatu	Keuea	3 (8)
Bwebweata	Ienraoi	Butaritari	3 (22)
Kaitinang	Tara	Butaritari	2
Karaimarewe	Tiroba	Ukiangang	2
Katuatetang	Maunqaia	Kiebu	1
Kawete	Tenene	Kuma	1
Kiatamoa	Timareroa	Makin	2
Marewe	Katangibai	?	2
Meri	Kaibobo	Ukiangang	1
Moanibeia	Kakiawi	Butaritari	2
Nubono	Totie	?	2
Rawaiti	Kabuiaia	Kuma	2
Tabuaka	Nene	Butaritari	1
Teaitao	Ruonako	Kuma	2
Teburabura	Ioane	Butaritari	1
Tekua	Matang	Kuma	3
Teririko	Tekirei	Kuma	2
Tetabo	Nakite	Butaritari	3
Tiemti	Maikara	?	1
Tiro	Tongaiaba	Ukiangang	1
Tokaniman	?	Keuea	2
Tokiteba	lakabo ¹	Butaritari	1
Uruata	Matakobu	Butaritari	1

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

¹ Tokiteba lakabo is not related to the Nan lakabo who was the founder of descent group number 24. See Minutes of Butaritari Land Case number 12, 1970.

Appendix Three.

Land distribution among descent groups. Continued on next page.

Descent group Number	Land area (eka)	Number of people	Area (eka) per person	Numbers of plots associated with each status group. R = commoner T = aristocrat U = High Chief O = Unspecified				Zone of the genealogical field occupied by each descent group
				R	T	U	O	
0	635.5	0	0	48	39	142		
2	19	6	3.17	5				8
3	2	3	0.67		2			8
7	3	8	0.38	2				3
3	5	4	1.25		1			3
15	38	6	6.33		11			8
17	4	6	0.67		1			8
18	12	4	3.00		6			5
19	26.5	9	2.94	11				2
22	6	4	1.50		1			8
23	10	73	0.14	2				2
24	67.5	131	0.51	18	1			1
28	26	6	4.33	9				8
29	21	4	5.25		4			5
31	1	14	0.07	1				7
32	21	18	1.17	2			1	2
33	8	33	0.24	2				2
34	12	6	2.00	1	3			5
40	5	22	0.23		1			5
43	5	5	1.00	2				3
44	18	41	0.32	7	1			2
46	37	24	0.66	12				2
47	36	40	0.9	9				2
49	7	4	1.75	2				8
50	7	7	1.00	2				8
54	16.5	14	1.18	4				4
56	3	22	0.14	2				2
57	6	5	1.20		2			4
59	35	32	1.09	9	1			6
60	6	13	0.46	3				8

Descent group Number	Land area (eka)	Number of people	Area (eka) per person	Numbers of plots associated with each status group. R = commoner T = aristocrat U = High Chief O = Unspecified				Zone of the genealogical field occupied by each descent group
				R	T	U	O	
61	17	16	1.06	5				8
65	34.5	43	0.80	9	2			3
67	15	2	7.50		1	4		4
68	17.5	32	0.55	5				3
69	3	4	0.75	1				4
70	40	56	0.71	11				2
73	9	6	1.50		2			5
75	28.5	75	0.38	7	1			2
76	39	12	3.25	2	12			3
77	0	14	0.00	1				3
78	4	3	1.33	2				8
79	8	21	0.38	3				5
80	3	13	0.23	1	1			8
82	2	4	0.50		1			3
83	105	23	4.57	1	22			3
85	12.5	8	1.56	5	1			2
88	47	6	7.83	8				8
91	6	17	0.35	2				3
92	89	28	3.18	9	1		2	4
94	148	13	11.38	1	60			4
95	20	5	4.00	1	4			3
Total eka =	1,747	Numbers of separate land plots		227	182	146	3	

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Four.

Distribution of land among members of a *toka* descent group.

Plot number and section	Size (eka)	Transferred from	Transferred to	Present division among the grandchildren of Nei Motibwere and Nei Tiima
9 - 2	1	Nei Motibure and Nei Tiima	Koririntetaake	N. Katukutaake
27 - 3	1		Nei Rabunaieta	laontamoa, Nei Tiima II
31 - 1	1		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
36 - 2	4		Nei Bwebwenraoi	Koririntetaake II
40 - 2a	1		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
51 - 2	3		Nei Bwebwenraoi	Koririntetaake II
63 - 2	9		Buto	Ruantoa
66 - 2	6		Buto	Ruantoa
67 - 2	6		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
76 - 2	3		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
77 - 4	7		Nei Bwebwenraoi	Koririntetaake II
78 - 1	5		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
79 - 2	6		Nei Bwebwenraoi	Koririntetaake II
84 - 3	7		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
85 - 2	6		Nei Rabunaieta	laontamoa, Nei Tiima II
92 - 2	7		Nei Rabunaieta	laontamoa, Nei Tiima II
100 - 2	5		Buto	Ruantoa
101 - 4	7		Buto	Ruantoa
112 - 2	5		Nei Rabunaieta	laontamoa, Nei Tiima II
114 - 3	5		Nei Rabunaieta	laontamoa, Nei Tiima
119 - 1	5		Nei Bwebwenraoi	Koririntetaake II
124 - 2	4		Koririntetaake	Nei Katukutaake
786 - 2	1		Shared	<i>Kaunwae</i>

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Five.

The distribution of land plots among the members of the largest descent group in Kuma.

Plot number and section	Size (eka)	Transferred from	Transferred to	Present division
6 - 2	4	lakabo	lotia	lotia
18 - 1	4	N. Tearibo	Kianibaro	N. Tearibo
24 - 1	2	lakabo	lotia	lotia
29 - 3	1	lakabo	Kainako	lotia
34 - 5	1	lakabo	Kainako	Tebakaro
50 - 3i	1	Bought	Kaititi	Kaititi
51 - 3e	1.5	N. Kabane	Kainako	Kainako
55 - 1e	2	N. Kabane	Kainako	Kainako
61 - 1	1	lakabo	Kainako	Tebakaro
89 - 1	4	lakabo	Kainako	Aibo
89 - 2e	2	N. Kabane	Kainako	Tebakaro
90 - 3	7	lakabo	Kainako	Aibo
91 - 2	8	Kainako	Tekaieta	Kainako
106 - 1	7	lakabo	Kainako	Tearibo
115 - 1a	3	N. Maritina	Tebakaro	Tebakaro
122 - 1e	10.5	N. Kabane	Kainako	<i>Kaunwae</i>
128 - 4e	1.5	N. Kabane	Kainako	<i>Kaunwae</i>
777 - 2	4	Kabatikua	lotia	lotia
783 - 3	3	N. Bareia	Tebakaro	Tebakaro

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Six.

Household composition.

Household number	Number of children	Number of unmarried adults	Married adults	Elderly relations	Total number in household
1	5		2		7
2		1	2		3
3	6		2		8
4			2		2
5	3		2		5
6	4	1	2		7
7	2	1		1	4
8		1			1
9	3	2			5
10			2		2
11	2		2		4
12	8	4	2	1	15
13	1		2		3
14	3	2	2		7
15	2		2		4
16	1		2		3
17	2		2		4
18		1	1		2
19	3		2		5
20	1	4	2		7
21	3		2		5
22	3		2		5
23		1			1
24	3	3	2	2	10
25	6	1	1		8
26	10	4	4	1	19
27	1	1	2		4
28	4	1	2	1	8
29	5		2		7
30		2		1	3

Household number	Number of children	Number of unmarried adults	Married adults	Elderly relations	Total number in household
31	4		2		6
32	5		2		7
33	5		2	2	9
34	2		2	2	6
35	2	1			3
36	4	1	2		7
37			2		2
38	2		2	2	6
39	1	1		1	3
40	1		2		3
41	4		2		6
42	3		2	1	6
43	3		1		4
44	2	2		2	6
45	1	2	2		5
46	6	1	2		9
47		4		1	5
48	3		2		5
49	5		2	2	9
50	5	1	4	2	12
51	5		4		9
52	3		2		5
53	1	1	2		4
54	3		2		5
55	6		2		8
56	3	1	2	1	7
57	3		2		5
58	2		2		4
59	2		2		4
60	1	3	2		6
61	2		2	2	6
62			2		2
63	4		2		6

Household number	Number of children	Number of unmarried adults	Married adults	Elderly relations	Total number in household
64	6	3	2		11
65	1	3		1	5
66	2		2		4
67	1		2		3
68			2		2
69	3	2	2	1	8
70		2		1	3
71	3		2		5
72	4		2		6
73	4		2		6
	198	58	127	28	411

Source: Fieldwork, 1984.

Appendix Seven.

Distribution of Descent group members among households connected with Kuma's two village councils, Natirea and Taubatua.

Descent group numbers	Natirea		Taubatua	
	Numbers of Natirea residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside	Numbers of Taubatua residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside
1	0	0	4	1
2	0	0	6	1
3	3	1	0	0
4	3	1	0	0
5	4	1	0	0
6	4	1	0	0
7	8	1	0	0
8	3	1	0	0
9	3	1	0	0
10	2	1	0	0
11	10	5	22	6
12	10	5	4	1
13	4	1	0	0
14	11	3	7	2
15	0	0	6	1
16	4	1	0	0
17	0	0	6	1
18	4	1	0	0
19	0	0	9	3
20	4	1	0	0
21	0	0	10	3
22	0	0	4	1
23	36	10	37	9
24	78	21	53	13
25	28	8	1	1
26	22	4	0	0
27	12	3	1	1

Descent group numbers	Natirea		Taubatua	
	Numbers of Natirea residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside	Numbers of Taubatua residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside
28	6	1	0	0
29	4	1	0	0
30	0	0	9	3
31	10	5	4	1
32	6	1	12	3
33	33	9	0	0
34	6	1	0	0
35	16	4	0	0
36	7	2	0	0
37	13	4	0	0
38	4	1	0	0
39	13	2	0	0
40	8	2	14	4
41	8	2	13	3
42	0	0	1	1
43	5	1	0	0
44	25	8	16	5
45	6	2	0	0
46	18	5	6	2
47	24	7	16	5
48	18	5	10	3
49	0	0	4	1
50	7	2	0	0
51	9	2	0	0
52	23	6	1	1
53	6	1	7	1
54	13	1	1	1
55	2	2	7	1
56	22	8	0	0
57	5	2	0	0
58	8	1	0	0
59	10	5	22	6

Descent group numbers	Natirea		Taubatua	
	Numbers of Natirea residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside	Numbers of Taubatua residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside
60	12	3	1	1
61	16	4	0	0
62	10	4	0	0
63	2	2	0	0
64	8	2	0	0
65	27	4	16	7
66	9	2	0	0
67	1	1	0	0
68	31	10	1	1
69	0	0	4	1
70	28	6	28	9
71	16	4	0	0
72	13	1	1	1
73	6	1	0	0
74	13	4	0	0
75	53	18	21	6
76	2	1	4	1
77	10	3	4	1
78	0	0	3	1
79	8	2	13	3
80	12	3	1	1
81	2	1	0	0
82	0	0	4	1
83	12	5	11	2
84	7	2	7	2
85	4	2	0	0
86	4	1	0	0
87	0	0	1	1
88	6	3	0	0
89	27	4	6	4
90	0	0	1	1
91	12	6	5	1

Descent group numbers	Nairea		Taubatua	
	Numbers of Nairea residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside	Numbers of Taubatua residents in each descent group	Numbers of households in which descent group members reside
92	24	6	4	1
93	0	0	4	1
94	13	2	0	0
95	1	1	4	1

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Eight.

Founding ancestors of the ninety five descent groups identified in Kuma village.

Descent group number	Founding couples and individuals of descent groups	
	Male founder	Female founder
1	?	Nei Mangaia
2	?	Nei Tebu
3	?	Nei Kakai
4	?	Nei Tanimatang
5	?	Nei Teboua
6	?	Nei Teke
7	?	Nei Tiboi
8	Abera	Nei Buoia
9	Beiatuea	?
10	Neanea	Nei Tarie
11	Rotaniti	Nei Karaitiman
12	Amon	Nei Terakoiti
13	Bangaun	Nei Teneaki
14	?	Nei Teneaki
15	Beia	?
16	Barouea	Nei Ambo
17	Biriam	?
18	Bonteatu	Nei Temoantei
19	Buakanimakin	Nei Aburamatang
20	Buakaua	Nei Kabwea
21	Buaua	Nei Abinua
22	Bwebwe	Nei Motiman
23	Eria	Nei Kukuria
24	Iakabo	Nei Bareia
25	Ingirau	Nei Teautau
26	Kabiri	Nei Tutaake
27	Kaboua	Nei Kaea
28	Kabunata	?
29	Kaierake	Nei Rakaba
30	Karebaurere	Nei Kabiaia
31	Karibau	Nei Eretia
32	Katokauea	Nei Teraiti

Descent group number	Founding couples and individuals of descent groups	
	Male founder	Female founder
33	Kau	Nei Rote
34	Kaubure	Nei Rawarawa
35	Kauno	Nei Teokatara
36	Kaure	Nei Tekakia
37	Kaututeuea	?
38	Kiaieta	Nei Taneao
39	Kiaman	Nei Mere
40	Kianibura	
41	Kianibura	Nei Bwena
42	Kianibura	Nei Ruanamakin
43	Kibaua	Nei Rakera
44	Kirata	Nei Rakera
45		Nei Rakera
46	Kitina	Nei Tara
47	Tetou	Nei Tetou
48		Nei Tara
49	Kotei	Nei Biribetua
50	Koubwere	Nei Anginako
51	Kourabe	Nei Kabwearuru
52	Maatia	Nei Ribaua
53	Mae	?
54	Manenekaue	Nei Tekearuru
55	Marabu	?
56	Tebotai	Nei Tekea
57	Marevea	Nei Takentemanoku
58	Mataro	Nei Tinaniku
59	Motete	Nei Kaitamakin
60	Mote	Nei Bunua
61	Nariki	Nei Tekako
62	Roman	Nei Batiba
63		Nei Batiba
64		Nei Teang
65	Tabakea	Nei Karebaieta
66	Ruakai	Nei Tareke
67	Tabu	Nei Bukanibeti

Descent group number	Founding couples and individuals of descent groups	
	Male founder	Female founder
68	Taie	Nei Mamare
69	Takatoa	Nei Maroua
70	Takautu	Nei Baurere
71	Takenibeia	?
72	Tamuera	Nei Ana I
73	Tanginako	Nei Rabunakarawa
74	Tarainimatang	Nei Ekiba
75	Tauatea	Nei Ana II
76	Teakireke	Nei Tawana
77	Tearawa	Nei Tebou
78	Teata	Nei Tekiebuti
79	Tebarekia	Nei Tokaraitina
80	Tebou	Nei Eata
81	Tebwebwe	?
82	Teitikai	?
83	Teitirere	Nei Mareventeranga
84	Tekabo	Nei Teneaki
85	Tetaeka	Nei Uenranga
86	Tetika	Nei Tangaoua
87	Tettoa	?
88	Tetuai	Nei Tutam
89	Timau	Nei Miriam
90	Tio	Nei Taunaki
91	Tioboa	Nei Oroba
92	Tirikai	Nei Tekabu
93	Uakiaki	Nei Tara
94	Uatake	Nei Tabeata
95	Uati	Nei Kabwebwenang

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Nine.

List of land plots associated with Kuma village, listing the landholders with whom the plots were registered at the time of the study. Also listed are the descent groups with which each plot was associated.

Descent group number <small>(0 indicates absentee landholders)</small>	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rarabuka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Tontonna	1	1	3
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Tontonna	1	2	3
0	Babara	Ngatau	U	Tontonna	1	3a	1
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Tontonna	1	3e	1
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Tontonna	2	1	4
65	Teangauba	Tetabakea	R	Tontonna	2	2	5
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Tontonna	2	3	5
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Tontonna	3	1	4
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Tontonna	3	2	4
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Tontonna	3	3	2
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Tontonna	4	1	2
0	Teaitao	Ruonako	R	Tontonna	4	2	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tontonna	4	3	1
0	N. Atunatetoka	Kareke	U	Autukia	5	1	2
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Autukia	5	2	1
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Autukia	5	3	1
79	Takea	Kaewenako	R	Autukia	5	4	2
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Autukia	5	5	4
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Autukia	6	1	4
24	lotia	lakabo	R	Autukia	6	2	4
0	N. Bureti	Koriri	U	Autukia	6	3	2
0	N. Kakekeata	Koriri	U	Autukia	7	1	2
0	Burentarawa	Kakiatu	T	Autukia	7	2	2
0	N. Korobaro	Tawaia	T	Autukia	7	3	2
65	Tabakea	Tabaoki	R	Autukia	7	4	2
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Autukia	7	5	2
0	Ataniman	Tetake	R	Autukia	8	1	3
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Autukia	8	2 a	1.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Autukia	8	2 e	1.5
0	N. Tienta	Koriri	U	Autukia	8	3	2
85	Buariki	Tetaeka	R	Ningonigo	9	1	1
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Ningonigo	9	2	1
0	Kaiea	Tiotake	U	Nongonigo	9	3	1
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Bangkenna	10	1	5

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rarabaka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Bangkenna	10	2 a	3
0	Kawete	Tenene	R	Bangkenna	10	2 e	3
0	Rawaiti	Kabuiaia	R	Tebobaraki	11	1	3
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Tebobaraki	11	2	3
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Tebobaraki	11	3	2
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Tebangaomata	12	1 a	1
44	Teriniaki	Kirata	T	Tebangaomata	12	1 e	1
32	leontamoa	Katokauea	R	Tebangaomata	12	2	2
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Tebangaomata	12	3	1
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Tebanikakoko	13	1	2
75	Tauatea	Kirata	R	Tebanikakoko	13	2	6
75	Bere	Tauatea	R	Teabanimate	14	1	4
65	Teangauba	Tetabakea	T	Teabanimate	14	2	4
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Abauareke	15	1	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Abauareke	15	2	1
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Abauareke	15	3	1
0	Tetabo	Nakite	R	Tebokiawai	16	1	3
67	Kakiatake	Tiotio	T	Tebokiawai	16	2	3
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Tebokiawai	16	3	2
65	Kairo	Tetabakea	R	Teabanikaba	17	1a	0.5
75	Bere	Tauatea	R	Teabanikaba	17	1e	0.5
75	Tauatea	Kirata	T	Teabanikaba	17	2	1
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Teabanikaba	17	3	1
23	Kianibaro	Kireua	R	Tekanawa	18	1	4
0	N. Riteba	Taratoba	T	Tekanawa	18	2	4
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tekanawa	18	3	3
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Tekanawa	19	1a	1
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tekanawa	19	1e	1
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Tekanawa	19	2	6
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Taunrawa	20	1	4
40	Bikebike	Kaewenako	T	Taunrawa	20	2	5
79	Takea	Kaewenako	R	Taunrawa	20	3	5
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Tewiwi	21	1	2
76	N. Katokarara	Taake	T	Tewiwi	21	2a	0.75
76	N. Mangoieta	Taake	T	Tewiwi	21	2e	0.75
76	N. Taebaba	Taake	T	Tewiwi	21	2i	0.75
76	Terara	Taake	T	Tewiwi	21	2o	0.75
75	Tabaua	Tauatea	R	Tewiwi	21	3	3

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Tokat R=Atarabua U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Teonimarawa	22	1	6
59	Tamoa	Motete	T	Teonimarawa	22	2	6
92	Tinkai	Tabua	R	Aonbike	23	1	1
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Aonbike	23	2 a	0.5
54	Bwebwentekai	Manenikaue	R	Aonbike	23	2 e	0.5
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Aonbike	23	3 a	1
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Aonbike	23	3 e	1
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Aonbike	23	4	1
24	Iotia	Iakabo	R	Tekaurenimaeka	24	1	2
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Tekaurenimaeka	24	2	1
76	N. Kamataku	Nabwebwe	T	Tekaurenimaeka	24	3	2
0	Ataniman	Tetake	R	Tetikumaimone	25	1	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Tetikumaimone	25	2 a	0.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tetikumaimone	25	2 e	0.5
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Tetikumaimone	25	3	1
0	Tiata	Koriri	U	Teribannaba	26	1	2
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Teribannaba	26	2 a	1.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Teribannaba	26	2 e	1.5
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Teribannaba	26	3	3
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Tebakatake	27	1	1
46	Batiku	Kaitie	R	Tebakatake	27	2	1
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Tebakatake	27	3	1
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Nukantekainga	28	1	1
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Nukantekainga	28	2	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Nukantekainga	28	3 a	0.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Nukantekainga	28	3 e	0.5
0	Ieremia	Koriri	U	Tewakinuea	29	1	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Tewakinuea	29	2 a	0.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tewakinuea	29	2 e	0.5
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Tewakinuea	29	3	1
44	Tenriaki	Kirata	R	Bike	30	1	2
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Bike	30	2	2
0	Kiakia	Tikua	U	Bike	30	3	3
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Buaniki	31	1	1
70	N. Enimiuta	Tamatone	R	Buaniki	31	2	1
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Buaniki	31	3	1
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Tekatanrake	32	1	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Tekatanrake	32	2 a	0.5

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix 'N.' signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Tokelau R=Rarabua U=Uta	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tekatanrake	32	2 e	0.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tekatanrake	32	3	1
2	Areke	Tam	R	Tebunimane	33	1	4
0	Bwebwetake	Tiotake	T	Tebunimane	33	2	2
34	N. Bweneateuea	Teakin	T	Tebunimane	33	3	2
0	Ieremia	Koriri	U	Tebunimane	33	4	2
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Teunata	34	1	1
94	N. Taonang	Tibau	T	Teunata	34	2	1
76	N. Rabunamakin	Manoku	T	Teunata	34	3	1
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Teunata	34	4	1
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Teunata	34	5	1
0	N. Burentuea	Tongatu	R	Mabutang	35	1	1
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Mabutang	35	2	1
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Nuka	36	1	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Nuka	36	2	4
92	Tinkai	Tabua	R	Nuka	36	3	3
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Nuka	36	4	1
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Aoraereke	37	1	1
0	Takenteang	Meaua	T	Aoraereke	37	2	1
0	Batuku	Koriri	U	Aoraereke	37	3	1
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Muribenua	38	1	2
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Muribenua	38	2	1
0	N. Tekua	Matang	R	Muribenua	38	3	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Muribenua	38	4aa	0.5
85	Buariki	Tetaeka	T	Muribenua	38	4ae	0.5
3	Ruata	Koubwere	T	Muribenua	38	4e	1
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Temoanuae	39	1	2
73	Kakiaman	Bebeia	T	Temoanuae	39	2	4
61	N. Maritina	Nariki	R	Temoanuae	39	3	4
0	Barabuti	Kakiawi	R	Bino	40	1aa	0.5
0	Kaitinang	Tara	R	Bino	40	1ae	0.5
95	Kiboboua	Batiku	R	Bino	40	1ai	1
0	Burentarawa	Kakiatu	R	Bino	40	1e	1
0	Uruata	Matakobu	R	Bino	40	1i	1
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	R	Bino	40	2a	1
43	Kibaua	Tabua	R	Bino	40	2e	1
0	Burentarawa	Kakiatu	T	Bino	40	3	3
85	Tekinano	Tebakabo	R	Bino	40	4	2

Descent group number <small>(0 indicates absentee landholders)</small>	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rorobuaka U=Uee	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Tentabai	41	1	1
0	Burentarawa	Kakiatu	T	Tentabai	41	2	2
0	N. Bwebweata	Ienraoi	R	Tentabai	41	3	1
0	Moanibeia	Kakiawi	R	Tentabai	41	4	1
80	N. Motiata	Tebaou	R	Tentabai	41	5	1
56	N. Tebanei	Tebotai	R	Rarango	42	1	2
85	Buanki	Tetaeka	R	Rarango	42	2	2
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	T	Rarango	42	3	4
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Rarango	42	4	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Terua	43	1	2
94	Kritanuea	Tibau	T	Terua	43	2a	3
60	Banian	Mote	R	Terua	43	2e	1
33	Kakiaman	Nakau	R	Terua	43	3	2
60	Banian	Mote	R	Terua	43	4a	1
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Terua	43	4e	1
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Taboianti	44	1	2
94	Kritanuea	Tibau	T	Taboianti	44	2a	2
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Taboianti	44	2e	2
46	Kiron	Tekatoa	R	Taboianti	44	3	4
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Taboianti	45	1	1
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Taboianti	45	2	1
0	Nakoi	Tiotake	U	Taboianti	45	3	1
44	Bwere	Katangaau	R	Taboianti	46	1a	3
0	N. Teririko	Tekirei	R	Taboianti	46	1e	1
44	N. Teitinibaara	Teririaki	R	Taboianti	46	1i	1
77	Korintetaake	Katavia	R	Taboianti	46	1o	0
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Taboianti	46	2a	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Taboianti	46	2e	2
0	Bwebwetake	Tiotake	T	Taboianti	46	3	6
92	Maborau	Tinkai	0	Nanonterawa	47	0	18
0	Nakoro	Uati	T	Tabuaeran	48	1	1
65	Tabakea	Tabaoki	R	Tabuaeran	48	2	1
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Rannongana	49	1	7
0	N. Kuini	Koriri	U	Rannongana	49	2	5
29	N. Rakaba	Ribabaiti	T	Rannongana	49	3	4
0	Barabuti	Kakiawi	T	Rannongana	49	4a	0.5
0	Kaitinang	Tara	T	Rannongana	49	4a	0.5
95	N. Kirera	Uati	T	Rannongana	49	4e	3

Descent group number <small>(0 indicates absence of landholders)</small>	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. <small>T=Tokelau R=Rorabua U=Uea</small>	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
91	Enota	Tioboa	R	Bikou	50	1	2
0	N. Burenteuea	Tongatu	R	Bikou	50	2	2
0	N. Kabetitake	Bukitake	T	Bikou	50	3aa	1
57	N. Takena	Mareweia	T	Bikou	50	3ae	1
76	N. Makirite	Kaitinang	T	Bikou	50	3e	1
24	Kaititi	Iotia	R	Bikou	50	3i	1
0	Tiata	Koriri	U	Bikou	50	4	2
0	Ieremia	Koriri	U	Bikou	51	1	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Bikou	51	2	3
68	N. Kabane	Taie	R	Bikou	51	3a	1.5
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Bikou	51	3e	1.5
0	Karaimarewe	Tiroba	R	Takauara	52	1	2
65	Teangauba	Tetabakea	R	Takauara	52	2	2
65	Kairo	Tetabakea	T	Takauara	52	3a	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Takauara	52	3e	4
0	Batuku	Koriri	U	Takauara	52	4	4
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Terarikinki	53	1	2
76	N. Kairieta	Nabwebwe	T	Terarikinki	53	2	2
67	Kammamma	Uraura	U	Terarikinki	53	3	1
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Teakunimatang	54	1	2
0	Bwebwetake	Tiotake	T	Teakunimatang	54	2	6
68	N. Kabane	Taie	R	Teakunimatang	55	1a	2
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Teakunimatang	55	1e	2
3	Ruata	Koubwere	T	Teakunimatang	55	2	1
94	Kintanuea	Tibau	T	Teakunimatang	55	2a	3
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Teakunimatang	55	3	3
0	N. Atunatetoka	Kareke	U	Bukino	56	1	4
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Bukino	56	2	6
0	Takenteang	Meaua	T	Bukino	56	3	6
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Tabontebike	57	1	5
76	Atarake	Nabwebwe	T	Tabontebike	57	2	7
44	Terriaki	Kirata	R	Tabontebike	57	3a	6
94	Tibau	Uatake	R	Tabontebike	57	3e	1
61	N. Maritina	Nariki	R	Tabontebike	58	1	6
22	Kakia	Maeke	T	Tabontebike	58	2	6
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Tabontebike	58	3	4
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Tabukintake	59	1	1
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Tabukintake	59	2	1

Descent group number <small>(0 indicates absentee landholders)</small>	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rarabuka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
70	Uerina	Ekiaua	R	Mire	60	1	5
0	lotua	Tebukey	T	Mire	60	2a	3.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Mire	60	2e	3.5
32	laontamoa	Katokauea	R	Mire	60	3	7
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Bukintebono	61	1	1
0	N. Bureti	Korini	U	Bukintebono	61	2	1
0	Ieremia	Turai	?	Tekerantarawa	62	1	7
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Tekerantarawa	62	2	10
94	N. Taonang	Tibau	T	Tekerantarawa	62	3	10
67	N. Kammamma	Uraura	U	Teangimai	63	1	6
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Teangimai	63	2	9
23	Kireua	Eria	R	Teangimai	63	3	9
0	N. Atunatetoka	Kareke	U	Teangimai	64	1	6
0	Uan	Kaota	T	Teangimai	64	2	2
0	N. Buriata	Tunimakin	T	Teangimai	64	3	2
0	Batuku	Korini	T	Teangimai	64	4	2
29	N. Rakaba	Ribabaiti	T	Teangimai	64	5	2
0	N. Babaku	Taebutu	R	Teangimai	64	6a	2
0	N. Meri	Kaibobo	R	Teangimai	64	6e	2
91	Enota	Tioboa	R	Teangimai	64	7	4
78	Uimawa	Teata	R	Teangimai	65	1	2
78	N. Tekiebuti	Mautake	R	Teangimai	65	2	2
0	Tabuaka	Nene	R	Teangimai	65	3	4
76	Kairineta	Nabwebwe	T	Teangimai	65	4	4
0	Moanibeia	Kakiawi	T	Teangimai	65	5	1
0	N. Bwebweata	Ienraoi	T	Teangimai	65	6	1
80	Kaikoroa	Tebaou	T	Teangimai	65	7	2
0	N. Bureti	Korini	U	Teangimai	65	8	6
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Neingongo	66	1	6
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Neingongo	66	2	6
0	Nakoi	Tiotake	U	Neingongo	66	3	4
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Neingongo	67	1	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Neingongo	67	2	6
69	N. Taeruru	Tinbo	R	Neingongo	67	3	3
46	Batiku	Kaitie	R	Neingongo	67	4	3
0	Tokaniman	?	R	Neingongo	68	1	7
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Neingongo	68	2a	3.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Neingongo	68	2e	3.5

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix 'N.' signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rarabunga U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	N. Kakekeata	Koriri	U	Neingongo	68	3	4
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Teike	69	1	6
43	Kibaua	Tabua	R	Teike	69	2	4
75	Tabaua	Tauatea	R	Teike	69	3	4
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Teike	69	4a	4.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Teike	69	4e	4.5
29	N. Rakaba	Ribabaiti	T	Teinneita	70	1	7
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Teinneita	70	2	4
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Teinneita	70	3	3
0	Tiro	Tongaiaba	R	Teinneita	70	4	3
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Teinneita	71	1	12
0	N. Tienta	Koriri	U	Teinneita	71	2	4
92	Maborau	Tirikai	0	Teinneita	72	0	30
0	Ataniman	Tetake	R	Teinneita	73	1	5
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Teinneita	73	2a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Teinneita	73	2e	2.5
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Teinneita	73	3	3
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Birewan	74	1	2
0	Marewe	Katangibai	R	Birewan	74	2	4
0	Marewe	Katangibai	T	Birewan	74	3	4
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Birewan	75	1a	1.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Birewan	75	1e	1.5
0	N. Nubono	Totie	R	Birewan	75	2	1
0	Rawaiti	Kabuiaia	R	Birewan	75	3	1
0	N. Kuini	Koriri	U	Birewan	75	4	2
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Birewan	76	1	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Birewan	76	2	3
49	N. Taotika	Kotei	R	Birewan	76	3	3
0	Kiatamoa	Timareroa	R	Birewan	77	1	3
0	Tiemti	Maikara	R	Birewan	77	2a	1
23	Kianibaro	Kireua	R	Birewan	77	2e	1
44	N. Teitinibaara	Teririaki	R	Birewan	77	3	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Birewan	77	4	7
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Birewan	77	5a	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Birewan	77	5e	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Birewan	78	1	5
92	Tirikai	Tabua	R	Birewan	78	2	5
0	Tiata	Koriri	U	Birewan	78	3	4

Descent group number <small>(0 indicates absentee landholders)</small>	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. <small>T=Take R=Rarabua U=Uea</small>	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Birewan	79	1	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Birewan	79	2	6
2	Areke	Tam	R	Birewan	79	3	6
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Birewan	80	1a	2
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Birewan	80	1e	2
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Birewan	80	2	4
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Birewan	80	3a	1.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Birewan	80	3e	1.5
0	Ieremia	Koriri	U	Tekerau	81	1	3
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Tekerau	81	2	5
0	Turai	Atanga	?	Tekerau	81	3	5
0	Ataniman	Tetake	R	Tekerau	82	1	5
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Tekerau	82	2a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tekerau	82	2e	2.5
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Tekerau	82	3	2
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Tekerau	83	1a	2.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tekerau	83	1e	2.5
75	Bere	Tauatea	R	Tekerau	83	2	8
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Tekerau	83	3a	4
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tekerau	83	3e	4
85	Buariki	Tetaeka	R	Tebanako	84	1	4
92	Tirikai	Tabua	R	Tebanako	84	2	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Tebanako	84	3	7
0	Batuku	Koriri	U	Tebanako	84	4	5
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Raweai	85	1	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Raweai	85	2	6
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Raweai	85	3a	3
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Raweai	85	3e	3
0	Takenteang	Meaua	T	Teere	86	1	8
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Teere	86	2	6
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Teere	86	3	8
75	Bere	Tauatea	R	Teere	87	1	2
0	Bina	Tenene	R	Teere	87	2	4
0	Kaiekieki	Ueanimarake	T	Teere	87	3	5
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Teere	87	4	4
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Teere	88	1	3
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	T	Teere	88	2	5
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Teere	88	3	3

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Tokelau R=Rarobuaka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	N. Nubono	Totie	R	Teere	88	4	3
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Ue	89	1	4
68	N. Kabane	Taie	R	Ue	89	2a	2
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Ue	89	2e	2
29	N. Rakaba	Ribabaiti	T	Ue	89	3	8
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Ue	89	4	5
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Ue	90	1	5
76	Tiare	Tei	R	Ue	90	2	8
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Ue	90	3	7
92	Maborau	Tinkai	T	Ue	91	1	8
24	Tekaieta	Kainako	R	Ue	91	2	8
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Ue	91	3	5
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Tekaniborau	92	1	5
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Tekaniborau	92	2	7
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Tekaniborau	92	3	3
92	Maborau	Tinkai	R	Tekaniborau	92	4	3
34	Terama	Kiang	R	Tebuninon	93	1a	1
0	Birimaere	Nawaia	R	Tebuninon	93	1e	1
0	N. Akineti	Namane	R	Tebuninon	93	2a	1
0	Bountarawa	Tirae	R	Tebuninon	93	2e	1
0	Katuatetang	Maungaia	R	Tebuninon	93	2i	1
0	Kaiekieki	Ueanimarake	T	Tebuninon	93	3	2
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Tebuninon	93	4	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tebuninon	94	1	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Tebuninon	94	2	2
7	Tibaua	Tokoia	R	Tebuninon	94	3	2
7	Tibaua	Tokoia	R	Tebuninon	95	1	1
56	N. Tebanei	Tebotai	R	Tebuninon	95	2	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Tebuninon	95	3	2
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Tebuninon	95	4	2
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Tebuninon	96	1	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Tebuninon	96	2	2
0	Tetabo	Nakite	R	Tebuninon	96	3	2
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Aonna	97	1	4
0	Kabwebenibeia	Tiare	U	Aonna	97	2	3
34	N. Bweneateuea	Teakin	T	Aonna	97	3	4
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Aonna	98	1	4
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Aonna	98	2	3

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Taka R=Rarabuka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	N. Tongobo	Takin	T	Aonna	98	3	4
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Mangirere	99	1a	2
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Mangirere	99	1e	3
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Mangirere	99	2a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Mangirere	99	2e	2.5
0	N. Kuini	Koriri	U	Mangirere	99	3	3
65	Tabakea	Tabaoki	R	Mangirere	100	1	5
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Mangirere	100	2	5
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Mangirere	100	3	3
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Rotuma	101	1a	2
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Rotuma	101	1e	2
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Rotuma	101	2a	2
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Rotuma	101	2e	3
0	Tokaniman	?	R	Rotuma	101	3	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Rotuma	101	4	7
0	Bwebwetake	Tiotake	T	Tebunimane	102	1	6
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Tebunimane	102	2a	3
70	N. Enimiuta	Tamatone	R	Tebunimane	102	2e	3
0	Tiata	Koriri	U	Tebunimane	102	3	4
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Tebunimane	103	1	4
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Tebunimane	103	2	5
76	Rabunamakin	Manoku	T	Tebunimane	103	3	5
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Tebunimane	104	1	5
76	N. Kamataku	Nabwebwe	T	Tebunimane	104	2	5
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Tebunimane	104	3a	1.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tebunimane	104	3e	1.5
33	Kakiaman	Nakau	R	Tebunimane	105	1	6
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Tebunimane	105	2a	3
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tebunimane	105	2e	3
0	Ieremia	Koriri	U	Tebunimane	105	3	4
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Tekanikaua	106	1	7
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Tekanikaua	106	2	5
0	Tongobo	Takin	T	Tekanikaua	106	3	7
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Terotabakea	107	1	4
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Terotabakea	107	2a	3.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Terotabakea	107	2e	3.5
54	Bwebwentekai	Manenikaue	R	Terotabakea	107	3	7
46	Kaitie	Kitina	R	Tekaniuea	108	1	5

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Taka R=Rarabuka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Tekaniuea	108	2	5
0	Batuku	Koriri	U	Tekaniuea	108	3	4
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Tabeibei	109	1	3
0	N. Motiatu	Temaing	T	Tabeibei	109	2	4
50	Roteman	Kautabuki	R	Tabeibei	109	3	4
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Tabeibei	110	1	3
57	N. Teao	Mareweia	T	Tabeibei	110	2	5
92	Tirikai	Tabua	R	Tabeibei	110	3	5
0	Kiakia	Tikua	U	Tabeibei	111	1	4
73	Kakiaman	Bebeia	T	Tabeibei	111	2	5
92	Maborau	Tirikai	R	Tabeibei	111	3	5
49	N. Taotika	Kotei	R	Karabino	112	1	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Karabino	112	2	5
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Karabino	112	3	3
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Teangataba	113	1a	1.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Teangataba	113	1e	1.5
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Teangataba	113	2a	2
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Teangataba	113	2e	2
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Teangataba	113	3a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Teangataba	113	3e	2.5
67	Kammamma	Uraura	U	Teangataba	114	1	3
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Teangataba	114	2a	2
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Teangataba	114	2e	2
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Teangataba	114	3	5
24	Tebakaro	Iakabo	R	Kamwemwerake	115	1a	3
59	Tererei	Tamoa	R	Kamwemwerake	115	1e	3
61	N. Martina	Nariki	R	Kamwemwerake	115	1i	3
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Kamwemwerake	115	2a	5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Kamwemwerake	115	2e	5
0	Akoi	Tiotake	U	Kamwemwerake	115	3	6
0	N. Mareweia	Kaeakeke	U	Abarao	116	1a	1.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Abarao	116	1e	1.5
85	Buariki	Tetaeka	R	Abarao	116	2	3
19	Ruka	Tenna	R	Abarao	116	3	3
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Abarao	116	4a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Abarao	116	4e	2.5
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Nukantekainga	117	1a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Nukantekainga	117	1e	2.5

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix 'N.' signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Tokelau R=Rarotonga U=Uae	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
92	Tirikai	Tabua	R	Nukantekainga	117	2	5
0	N. Atunatetoka	Kareke	U	Nukantekainga	117	3	4
65	Teangauba	Tetabakea	R	Tuta	118	1	6
0	Mote	Tiotake	T	Tuta	118	2	6
0	Mote	Tiotake	U	Tuta	118	3	4
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Abanaria	119	1	5
0	Kiatamoa	Timareroa	R	Abanaria	119	2	7
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Abanaria	119	3	5
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Kinikanren	120	1	3
60	Banian	Mote	R	Kinikanren	120	2	4
0	Enoka	Babaraua	T	Kinikanren	120	3	5
32	Kabwebwe	laontamoa	0	Renren	121	0	12
68	N. Kabane	Taie	R	Nukuau	122	1a	10.5
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Nukuau	122	1e	10.5
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Nukuau	122	2	7
0	Teaitao	Ruonako	R	Teinnang	123	1	4
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Teinnang	123	2a	2.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Teinnang	123	2e	2.5
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Teinnang	123	3	3
0	N. Boreti	Korini	U	Teinnang	124	1	3
83	N. Motibure	Teitire	T	Teinnang	124	2	4
2	Areke	Tam	R	Teinnang	124	3	4
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Kaua	125	1a	1.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Kaua	125	1e	1.5
47	N. Tireta	Krata	R	Kaua	125	2a	1
61	N. Martina	Nariki	R	Kaua	125	2e	1
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Kaua	125	3	2
0	N. Kakekeata	Korini	U	Kaua	126	1	2
94	Kiritanuea	Tibau	T	Kaua	126	2a	1.5
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Kaua	126	2e	1.5
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Kaua	126	3	1
18	Nonouri	Bonteatu	T	Kaua	126	4	1
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Kaua	127	1	15
0	Are	Tiotake	U	Kaua	127	2	5
0	N. Maroweia	Kaeakeke	U	Kaua	128	1a	1.5
0	N. Neri	N. Taoatu	U	Kaua	128	1e	1.5
54	Bwebwentekai	Manenikaue	R	Kaua	128	2	5
0	N. Tekua	Matang	R	Kaua	128	3	3

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Tokā R=Porabusta U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
68	N. Kabane	Taie	R	Kaua	128	4a	1.5
24	Kainako	Iakabo	R	Kaua	128	4e	1.5
0	N. Tienti	Koriri	U	Ewena	129	1	5
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Ewena	129	2	15
54	Bwebwentekai	Manenikaue	R	Namoka	772	1	4
17	N. Tearouea	Biriam	T	Namoka	772	2	4
0	Binauea	Tiotake	U	Namoka	772	3	3
0	Batuku	Koriri	U	Namoka	773	1	2
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Namoka	773	2	4
44	Bwere	Katangaua	R	Namoka	773	3a	2
0	N. Teririko	Tekirei	R	Namoka	773	3e	1
44	Teriaki	Kirata	R	Namoka	773	3i	1
92	Tirikai	Tabua	R	Namoka	774	1	2
0	Teburabura	Ioane	R	Namoka	774	2a	1
0	Tokiteba	Iakabo	R	Namoka	774	2e	1
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Namoka	774	3	4
0	Kaiea	Tiotake	U	Namoka	774	4	3
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Namoka	775	1	3
15	Kanrae	Atanga	T	Namoka	775	2	5
0	N. Tokua	Matang	R	Namoka	775	3	1
70	Kantabu	Tekautu	R	Namoka	775	4	4
65	Teangauba	Tetabakea	R	Natata	776	1	5
95	N. Toka	Kiboboua	T	Natata	776	2	5
0	Kaiea	Tiotake	U	Natata	776	3	4
67	N. Kammamma	Uraura	U	Natata	777	1	2
24	Iotia	Iakabo	R	Natata	777	2	4
82	Takai	Teitikai	T	Natata	777	3	2
0	Baoro	Ienimoa	T	Natata	777	4a	1
0	N. Momoti	Taroro	T	Natata	777	4e	1
0	Bwebweata	Ienraoi	T	Natata	778	1	1
0	Bwebwetara	Takabeti	T	Natata	778	2	1
0	Karaimarewe	Tiroba	T	Natata	778	3	2
0	Tetabo	Nakite	T	Natata	778	4	1
79	Takea	Kaewenako	R	Natata	778	5a	1
0	Borere	Babera	R	Natata	778	5e	1
46	N. Tara	Kaitie	R	Natata	778	6a	1
46	Batiku	Kaitie	R	Natata	778	6e	1
46	Batiku	Kaitie	R	Natata	778	6i	1

Descent group number (0 indicates absentee landholders)	Land-use rights registered in the name of: (The prefix "N." signifies female)	Name of the father of the person named in column 2. (NB. N. Taoatu is the mother of N. Neri)	Status group. T=Take R=Rarabuka U=Uea	Land name	Land number	Section	Size
0	Kaioa	Tiotake	U	Natata	778	7	3
0	N. Babara	Ngatau	U	Natata	779	1	4
34	Terama	Kiang	T	Natata	779	2	5
31	Tenanai	Tererei	R	Natata	779	3aa	1
76	Teakireke	Nabwebwe	R	Natata	779	3ae	1
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Natata	779	3e	3
65	Tabakea	Tabaoki	R	Teatieu	780	1a	3
61	N. Martina	Nanki	R	Teatieu	780	1e	3
0	Tarieta	Tekirei (Nei)	U	Teatieu	780	2	5
0	N. Burenteuea	Tongatu	T	Teatieu	780	3	5
0	Nakoro	Uati	U	Tabwewarake	781	1	5
95	Batiku	Uati	T	Tabwewarake	781	2	5
88	Takibo	Tetuai	R	Tabwewarake	781	3	5
0	Nakoro	Uati	U	Tabwewarake	782	1	6
95	Batiku	Uati	T	Tabwewarake	782	2	6
47	N. Tireta	Kirata	R	Tabwewarake	782	3	4
2	Areke	Tam	R	Tabwewarake	782	4	4
50	Roteman	Kautabuki	R	Tabwewarake	783	1	3
0	N. Bweneata	Tiou	U	Tabwewarake	783	2	3
24	Tebakaro	Iakabo	T	Tabwewarake	783	3	3
0	Beia	Kaiti	U	Tabukintemaingo	784	1	5
13	N. Teribwebwe	Tata	T	Tabukintemaingo	784	2	5
0	Banimone	Utimawa	R	Tabukintemaingo	784	3	5
0	Kabwebwenibeia	Tiare	U	Kaionobi	785	1	5
28	Angatoa	Bakaua	R	Kaionobi	785	2a	3
59	Tamoa	Motete	R	Kaionobi	785	2e	4
94	Tibau	Uatake	T	Kaionobi	785	3	8
2	Areke	Tam	R	Temoamuma	786	1	1
83	N. Motibure	Teitirere	T	Temoamuma	786	2	1
0	Tiata	Koriri	U	Temoamuma	786	3	1
Total eka							1,747

Sources: Butaritari Lands List (KNA 4(6)/11/25); Butaritari Lands Register (four volumes) (no file number); Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Ten.

List of Kuma residents and households.

Key: K = Kiribati Protestant Church f = female
 C = Catholic m = male
 G = Church of God
 B = Baha'i Faith

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
1	m	50	K	52	411
2	m	4	K	56	
3	f	25	K	26	296
4	f	30	K	69	
5	f	45	C	24	348
6	f	2	K	56	
7	f	3	K	12	
8	m	19	C	27	
9	f	7	K	54	
10	f	22	K	4	175
11	f	25	K	12	
12	f	2	K	12	
13	f	75	C	24	166
14	m	33	K	62	202
15	f	1	K	51	
16	f	70	K	61	250
17	m	24	G	64	
18	f	10	K	20	
19	m	1	C	41	
20	f	4	K	50	
21	m	35	K	69	113
22	m	11	K	61	
23	f	9	K	26	
24	f	40	K	3	31
25	f	18	C	64	
26	f	10	B	71	
27	m	20	C	30	
28	m	9	C	57	
29	f	40	K	1	105
30	f	0	K	49	
31	m	40	K	3	24
32	f	75	G	10	234
33	f	28	K	26	207
34	f	42	C	21	270
35	m	30	K	65	
36	m	45	K	49	268
37	f	33	K	59	303

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
38	m	24	K	26	
39	f	53	K	56	408
40	f	8	C	6	
41	f	9	K	48	
42	m	8	C	43	
43	m	24	C	64	356
44	f	746	K	56	
45	f	11	C	57	
46	m	4	C	55	
47	m	30	C	29	388
48	f	33	K	16	213
49	m	7	C	55	
50	m	72	K	33	115
51	m	15	B	71	
52	f	36	C	44	
53	f	19	C	18	
54	m	24	K	51	288
55	m	8	C	41	
56	f	36	G	15	332
57	m	36	K	72	
58	f	32	K	47	
59	m	8	C	28	
60	m	65	C	27	285
61	f	19	K	3	
62	m	7	K	56	
63	m	29	K	50	170
64	f	40	C	64	390
65	m	5	K	12	
66	m	10	C	40	
67	f	30	K	32	163
68	f	14	K	60	
69	m	30	K	26	72
70	f	3	C	21	
71	m	5	C	63	
72	f	28	K	26	69
73	f	35	K	20	
74	f	4	K	7	
75	f	1	C	36	
76	f	3	K	50	
77	f	32	K	47	
78	m	8	K	19	
79	f	8	K	5	
80	f	23	B	70	
81	f	31	K	60	
82	f	32	C	57	159

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
83	f	1	K	16	
84	f	1	K	26	
85	f	13	C	58	
86	f	21	B	22	106
87	m	43	K	51	168
88	f	7	K	65	
89	m	30	C	55	195
90	m	70	C	44	360
91	m	27	K	20	
92	m	28	K	65	
93	m	45	K	38	304
94	m	0	K	26	
95	m	11	K	38	
96	m	45	K	60	
97	m	30	K	70	
98	f	8	K	26	
99	f	17	K	39	
100	f	17	K	60	243
101	m	26	C	30	
102	m	10	C	11	
103	f	70	K	47	
104	m	40	C	18	
105	m	37	K	1	29
106	m	37	B	22	86
107	f	38	K	67	164
108	m	1	K	72	
109	m	18	K	46	
110	m	22	K	58	
111	m	11	B	22	
112	f	6	K	3	
113	f	33	K	69	21
114	m	50	K	53	409
115	f	73	K	33	50
116	f	4	K	31	
117	f	28	K	50	281
118	m	7	G	35	
119	m	16	K	61	
120	m	1	C	29	
121	m	34	C	6	
122	f	7	B	22	
123	f	4	K	26	
124	m	10	C	73	
125	m	1	K	26	
126	f	9	C	44	
127	f	46	C	45	212

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
128	m	12	C	6	
129	m	34	K	65	
130	m	5	K	26	
131	m	15	C	43	
132	f	1	K	42	
133	m	8	C	36	
134	m	14	G	14	
135	f	2	C	28	
136	f	18	C	33	
137	m	18	C	45	
138	f	28	K	72	
139	f	16	C	28	
140	f	8	K	1	
141	m	2	K	36	
142	f	17	K	1	
143	f	2	K	13	
144	m	21	K	50	
145	f	70	C	28	
146	m	21	K	46	
147	f	12	C	29	
148	f	70	K	65	
149	m	1	C	33	
150	m	35	K	54	223
151	m	4	C	29	
152	m	32	K	42	230
153	f	9	C	27	
154	m	14	C	25	
155	m	1	K	31	
156	m	18	K	51	
157	m	7	K	34	
158	f	44	K	31	376
159	m	31	C	57	82
160	m	46	C	6	317
161	m	58	G	14	
162	m	12	C	43	
163	m	48	K	32	67
164	m	54	K	67	107
165	m	27	K	36	370
166	m	77	C	24	13
167	m	10	K	51	
168	f	41	K	51	87
169	f	22	K	26	
170	f	31	K	50	63
171	m	8	K	3	
172	f	10	C	21	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
173	f	2	C	55	
174	m	30	K	68	309
175	m	21	K	4	10
176	f	7	K	12	
177	m	12	B	71	
178	f	0	K	46	
179	f	22	K	13	261
180	f	1	K	50	
181	f	9	C	64	
182	f	35	K	19	394
183	f	2	C	11	
184	m	65	K	42	
185	f	1	C	58	
186	m	11	C	24	
187	f	2	B	22	
188	m	4	K	49	
189	m	6	C	29	
190	m	14	K	54	
191	f	1	C	9	
192	m	10	C	33	
193	f	2	K	26	
194	f	55	K	39	
195	f	28	C	55	89
196	f	24	K	60	
197	f	40	K	46	334
198	f	3	K	19	
199	m	15	C	64	
200	f	29	K	12	287
201	f	8	K	69	
202	f	32	K	62	14
203	m	60	G	34	299
204	m	2	K	49	
205	m	38	B	71	
206	f	32	C	63	391
207	m	7	K	26	
208	m	26	K	26	33
209	f	10	K	52	
210	f	7	K	39	
211	f	22	K	37	365
212	m	45	C	45	127
213	m	20	K	16	48
214	m	32	K	12	
215	f	10	K	46	
216	f	50	K	2	266
217	f	10	G	15	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
218	n	2	G	15	
219	m	1	C	17	
220	f	3	C	17	
221	f	32	K	20	
222	f	5	K	66	
223	f	33	K	54	150
224	f	17	C	28	
225	m	1	K	66	
226	m	44	B	0	
227	f	5	K	5	
228	f	32	K	58	
229	m	68	K	38	335
230	f	35	K	42	152
231	m	7	K	32	
232	m	7	K	32	
233	m	45	C	49	357
234	m	76	G	10	32
235	f	14	C	45	
236	m	26	K	61	405
237	f	19	C	25	
238	f	15	K	46	
239	f	68	K	50	272
240	m	9	C	9	
241	m	21	K	47	
242	f	1	K	48	
243	m	27	K	60	100
244	m	29	K	66	346
245	m	5	C	55	
246	f	48	C	11	353
247	f	33	C	36	
248	m	40	C	17	292
249	f	7	K	46	
250	m	70	K	61	16
251	f	3	C	64	
252	f	9	K	53	
253	f	13	K	12	
254	f	35	K	12	
255	m	7	K	12	
256	f	12	K	19	
257	m	31	K	5	343
258	m	2	C	25	
259	f	12	C	73	
260	m	18	C	24	
261	m	24	K	13	179
262	m	8	K	52	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
263	f	28	K	69	
264	f	12	K	5	
265	m	15	K	3	
266	m	60	K	2	216
267	m	41	K	56	
268	f	35	K	49	36
269	m	55	K	69	
270	m	40	C	21	34
271	m	17	C	73	
272	m	68	K	50	239
273	m	64	K	20	404
274	m	60	C	73	328
275	m	7	K	12	
276	f	21	C	24	
277	f	6	K	72	
278	m	8	K	42	
279	f	0	C	55	
280	m	13	K	72	
281	m	28	K	50	117
282	f	10	C	6	
283	f	3	C	29	
284	m	10	K	7	
285	f	57	C	27	60
286	m	35	K	34	372
287	m	29	K	12	200
288	f	20	K	51	54
289	m	40	C	33	303
290	f	3	K	32	
291	f	7	C	44	
292	f	40	C	17	248
293	m	57	G	14	399
294	m	13	K	67	
295	f	23	C	9	361
296	m	40	K	26	3
297	m	1	K	59	
298	f	40	K	8	
299	f	60	G	34	203
300	f	22	K	12	
301	f	6	K	52	
302	m	20	C	24	
303	f	36	C	33	289
304	f	49	K	38	93
305	f	36	C	28	
306	f	1	C	64	
307	f	12	K	31	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
308	f	7	C	24	
309	f	30	C	68	174
310	f	50	C	43	
311	f	9	K	54	
312	m	5	K	3	
313	m	51	K	59	37
314	f	60	K	12	
315	f	40	C	25	
316	m	19	C	28	
317	f	42	C	6	160
318	f	39	K	7	
319	m	29	C	41	406
320	m	21	K	53	
321	f	29	G	35	
322	f	5	C	41	
323	m	30	C	23	
324	f	5	C	25	
325	m	30	G	14	
326	f	13	K	32	
327	f	8	C	63	
328	f	60	C	73	274
329	f	12	G	14	
330	m	24	C	45	
331	f	5	K	34	
332	m	37	G	15	56
333	f	7	K	26	
334	m	41	K	46	197
335	f	55	K	38	229
336	f	16	C	33	
337	f	2	C	36	
338	f	5	K	72	
339	f	11	G	14	
340	f	27	K	48	367
341	m	7	K	48	
342	m	8	K	46	
343	f	28	K	5	257
344	f	21	K	47	
345	m	1	K	12	
346	f	28	K	66	244
347	f	61	C	30	
348	m	47	C	24	5
349	m	7	C	57	
350	m	34	C	44	
351	f	2	G	35	
352	m	50	C	28	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
353	m	40	C	11	246
354	m	43	C	40	358
355	m	3	K	51	
356	f	24	C	64	43
357	f	53	C	49	233
358	f	28	C	40	354
359	f	12	K	49	
360	f	60	C	44	90
361	m	24	C	9	295
362	f	10	K	3	
363	m	13	K	38	
364	m	1	K	69	
365	m	35	K	37	211
366	m	6	K	51	
367	m	35	K	48	340
368	f	37	K	26	
369	f	17	K	41	
370	f	25	C	36	165
371	m	16	C	6	
372	f	30	K	34	286
373	f	6	C	25	
374	m	1	C	64	
375	f	3	K	50	
376	m	39	K	31	158
377	m	6	K	31	
378	f	16	C	25	
379	m	14	K	1	
380	m	6	C	9	
381	f	60	K	7	
382	f	14	C	55	
383	f	60	B	70	108
384	f	12	C	33	
385	f	45	B	71	205
386	f	23	K	2	
387	f	5	K	59	
388	f	30	C	29	47
389	m	7	C	73	
390	m	40	C	64	64
391	m	39	C	63	206
392	m	2	K	1	
393	f	3	K	69	
394	m	35	K	19	182
395	m	2	K	42	
396	m	7	K	1	
397	m	3	C	24	

Resident ID Number	Sex	Age	Religion (See above for key)	Household Number	Spouse ID Number
398	m	9	C	21	
399	f	54	G	14	293
400	f	66	K	26	
401	f	38	K	20	
402	m	18	K	32	
403	m	6	K	49	
404	f	65	K	20	273
405	f	30	K	61	236
406	f	30	C	41	319
407	f	14	K	50	
408	m	50	K	56	39
409	f	40	K	53	114
410	m	16	C	25	
411	f	35	K	52	1

Source: Fieldwork, 1994.

Appendix Eleven

Schematic map of Kuma land plots and households.¹

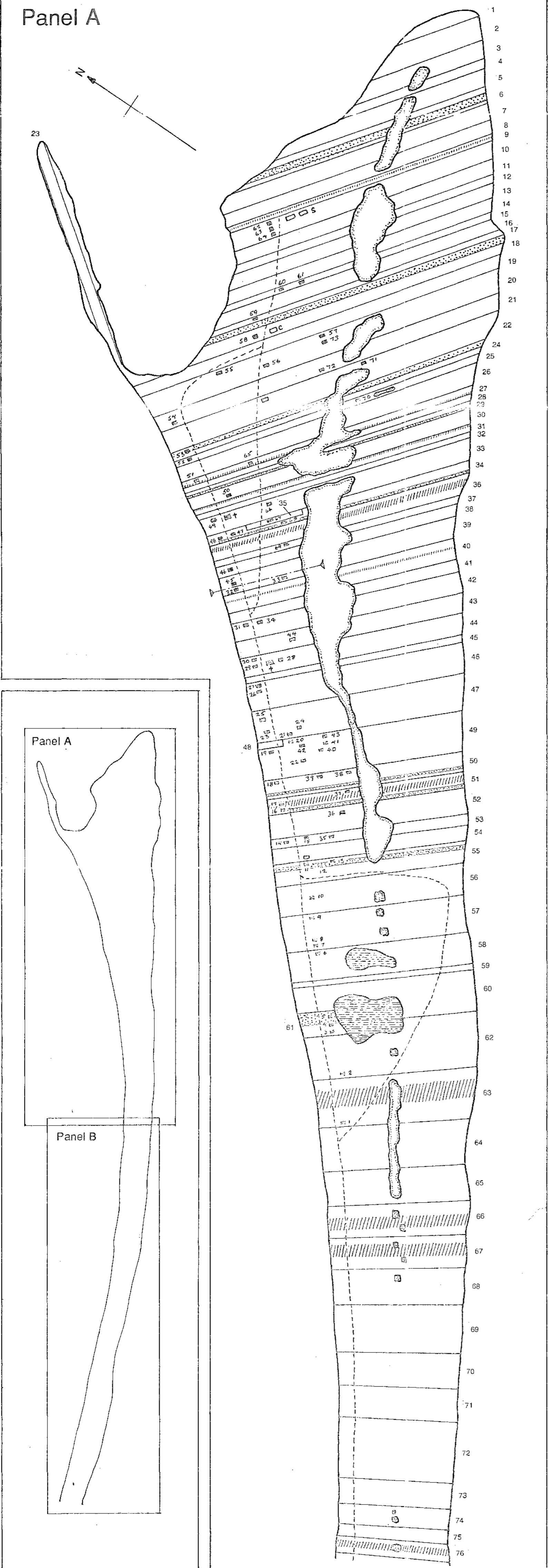
The facing schematic map shows the approximate positions of the numbered land plots listed in the Butaritari *Lands List*. In the interests of clarity the subdivisions of those plots among the three former social status groups has not been included. However the subdivision of any particular numbered plot can be found by referring to Appendix Nine. In most cases the subdivisions run the length of the plot from lagoon to ocean. For illustrative purposes, the specific plots associated with two Descent Groups: numbers 24 and 83 have been indicated (refer to Chapter Five).

The width of each plot is based upon the number of *eka* it comprised. (See Chapter Five for a discussion of the *eka* as a measure of width.) This measure proved to be quite accurate when compared to the length of the islet occupied by the land plots numbered 1 to 129.

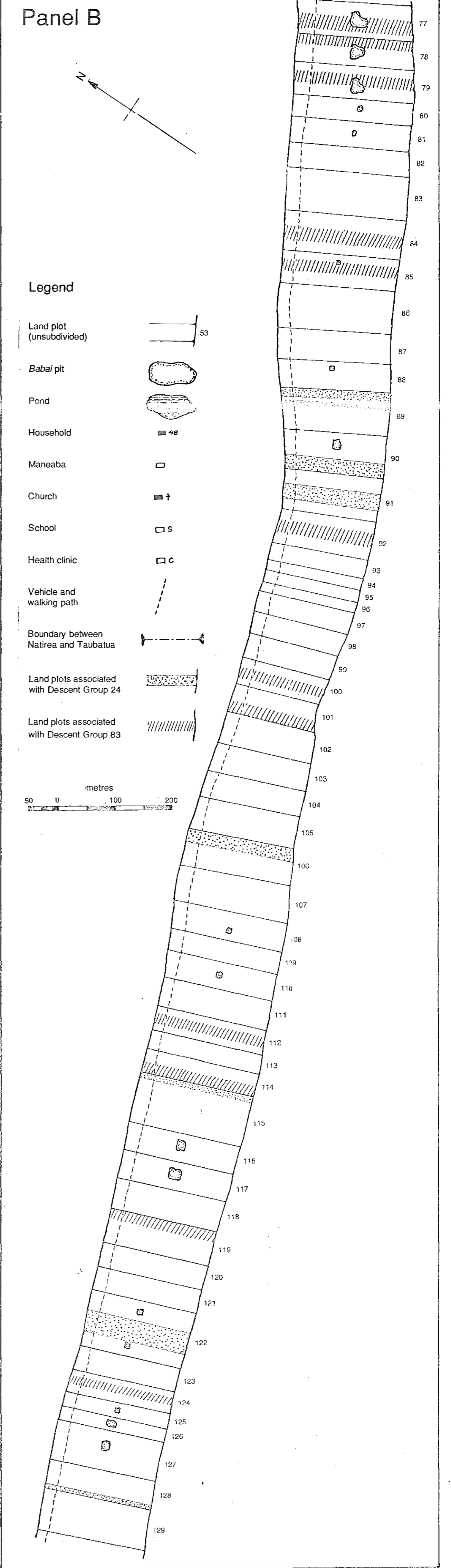
The sizes of the areas containing *babai* pits are approximate and based upon how many each land plot contained. Their positions and shapes are also approximate and based upon pacing in from the roadway at a number of places using households as reference points.

¹ Sources: Butaritari Lands List (KNA 4(6)/II/25); Butaritari Lands Register (four volumes) (no file number); D.O.S, 1977 and Fieldwork, 1994.

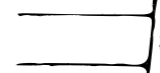


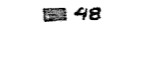


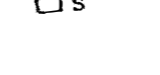
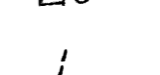
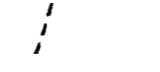
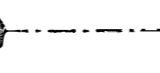
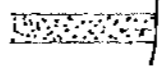
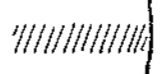
Panel A

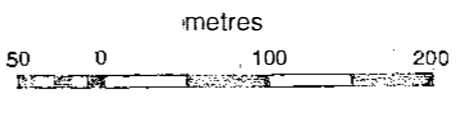


Panel B

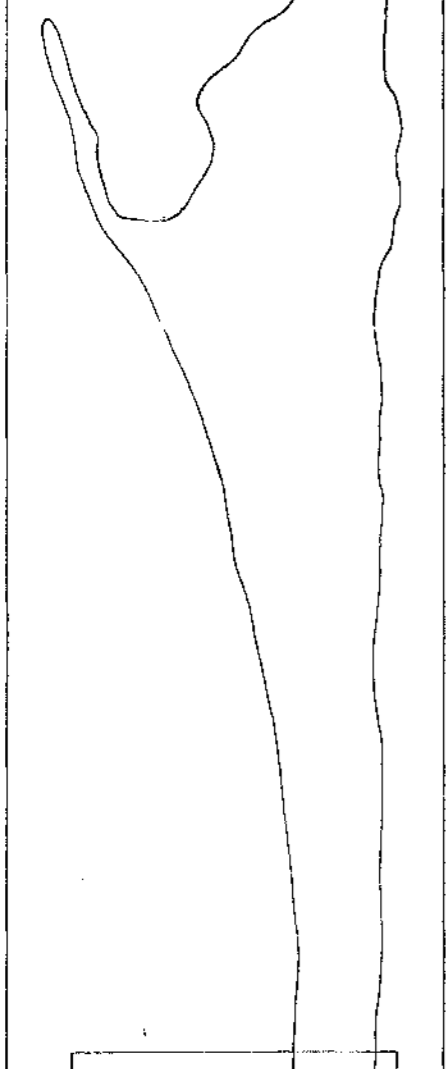


Legend

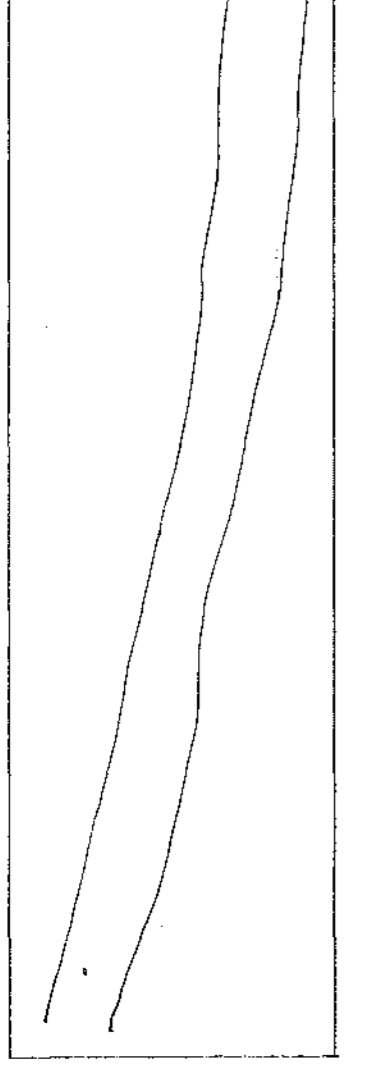
- Land plot (unsubdivided)  53
- Babai pit 
- Pond 
- Household  48
- Maneaba 
- Church  5
- School  C
- Health clinic 
- Vehicle and walking path 
- Boundary between Natirea and Taubatua 
- Land plots associated with Descent Group 24 
- Land plots associated with Descent Group 83 



Panel A



Panel B



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| KNA 4(6)/II item No.37 | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No.
3. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |
| KNA 4(6)/II item No.38 | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No.
4. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |
| KNA 4(6)/II item No.39 | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No.
5. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |
| KNA 4(6)/II item No.40 | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No.
6. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| KNA 4(6)/II item No.42 | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No. 8. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |
| No file number | Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No. 13. (Located at Butaritari Land Court) |

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| KNA 29/IV item No. 11 | Diary of the Chief Lands Commissioner 1953 |
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Maps

- | | |
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KNA 4(6)/II item No. 4	Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No. 4, 1953. (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
KNA 4(6)/II item No. 5	Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No. 5, 1953. (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
KNA 4(6)/II item No.41	Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No. 7. (Located at Butaritari Land Court)
No file No's	Butaritari Land Court Minute Book No's 9-12 and 14-17. (Located at Butaritari Land Court)

Family Lists

KNA 4(6)/II item No.14	List of Butaritari lands and landowners' groupings, prior to individualisation of land ownership, (February/March, 1956). (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
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Land Lists

KNA 4(6)/II item No.10	Butaritari Lands Lists (3 volumes) 1952-1953. (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
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Diaries

KNA 29/I	Correspondence of various Lands Commissioners relating to land matters 1917-1954. (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
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Butaritari Land Code

KNA 29/VII item No. 13(b)	Butaritari Provisional Code of Land Laws. Native Land Ordinance Codes and Instructions, 1950-1957. (Located at Kiribati National Archives)
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