

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

'PLAYING A SUSTAINING ROLE' :
LIFESTORIES AS TO THE SIGNIFICANCE AND
MEANING OF MODERN CHANGE ON THE
TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLE OF A GROUP OF OLDER
COOK ISLANDERS.

: AN INTERPRETIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

A thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree
of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

in
Development Studies
at
Massey University, New Zealand

Kate Mary Saxton

- 1996 -

ABSTRACT

Change is. But how we deal with change, the nature of change we experience, and how change affects our lives is a unique experience for each of us.

The purpose of this qualitative (phenomenological) study has been to describe and interpret the lived world of older Cook Islanders through the narratives of eight participants. The narratives arose from the response to the question set for this study *'What does it mean to be an older Cook Islander living a life during marked change?'* The experience of these older Cook Islanders is embedded in the centrality of family, community and religion in their daily life practices, and the textual interpretation of these interviews offers an insight into what they experienced as meaningful and significant in their 'traditional' way of living-a-life during much change. Heideggerian hermeneutical analysis (HHA), the particular phenomenological approach used for this research project, not only uncovered the many changes experienced by the participants, but how they perceived the change and, importantly, how deeply they cherish aspects of their 'place' in their Cook Island communities.

Through analysis of these transcribed, audiotaped, interviews the research team was able to identify the nature of common meanings, concerns and experiences across all the texts and, finally, a constitutive pattern which expresses relationships between themes. Four main themes stood out from what the participants revealed as the main changes they saw, what the effects of these changes were and what areas of their life these changes had impacted upon. From the themes of *'the devil in the can'*, *'the tree that wasn't there'*, *'language : in the house of being'*, and *'an unchanging variant : the church as constancy'* two relational themes emerged, strongly highlighting for the participants the importance of remembering and restoring 'traditional' parts of Cook Island life and challenges and choices they have faced through the changes that have impacted on them. As the seven step hermeneutical analysis proceeded, the two relational themes: *'remembering is restoring : delight in memories and the self'*, and *'prickles and roses : challenges and choices'* linked to the constitutive pattern *'Keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role'* which unfolded as the major finding of the research. The pattern describes transformations in their approaches to the familiar, cherished role of being *'keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role'*. One aspect, they tell us is related to their traditional role as 'sustainer of traditional ways', but from their many life experiences they have also developed a tolerance for being open to possibilities of

new ways-of-being, accepting, redefining, or rejecting these lived experiences through time, as they see appropriate. In all the interviews the participants spoke of how important it was for them to teach and restore what they saw were important parts of Cook Islands culture. What has been disclosed is that change is not rejected arbitrarily but that they believe, or hope, it can be regulated to a certain extent by their actions and that their future is seen to be possible by way of the past and the present. As they thoughtfully and reflectively regarded the experience of living through marked change in their 'traditional' communities they, also, showed an awareness of a need, as appropriate, to be open and affirmative of the possibilities that might exist in present and emerging change in Cook Island society.

'the passing of the past is something else than what it has been.
It is the gathering of what it endures'. Martin Heidegger



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has not only opened my mind to new research possibilities and interests but has introduced me to many great people and many new opportunities that would not have come my way without undertaking this type of study. I would like to acknowledge some of the people who have helped me.

There are many people I would like to thank for all their help, support and precious time. In particular I would like to thank my supervisor, Margaret Idour, for introducing me to the 'hermeneutic' world and for helping me greatly in all aspects of this study along the way. Thanks also to Sue Manley for her help in this research and to all the staff and students in the Development Studies department

To all my new Cook Island family and friends, meitaki ma'ata. I cannot mention everyone who helped me but please know that I greatly appreciate all the help I was so generously given and that goes to everyone I met. Especially to Cook Islanders in New Zealand who helped me before I travelled to the Cooks; Kay Holloway, the Tairea family, Tai Williams and the congregation of the C.I.C.C. in Palmerston North. In the Cook Islands; to Kauraka Kauraka, a great big thanks; your help, time, introductions, advice and skills were invaluable, and to Nga thank you also so much. Another huge thanks to the families who took in this Papa'a and let me stay, sharing your home, your kindness and so much more; especially to Mama and Papa Totini, Ma'ara, Junior, Iete and Ngatokoroa, Api'i, Moiroa and family, Toru, and Sonny, Pokoina and Sonny Jnr Teaurere.

To all the participants, I loved meeting with you all and am forever indebted to you for sharing your life experiences with me, thank you all for your time and warmth and openness.

Finally, the biggest thanks goes to my family and friends (you all know who you are). I would like to dedicate this study to my own Grandparents: Charlie and Alison Saxton.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract		ii
Acknowledgments		iv
Table of Contents		v
Figures, tables, and illustrations		vi
Chapter One:	<u>Introduction</u>	1
Chapter Two:	<u>Review of Literature</u>	5
	- The Cook Islands	6
	a brief history of the Cook Islands	
	- The Nature of Change	17
	major categories of social change	
	profiling change : Pacific literature	
	the Cook Islands and change	
	- The Nature of Communities	28
	linking culture and community	
	community in the Cook Islands	
	- The Nature of the Family	33
	the changing role of the family	
	older generations within the family	
	religion	
	- The Nature of Aging and the Elderly	39
	- The Nature of Research	44
	hermeneutics	
	phenomenology	
	- Summary	49
Chapter Three:	<u>Methodology - Heideggarian Hermeneutics</u>	
	- The Hermeneutic Worm that Turned	51
	- Martin Heidegger	56
	his works	
	- Application of HHA	63
	ethical issues arising from the study	
	the researcher	
	the participant	
	the interview	
	the research group	
Chapter Four:	<u>Findings</u>	71
	- Themes :	75
	‘The devil in the can’	
	‘The tree that wasn’t there’	
	‘Language : in the house of being’	
	‘An unchanging variant : the church	
	as a constancy’	

	- Relational themes	90
	'Remembering is restoring : delight in memories'	
	'Prickles and roses : challenges and choices'	
	- Constitutive Pattern	94
	'Keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role'	
Chapter Five:	<u>Discussion and Implications</u>	100
Appendices		106
Bibliography		111

DIAGRAMS, ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

DIAGRAMS :

'Actors of change'	Ryder	20
'Modernisation/assimilation'	Driedger and Chappell	22
'Paradox of community care'	Ngan and Wong	37
'Factors of change'	Saxton	41
'Methods of research'	Minichiello	45
'Interviewing'	Saxton	66

ILLUSTRATIONS :

poem 'Uncuffed hands'	Tongia	6
poem 'New Zealand is a Polynesia'	Ta'ase	100

MAPS :

Pacific region	Walsh	7
Cook Islands	Idiens	8

PHOTOGRAPHS :

'Manihiki'	iii
'untitled'	4
'preparation'	50
'relaxing'	70
'William's Legacy'	89
'earning a living'	99
'generations'	105

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION
--

To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:

A time to be born, and a time to die;
A time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted;

A time to kill, and a time to heal;
A time to break down, and a time to build up;

A time to weep, and a time to laugh;
A time to mourn, and a time to dance;

A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together;
A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing;

A time to get, and a time to lose;
A time to keep, and a time to cast away;

A time to rend, and a time to sew;
A time to keep silence, and a time to speak;

A time to love, and a time to hate;
A time of war, and a time of peace.

(Ecclesiastes, 3 : 1-8)

This study offers an insight into a small community of people; Cook Islanders over the age of sixty years, who are given the opportunity to tell us about things that are significant and meaningful for them in their daily life practices. Whilst the number of people studied is small, the stories they narrate provide a large and rich tapestry that is relevant to all of us, that of the lived experience of our daily life-world.

For all of us in the world there are important times in our lives, significant things that have happened that we remember, different stages that have affected us, or people who have come into our lives or gone out of our lives. Everyone has a life story to tell, their story, and every story is as unique as it is important. As the poem above indicates, there is a time for everything. Everyone faces change in the span of their life, after all change is, literally, it just is! It is a natural part of living which we adapt to consciously and unconsciously, continually. This study asked the Cook Island participants to tell us what has been of significance to them, as they have lived a life, their life, during a time of marked change in their society.

An opportunity has been provided by this research project for older Cook Islanders to express their views, to reflect on the changes they have seen, to tell how they have dealt with change and how it has affected them. Many studies may overlook the chance to conduct in-depth interviews in favour of questionnaires that may provide statistically grounded results. But, for this study, it was believed that to get to the heart of peoples' 'lived experiences' it was important to use a lifestories approach, to let the participants tell how it has been for them, to allow dialogue to flow, and to choose where the interview leads as it relates to their experiences. The result of which is many wonderfully warm and rich texts.

Within this study the literature review looks at several categories important to the subject area. A brief history of the Cook Islands is given to allow you, the reader, to understand much of the change that the Cooks has already undergone and to highlight certain important phases. This is followed by a look into the definitions and various theories about the nature of change; the nature of the community; the nature of the family; the nature and place of the elderly in 'traditional' and changing societies; and the nature of this research. It is hoped that this will provide a grounding in the issues relevant to what these participants see as meaningful and significant in their lives as they talk about change in their lifeworld. There has been little research done as to how the elderly cope with change in their life, and even less on what it is that they experience as meaningful and significant about the changes. Much has been discussed about modernisation theory and change in societies as a process, and about the psychology of aging and other issues. But there is very little that lets us into the private world of people and gives us a unique insight into what it is like to be an older person living a life during marked change. The importance of family or community, the worry about new changes such as television and video, or the tourist influence, or the worry about the culture changing, are all factors discussed by the participants. They offer us an increased understanding of how the elderly Cook Islanders view and deal with such changes in their way-of-living a life and tell us of the significance and meaning it holds for them.

Heideggerian Hermeneutical Analysis (HHA) is used in this study as the methodology. It offers an interpretive, descriptive approach to the study, using a qualitative holistic view that focuses on the person, on their lived experiences and what meaning and significance it holds for them. Heidegger, a German philosopher this century, offered a move away from scientific based analytical study to that of interpretive phenomenology, that of understanding human experience, how we live our lives and concentrating on 'bringing' or 'calling forth' the significance of day to

day experiences, concerns or issues. In this case, the meaning of what it is to be an older Cook Islander living a life during a period of marked change.

As a way of studying what it has been like for individuals experiencing marked change, this approach is thorough and in-depth. The researcher and participant are involved in dialogue, through an interview, that is audiotaped and transcribed, and, then analysed by a team of researchers. Heideggerian hermeneutical analysis (HHA) is a circular process in that one moves back and forth between texts, and between parts of the texts, and, in working with a research team as happens in HHA, there is a similar 'to-ing and fro-ing' as we engage in textual interpretation in order to uncover what older Cook Islanders have found to be significant and meaningful in living-a-life as members of traditional society undergoing marked change. The 'hermeneutic circle' (van Manen, 1990) is a term that conceptualises such a process of interpretation and opens up a way for a 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, 1975; van Manen, 1990) between all who are involved in the dialogue, which is the essence of the study. As the research team proceeds with hermeneutic analysis the intent is to achieve consensus or shared understanding but there is no 'end point'.

The findings from the participants interviews reveal to us, as the listener and the reader, the many experiences they have faced when dealing with changes in their lives. Through this dialogue the participants moved from highlighting change (the what) to showing its effects (the how). In the relational themes these first themes were able to be linked to 'remembering is restoring : delight in memories and the self' which revealed how important memories were in making a possible future and what these participants were making of the change as the theme 'challenges and acceptable choices' highlights. As a final step in the hermeneutic process of analysis a constitutive pattern found across the texts linked all of these themes to express how important it was for these participants to be playing an active role in the changes they saw.

White (1991), tells how important the past is as a 'universal vehicle for self-determination' and how it is through these 'retrospective narratives' that we create the present through 'idioms of remembrance'. This study takes it further to show how the participants have moved from observers in the present, commenting on the past, to actors in playing a sustaining role as 'gatekeepers' to the Cook Islands future : 'Exploring these processes that make, both conceptual and social, identity and history out of experience' (White, 1991 p.xii)

These stories have an empowering effect. Through them we see who these participants are and how they have got to the point they have. They also let us see who we are as we find unique parts of the stories or familiar parts that we can understand and relate to. The importance of the study is to let people tell their own story of how change has been for them and to, on interpreting the text, provide an insight into the significance and meaning of the change they have experienced. It also enables the participants to be self-directive and self-organising and offers us understanding into their many experiences.



CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter One has introduced the nature of the study and its concern with gaining understanding into the lived experience of older Cook Islanders over sixty years of age, during a time of marked change in their traditional communities. It has also, briefly, described the research approach (HHA) used for this study.

In this chapter, the literature relevant to the study is reviewed commencing with a description of the Cook Islands, a cameo of the Cooks if you like, so that the reader may be clear as to 'who' the participants are, 'where' they come from, and something of their history, culture and traditions. A brief account only is given, but enough, it is hoped, to provide some understanding of the context of their daily lifeworld in a 'traditional' community undergoing marked change. In keeping with the traditions of the oral culture of Cook Islanders 'storytelling', by some of the participants, is used in addition to the available literature.

The body of the literature review looks at the context of the elderly and the different aspects of life as it is experienced in this day and age as well as that which is specific to Cook Islanders. The literature is examined under several categories, namely: the nature of change, change within the Pacific; the nature of community; the nature of the family; the nature and place of the elderly in 'traditional' and changing communities; and the nature of the research approach used for this study.

It should be pointed out that these main categories for discussion are not mutually exclusive of each other. But they provide a relevant background, in Heideggerian terms a 'clearing', for allowing the eight Cook Island participants of the study to reveal something of themselves and the daily lifeworld of their communities to us. The categories chosen for review are important in that they provide a background to the study, and a dialogue, so to speak, with the literature that deepens and increases our understanding and knowledge as applicable to the nature and purpose of this research project. Under each literature theme an endeavour has been made to consider international texts and the views they present as well as material specific to the Cook Islands. Note, however, that like many a small nation there is a dearth of written literature so license has been taken, also, to make use of the material from similar countries wherever it is relevant to do so.

THE COOK ISLANDS

Uncuffed Hands - Makiuti Tongia (in 'Tipani' - Poems of the Cook Islands)

We dance the old dances
in neon light
sing the pagan songs
in Christian robes

We scream and shout
make love
in super dollars

We live today
in new tapa
Japanese-made,
Fly in kites
that carry our songs

We travel the seas
in unchaffed hands
with oars and paddles
in museum cases

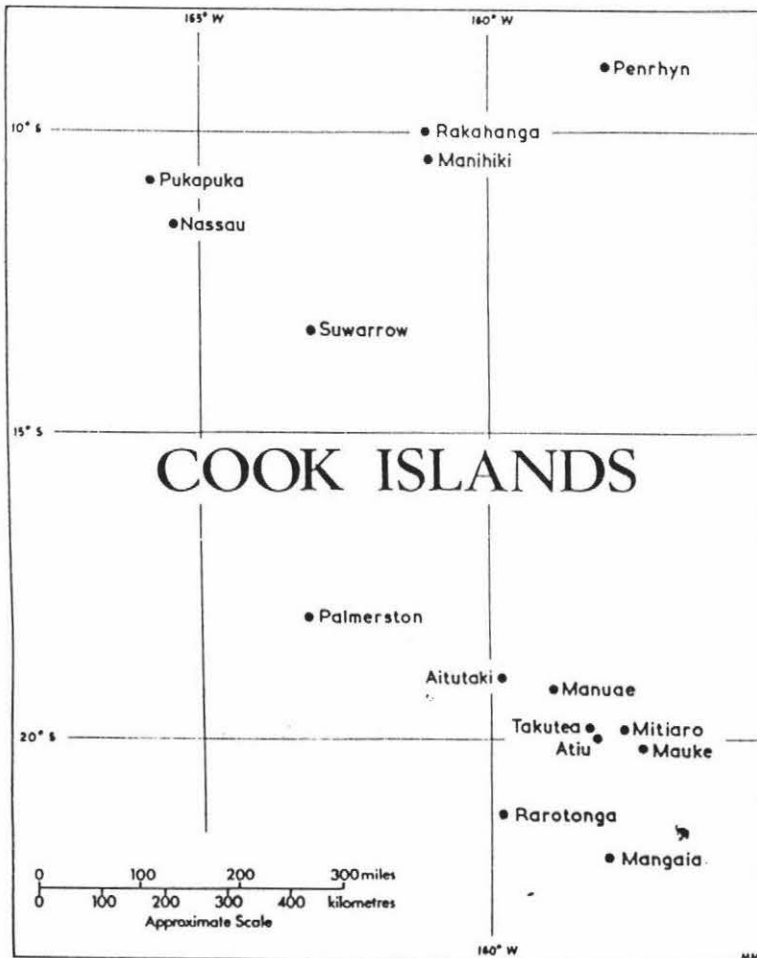
Our food comes from
the portable umu
Our hope comes
from abroad.

Spreading over an area of about one thousand six hundred kilometres of ocean in Eastern Polynesia, the Cook Islands has one of the most scattered populations in the Pacific area. As can be seen below:



(Walsh, 1992 p.2)

The Cook Islands consist of 13 inhabited and two uninhabited islands. The islands fall into two different geographical areas; a northern and a southern group. The northern islands, (**Manihiki**, Nassau, Pukapuka, **Rakahanga**, Penrhyn, Suvarrow and Palmerston) are small raised coral areas or atolls, consisting of low narrow coral strips that encircle a lagoon. They, as Idiens (1990) tells us, are formed by coral reefs that grow from sunken volcanic islands, often 1.5 kilometres, or below, the surface of the ocean. The southern group of islands, (**Rarotonga**, Mangaia, Atiu, **Aitutaki**, Mauke, Mitiaro, Takutea, and Manuae) are volcanic in origin and have mountainous interiors rising steeply in the middle and lowering quickly to the sea where there are narrow flat coastal strips encircling the island with coral reefs. They are larger, steeper and more rugged than the northern islands which tend to have poorer soil, low rainfall and are more subject to hurricane damage, whereas the southern group have fertile soil, higher rainfall and dense forest cover that supports greater population numbers (Idiens, 1990 p7).



(Idiens, 1990 p.8)

* Highlighted in bold are the four islands where I undertook this research.

Rarotonga is the largest and most populous island with about half of the total population living there (approximately 10 000 people). Hence its capital, Avarua, is where the administrative centre of government and commerce is to be found.

The Cook Islands are independent, having full self government but retaining 'free association' with New Zealand which remains responsible for defence, and many other external relations not able to be conducted by local government. Their position, short of political independence, is due mainly to a limited resource base and relatively small population size, making it hard for the Cook Islands to survive independently and without aid. The economic base on which social services depend does not exist in many Pacific countries, and this is so in the Cooks. Due to these limiting factors, economic development remains fairly limited and restricted (Walsh, 1982).

The official language is English, but Cook Island Maori, is just as widely, if not more so, spoken. Due to sheer population size, Rarotongan Maori is the principal dialect, but all islands have their own dialects that are fairly similar, except Pukapuka which has a dialect that tends to be similar to Samoan, its close neighbour.

A brief history of the Cook Islands

The interplay of 'culture, habitat, and history' are, according to Lockwood; et al (1993), what makes each society unique, and give it its own character. What follows next, then, is a brief history of the major phases in Cook Islands history; pre-contact times, missionary influences, colonial times, and self-government; and comments on aspects of 'habitat' and 'culture'. For Lockwood; et al (1993), these phases, while experienced in many various forms in contemporary Pacific societies, have 'carried the visual marks of contact, disease, bloodshed, depopulation, land grabbing, commercial exploitation, and disruption of native life'(p6).

Pre-contact times are the least documented because much of the traditional history was presented orally and communicated through designated orators, however much is still known about early times. Cook Islanders, like other Polynesians, say they came from Hawai'iiki. The use of the word Hawai'iiki varies; it can mean the place where the ancestors have just come from or the very first original place where all the Polynesians came from. Popular theory seems to suggest the Polynesians might have come from South-east Asia and this is supported by anthropological findings (i.e. the

finding of similar languages, plants, culture, and similar physical features). Polynesians are thought to have come to the Pacific about eight thousand years ago, settling near Micronesia (proto-polynesian culture). Three to four thousand years ago this evolving culture started settling throughout the islands: Samoa, Tonga and Rarotonga, as they came down through the various islands. About 500-1200 years ago is the recognised time that people came to Rarotonga, most likely from the Marquesas. Within the Cook Islands each of the various islands have their own oral traditions as to who and how their particular islands were conquered or discovered and each involves certain stories of origin relating to ancestors (Kauraka, 1995; Idiens, 1990; Bellwood, 1987).

Like many other Polynesian communities, religion has always been a very crucial part of the life in the Cook Islands. The traditional religion of the Cooks involved the worship of ancestors and others. The 'deified ancestors' were the most common including; Tangaroa, Rongo, Tutavaki, and Tane. Each ancestor was responsible for a particular drum or department; for example, Tangaroa, the creator, was also god of the sea, Tane god of fertility and the forest, Rongo for agriculture and peace or victory in war. Places of worship also existed consisting of a sacred ground marked by a wall of stones - a Marae. On the Marae there would be, towards the back, a little house to store the wooden images or god figures, or images of ancestors. This house was the responsibility of the Priest. Outside in the front there would be a platform of stones for offerings and sacrifice. Religion at this time was thought to be polytheistic - many gods - but it is possible that they did believe in just one god, with the central figures of ancestors for worship and elaborate rituals (Kauraka, 1995).

In these earlier times family homes were mostly made from the various parts of the coconut tree and other local materials. (Houses nowadays are mostly made from modern materials, with concrete blocks and tin roofs, when materials can be bought). Most houses were located close to the sea (especially in the Northern group where islands are usually only narrow coral strips), or near fertile valleys, as the case may be in the Southern group. Idiens highlights the fact that the coastal dwellings were, and are, more prone to devastation from the likes of tropical storms, however, the cool sea breeze is sought after to keep homes comfortable in the warm weather. Houses were also located close to the sea, as it is, and was, regarded as a natural means of travel and more importantly as a valuable source of food (Idiens, 1990).

There was some trading going on in the islands before Europeans arrived, but no indigenous money system existed, instead a direct bartering or exchange system

between the islands was present. There existed divisions in work with men doing the more physical work, for example men fished outside the reef or the lagoons, and women did much of the fishing within the lagoon. Children were educated in necessary skills which were taught by those who were proficient in particular areas. It was very much a communal effort and way of living.

Within the Cooks society there was no central authority, as exists today instead a tribal system was in place which had its own social structure and hierarchy of leadership. At the head of the major tribes were the Ariki - paramount chiefs - and below them were the Matiapo, or chiefs. Under them were the Rangatira and then the Unga, or untitled people. Although the society was structured with Ariki, Matiapo, Rangatira, and Unga, people were related as a tribe right back to their ancestors, and so were not treated so differently, working more or less as a big extended family (Kauraka, 1995). The role of the Ariki was, among other things, to allocate land, organise for war, represent groups before the gods, settle disputes and organise group feasts. There are still six Ariki in Rarotonga today, and Ariki on the other islands, although, their combined role is more ceremonial than functional.

'Discovery' times :

People have written much about the tremendous changes going on in the Pacific today, and there are tremendous changes. But for Crocombe (1973, p.15), these are nothing compared with the changes that went on in most of the Pacific last century, 'when the whole indigenous economic system was destroyed' by European contact and influence. In the Cook Islands, contact began with Spaniards Mandana and Quiros who sighted these islands in 1595. Between 1773 and 1777 Captain James Cook made three visits to the islands which he named the Hervey Islands, later to change to the Cook Islands. European 'discovery' of Rarotonga was made by Captain Goodenough in 1820, but sandalwood traders are believed to have preceded him by about five to six years (Idiens, 1990). After these initial small and brief contacts most of the contact that followed was by missionaries and traders. The missionaries with the aim of 'converting' these people from their 'barbarism' to 'civilisation' and from 'heathenism to Christianity' (Buzacott, in Beaglehole 1957), and the traders wanting to exploit these 'newly discovered' people for their land and resources (For example, slave traders from Peru during 1862 and 1863 were responsible for a great decline in population, particularly on Penrhyn, Pukapuka, and Rakahanga).

Religion, as mentioned, held an important place in most Cook Islanders lives and this has continued, despite the huge changes they have faced in their history. Like many 'newly found lands', the next people after the 'discoverers' to visit the islands were the church groups. In the Cook Islands it was the London Missionary Society (LMS) who were quick to follow the explorers. In 1821 they set up station on Aitutaki and in 1827 they moved onto Rarotonga. John Williams who led this 'evangelism push' understood much about the structure of 'traditional' Polynesian societies and quickly harnessed Polynesians to spread the word of God. There was, understandably, a hostile initial response by the islanders who first greeted these missionaries, but Williams had the help of a Polynesian by the name of Papeiha to help in spreading this new religion. Papeiha's help was seen to achieve 'more in Rarotonga in two years than the English were able to achieve in Tahiti in twenty years' (Gilson, in Short, 1987). Along with the support of the Ariki, that Williams had also gained, it was only a matter of a short time before other islanders followed these Ariki. The Ariki have since lost their political power. Today they are grouped under the 'House of Ariki' title and, collectively, this entitles them to be advisors to parliament on cultural matters.

As mentioned, once the Ariki were converted, the missionaries had little trouble establishing themselves, because the Ariki's acceptance of the Christian doctrine meant the acceptance by the general population. Lockwood et al (1993 p.6) states that:

'Missionaries began proselytizing, introducing a foreign God and legislating what they considered to be appropriate forms of family life, male-female relations, personal attire and behaviour. In most Pacific societies, missionary influence permeated virtually every aspect of island life, becoming a major force in the transformation and westernisation of indigenous society'.

Like most 'newly found' islands, the traditional histories of the islanders were often ignored and devalued in the belief that the Christian way would be more beneficial for all. Aside from the Christian teachings the missionaries established schools to teach the islanders to read and write. They also encouraged the islanders to move to the coast to build smaller family homes (Buzacott, 1866; James, 1993; Maretau, 1983). The islanders were introduced to the concept of barter which gradually replaced systems of exchange and reciprocity. Cash cropping rather than self-sufficient planting was taught. Western ideals were imposed such as a move to what was seen

as a more nuclear type family and more 'appropriate' dress (long, many layered, dresses to be worn by women in the stifling heat). Buzacott writes 'although this clothing was completely unsuitable for the climate the missionaries were thoroughly satisfied that the changed circumstances were met and proper' (in Beaglehole, 1957 p.87).

For the participants in this research, who were born after 1905 they can remember much of the early churches' influence:

'...Our pastors in those days, they were the teachers in the schools. The schools were not administered by the government in those days. The missions ran the schools. It was only recently. I think it was 1948 that the government started running schools in the north...'

'...On the side of the spoken Maori, the Manihikian dialect, most of the Manihikian language is lost. There was too much influence from the missionaries, the bible and the teaching of the bible. That's why the Maori dialect of Manihiki is lost...'

'...A lot of thing we learn from the missionary, how to count the number and another thing of the time, ah...our missionaries started to teach us how to, how to build a house...the missionaries were all Maori, that's why they help us to do our house and teach all the young girls how to plait hats, mats, those sorts of things...'

In 1888 the Cook Islands became a British protectorate and in 1901 were annexed to New Zealand as part of the British Dominion. New Zealand representatives were sent to the Cooks to administer the islands. Health and education infrastructures were established, and they were administered by Colonial officials. (This phase in Cook Island history can be explored in Scott's book 'The years of the Poobah').

During World War II airports were built on Aitutaki and Penrhyn and hundreds of American soldiers lived on these islands during that time. Again the participants remember:

'...Arrival of the American troops in the 1940's was interesting. They came to Penrhyn to make an airport and protect the island from the enemy. At the start when the airplane arrived we were all afraid. Everyone ran into the bush, they thought this was something bad that would kill them all...'

'...The adults huddled together and held hands and bowed their heads waiting for their death. Some took to canoes to paddle to another island while others took to the bush...'

'...Americans gave the people smokes. Penrhyn women gave flowers and food in return. Exchange began. it was equipment for food. Americans had a big impact. and much change...'

After the war there was an improvement to the shipping services and the export of fresh fruit to New Zealand became viable. In 1961 a canning and juicing plant was introduced which created many jobs. Many islanders from the small outer islands began to move to the bigger islands and considerable emigration from the Cooks to New Zealand and Australia occurred. Post war, in a wave of optimism, many Pacific Island nations became independent states. In 1965 the Cook Islands became independent; self-governing their internal affairs, dependent, mainly on New Zealand, for aid, foreign affairs and defence.

Agricultural development was most important for the new government and many new plantations (banana, pineapple and oranges) were started. The idea was great, but in reality it was full of shipping problems, labour shortages, climatic instability, and economic competition. In the 1970's there was a new wave of optimism in the form of tourism. In 1974 an international airport was built on Rarotonga. Tourism today remains the largest income earner for the country. With the airport, not only are many people coming into the country, but, many islanders are on the move. Mass migration by islanders has continued, in fact there are more Cook Islanders living in New Zealand than in the Islands. With a large population, overseas remittances are another important source of income. Dependence in the Cooks has increased. Like other Pacific nations the upkeep of health care and infrastructure established by Colonial powers has become a heavy burden for the government and foreign aid is largely used to maintain these services today (Campbell, 1992; Cowan, 1968; Davis, 1992; Howe, 1994).

Recent monetary strains on the government are highlighted by the 'wine box' inquiry and letters of guarantee problems. As a result, the Cook Islands government has run out of money to pay its large public sector work force and many jobs will be cut. It is a problem that will probably always haunt small island economies such as this one which has a higher proportion of imports over exports.

The Cooks, although tending to move away from a subsistence agriculture in many parts, has not shifted from familial kin-ship ownership of land to the western-style individual ownership and this has been important for retaining much of what is intrinsic to the Cook Island society and may be important in helping families cope with the loss of income now and in the future.

From this brief introduction you can see there have been many changes in the Cook Islands history and many phases of change. The development of democracy in the Cook Islands has, for Ingram (in Crocombe, 1992 p.154), 'steadily led to the erosion of traditional social and political systems. The traditional leaders have consistently lost status, political and economic power, control of major resources, such as land, and social controls, such as discipline, respect and their role as spiritual leaders'. The Ariki, as mentioned earlier, are now only advisors on matters of custom.

The Cook Islands have found themselves incorporated into a world system of material and social relations, a system which Linnekin (1990 p.13), sees as 'substantially altering the context of culture and confronting the Islanders with political systems organised along western lines'. Dietary change in the Cook Islands has resulted from changes to the traditional food production systems brought about by the introduction of commercial cash-crop agriculture and by urbanisation (Howe, 1994). One of the major economic consequences of dietary change has been increasing dependency on imported food in the Cook Islands, and most other Pacific islands. Another aspect of change is the way in which these products are redistributed. Numerous obligations to support kin and the Ariki and to partake in reciprocal exchange relationships have in the past cemented a network of social relations ensuring that everyone had access to goods, but as people are having to pay for certain goods, the degree of reciprocity has, as the participants discuss, come under much pressure. Today, the extent for which natural materials and local food resources are used depends on the islands you visit. Rarotonga and Aitutaki (the larger and more tourist orientated places) lead a more 'modern' way of life whereas the other islands, and, in particular, the Northern group, still rely to a certain extent, on subsistence type living due to their remoteness. They are too far from the main tourist trail and too far from markets to continually shift produce. So socio-economic organisation is now based on a mixture of Polynesian elements and post contact modifications from different sources. This varies from region to region and island to island. With all the changes in the Cooks some aspects of culture have obviously suffered fundamental changes yet other parts of the culture have been slower to change. For example, Idiens

(1990), highlights how the manufacture of traditional forms of domestic utensils, bowls, baskets and mats and the construction of housing and canoes largely by traditional materials and method has continued, mainly, if ironically, for the tourist industry (Idiens, 1990; Crocombe 1994; Scott, 1991; Howe, 1994).

Life in the Cook Islands has changed irrevocably since the first European contacts. There is no way the Islanders could not have been affected, as is the case for all people undergoing a similar history. According to Idiens (1990), the 'initial impact' of change was brought about by two main factors, 'metal and missionaries'. Aspects of material culture suffered fundamental change and especially clothing and the like was the quickest to change and respond to the change brought on by outside influences. With the introduction of such things as metal technology traditional implements were abandoned, but not totally forgotten. The language base still remains in the Cooks as does much of the 'traditional' culture, however in this ever changing world it is getting harder and harder to hold on to much of what makes our 'place', and what makes our 'home' and, as you'll see in the findings, it is this that the participants are most concerned about (Krishnan, 1994; Kuatai, 1984; Idiens, 1990).

'The major change over the years has been the lifestyle. Life is richer in certain ways not the least is comfort. and so on. But many problems exist from the new changes and ways of life. Fighting nowadays is with ideas. not the spears'

(Kauraka, 1995)

Having introduced, somewhat briefly, the Cook Islands and some important phases in their history, we now move on to look at the literature in some depth. These headings; the nature of change, communities, family, the elderly and the nature of this research were found to be most relevant when studying what it has been like to be an older Cook Islander living a life during marked change. As can be seen from the brief section on the Cook Islands there has been much change to society in a fairly short time and much of this change has occurred over the lifespan of these participants.

THE NATURE OF CHANGE

'one constant, observers of societies count on, is change' (Boh, 1989 p. xi)

There is a sense in which everything changes, constantly. Every day is a new day and every moment is a new instant in time (Cassell, 1993). It was Heraclitus, a Greek philosopher, who pointed out that one cannot step into the same river twice. For on the second occasion the river is different, and the person has changed. However, we recognise that there is enough continuity in the shape or form of the river and in the physique and personality of the person with 'wet feet' to say that each remains 'much the same' through the changes that occur (Cassell, 1993).

In this part of the literature review, we begin with discussing 'change'. This is a key word in this research as we are after the significance and meaningfulness of change for the Cook Islanders in this study. In the chapter on findings we see what the changes are that participants highlight and the significance of that change for them. In this chapter we try and define change and discuss theories relevant to 'changing' societies and to the Cook Islands.

Change, as a word, is hard to define for we do not have a theory that can summarise the changes that have occurred over time and integrate them into a consistent set of hypotheses about the social, cultural, and economic mechanisms responsible for them. We cannot say exactly what it is that changes us, yet all of us are aware that change is ever-present. Every society, community, family, or individual undergoes change all the time and it is unique to them, although like Heraclitus's river certain similarities occur. But in the end I think we will start and finish this section by

stating simply that **change is**...literally. No matter how we study it or define it, it is a natural part of living in which we adapt to, consciously and unconsciously, constantly. For the purposes of this study we will concentrate mainly on social change, not because it is the only change, but because much of the change discussed by the participants can be linked to social influences and social change.

Theories on change are numerous and, depending on what we regard are the forces of change, they can be quite different. Common to theories regarding change, and in particular social change, in the earlier times were comparisons between what was labeled a 'traditional' society and those regarded as 'modern'. 'Traditional' societies were, on the whole, defined as those having the characteristics of agricultural, subsistence economies, based on familial production and culture, whereas, a 'modern' society was contrasted by showing an urbanised, industrialised society based, mostly, on a nuclear family dependent on waged employment. With hindsight we can look back and see how generalised these definitions were in highlighting differences and illuminating change. We now have come to appreciate that individual societies are not exactly the same, and cannot be labelled, or categorised, as such. Early theorists tended to do this without regard that the context of a community, or that 'place' gives rise to differences in the way a people live and organise themselves. In this study when I use the term 'traditional' it is employed more as an indicator of time, separating society from several decades ago, or so, enabling us to highlight changes to the present day situations. What is 'modern' now, certainly will be classed in some way or form as part of tradition in several years to come as, I am sure, happens time after time, tradition is yesterdays modernity. The terms 'tradition' and 'modern' do not exist in two separate worlds, as earlier theorists would have us believe, they are not static but more 'time-clothed' (Eisenstadt, 1986; Elliott, 1986; Nisbet, 1972).

Major categories of social change

Social theorists concerned with change are numerous and over the decades we can now categorise them into what Cassell (1993), refers to as 'generations'. The first wave of theorists seemed concerned with the transition to the so called 'modern' world and the problems they saw associated with it. Theorists such as Durkheim, Marx, and Weber distinguished between 'traditional', 'transitional', and 'modernised' societies and therefore their theories related to uncovering and explaining processes of movement from 'traditional' to 'modern' status. These interpretations of social

change were derived mainly from the ways human beings related to the material environment and there were criticisms of them all. Their attempts to interpret change were in 'whole' terms, revealing what they viewed as single factors with ultimate control over the processes of development. Their movement nowadays is hard to wash as no 'single factor' theory of social change has been able to account for the diversity of social change and social development (Cassell, 1993; Beruquo, 1992; Chafetz, 1988).

The next generation of theorists, which followed the world war two period, adopted what Giddens (1993), called an 'orthodox consensus'; the feeling, of change in a 'broad consensus'. Talcott Parsons was dominant in this period with his evolution of the family theory (Cassell, 1993). At this time 'the concept of modernisation', for Dube (1988), seemed to be a response of western social science trying to explain the many challenges faced by divisions of the 'first' and 'third' worlds. Often the Pacific Islands were classed under this blanket term 'third world'. The problem with this thought was having a theory on development for a large nation, for example, India and then applying the same policies for a small nation such as the Cooks, with a totally different environment, different resources, smaller population and so on.

When this generation of theories were pushed out, what replaced them were more well rounded approaches to study and perspectives. Research theories today have become a lot more flexible. Hoogvelt (1978); Heller (1990); Beruquo (1992) and Cassell (1993), all make it clear that change is a multifaceted, multilevel occurrence, change in one direction does not necessarily lead to major change in another direction, nor justify that if large change occurs then existing structures must break up, as early theorists believed, or if change occurs in one region it will not necessarily be mirrored in another region. According to Hendricks (1980), changes that come about over time should not be viewed as evolutionary 'concomitants' of modernisation, but more as shifts in relations between individuals and groups as socio-economic beings.

Theories nowadays account for certain phases, influences or 'episodes' of change, identifying factors which have consistent and general influence on social change, but they do not make all-encompassing statements about change. When we talk of change it seems preferable to refer to 'what influences change', rather than 'what causes change'. And while theorists agree today that no single factors influence change overall they highlight many factors which have existed, or exist to influence change. For example Cassell (1993), points to influences being; the physical

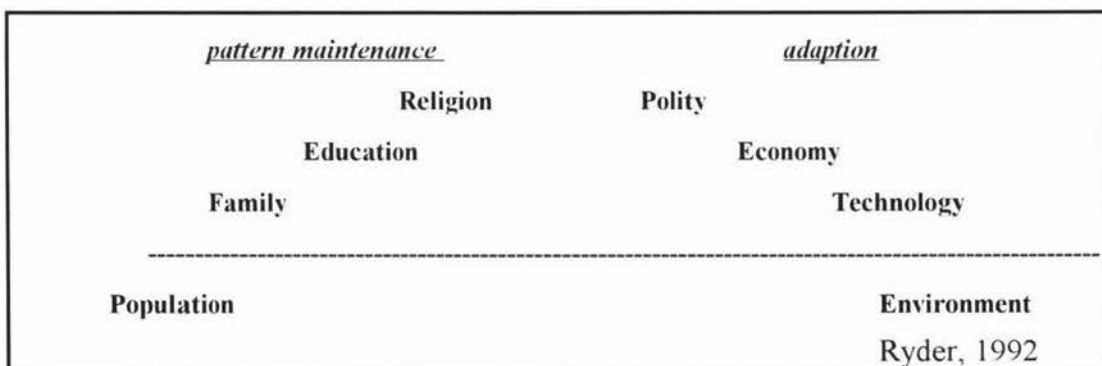
environment; cultural factors; and political organisations, whilst Robillard (1992), in his Pacific literature finds it necessary to locate three factors when researching social change:

- locate change in social institutions in which the language of social transition arises.
- examine the fact that social change and its rhetoric are culturally limited.
- consider how the discourses of capitalism, individualism, and the bureaucratic state are building a new social order

Similarly, Classen and Skalnik (in Poplin, 1979), list the following elements as relevant to explaining formation of the state through various changes:

- population growth or pressure
- war, conquest or the threat
- technological process, or the production of a surplus
- ideology and legitimisation
- the influence of already existing states

Ryder (in Beruquo, 1992), provides a diagram which can be used to show his idea of change. What he presents is a multiplicity of actors, with many different roles, problems and coordination and so on. At the boundary of his socio-cultural system and its physical environment are institutional complexes orientated at the root of problems of day-to-day survival, specifically technology: ('the adaptation of means to particular ends') and economy ('the allocation of scarce means among alternative ends'). The system may be diagrammed as follows:



The primary position at the boundary of pattern maintenance is occupied by the family. Separating from the family in the course of modernisation is education. At the top (or bottom) of the chain of pattern maintenance is religion. Just as political

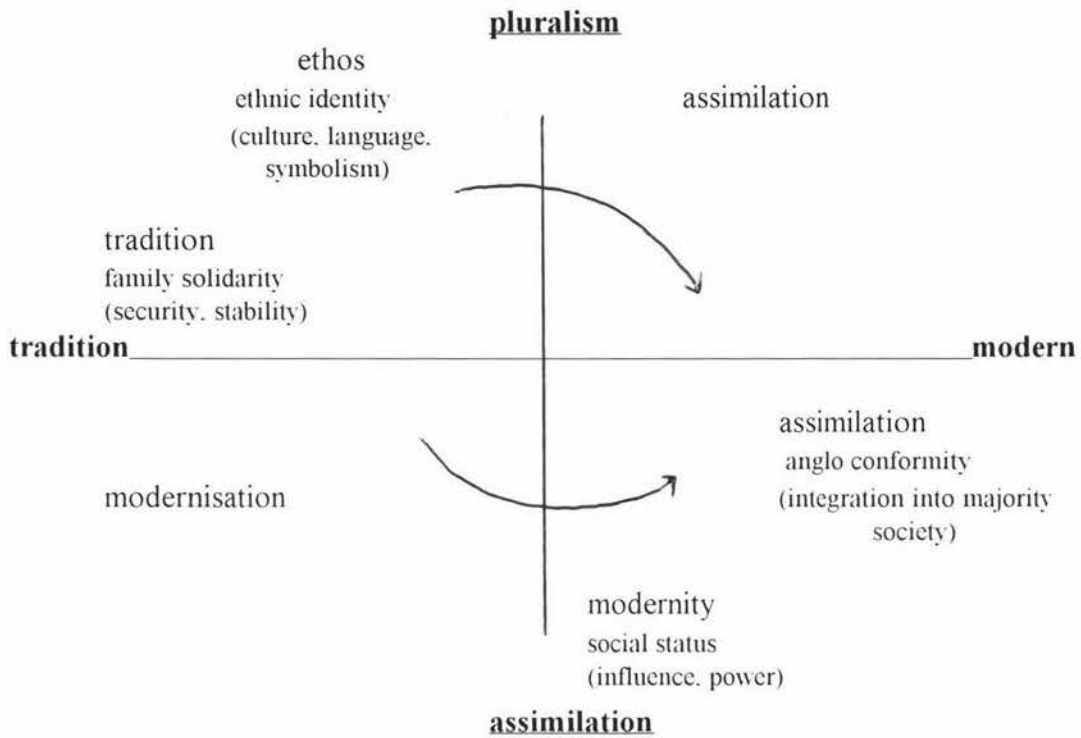
institutions provide a material basis for integration in a spatial sense, so does the religious system provide a moral basis for integration in a temporal sense and this is very relevant to the Cook Island participants. On the right hand side (adaption), there exist, what Ryder calls, 'spatial' categories. On the left hand side (pattern and maintenance), there are essentially 'temporal' categories. For Ryder (1992), relationships in society are conditioned by 'the ease of transmissibility' of certain parts of the culture, by similar goals among the 'branches of mankind', and by the pressure towards higher levels of aggregation and differentiation'. He sees 'modernisation' as a common aspiration, with the push to a higher material scale of living that propells the populations. Seeing temptation as pervasive when borrowing technology, often without a thorough recognition of the implications, to obtain certain goals, where in other parts of the social system the borrowers may be loathe to see change. His diagram can be used in the context of change in the Cook Islands where it has all the multiplicity of these factors playing with and against each other.

Cassell (1993) believes that the ontological security of tradition (which should not be construed as a purely positive phenomenon) is fundamentally undermined by three sets of transformations:

- the commodification of labour via its transformation into labour-power as the medium of the production of surplus value.
- the transformation of the 'time-space paths' of the day, through its centering of a defined sphere of 'work' physically separate from the household and separated in objectified time from 'leisure' or 'private-time'.
- the commodification of urban land, resulting in the 'created space' that is the day-to-day habitat of the majority of the population in the developed capitalist societies.

Another way we can view change is through Driedger and Chappell's (1987), diagram of modernisation and assimilation processes and goals. It is broad enough to allow us to map many countries movement or change from 'traditional' to 'modern' ethos. Each society's time frame and significant changes would be different but this diagram highlights the overall movement and aims owing to change:

modernisation and assimilation processes and goals:



(Driedger, and Chappell, 1987)

Boh (1989), mentions external changes; demographic developments; and migration as elements of change. Giddens (in Cassell, 1993 p.662) writes;

‘It is not merely alterations in ‘how’ we think that have influenced processes of change; the ‘context’ of ideas has also changed. Ideals of self-betterment, freedom, equality and democratic participation come to the fore’.

People learn to deal with change because ‘they are continually modernising, on one hand, and on the other because they succeed in maintaining traditional patterns of orientation’ (Boh, 1989 p.171). Change and development should not be construed as closed processes where ‘traditional’ societies are unaffected by the presence of post-modern societies in the world, however, how they change may not necessarily follow the lead of these post-modern societies either. If one takes a hermeneutic approach to this, what one can find in much literature on change in societies is an intimation of the ‘living interplay’ of processes of socio-economic and cultural change, as well as reactions to them. Many problems with categorising change can be avoided by adopting a framework that doesn’t attempt to tie certain individual experiences to macro-structural factors (Hendricks, 1995). One conclusion from the reading of

recent literature is that societies vary in how they experience transformation of historic structures, ideologies and behaviours to new and modified ones. Special circumstances, cultural traditions, cataclysmic events, political ideologies, economic policies and market place conditions influence the many transformations. This unevenness of transformational experience indicates just how difficult it is to attempt cross-cultural comparisons on any level of change (Boh, 1989; Achenbaum and Sterns, 1978; Hendricks, 1987; Gray, 1993).

Profiling change : Pacific literature

Literature that discusses the nature of change within the various Pacific communities helps us place the Cook Islands in context. We have discussed factors of change, now this next section will cover much of the Pacific literature that has been available in describing actual change in the Pacific.

Studying change and communities has gone on as long as there has been recorded change and from the examples it can be seen how many and varied they have been. Much of the literature relating to the Pacific started after the missionary arrivals. Although very Eurocentric, we can still learn much from the early literature. The majority of literature relating to the Pacific arose from much early documented anthropological work. Anthropologists, Keesing (1941), and Oliver (1951), initiated studies of 'culture change' in Polynesia, followed later by Belshaw (1954); Stanner (1953); Guiart (1957); Beaglehole (1957) and Mead (1972). Much history, for these anthropologists, started with the European explorers, missionaries, traders, beachcombers and colonists, who set off a 'chain of causation' that led to the transformation of these cultures (Howard, in Otto, 1993). 'Acculturation', which originally was defined as a two-way process of exchange between interacting cultures, in practice almost always referred to ways in which dominant western cultures changed subordinated non-western cultures, was, for Howard (1993), the major concept of the time, with the supporting documentation compiled in a totally Eurocentric way (Howe, 1994; Otto, 1993; Robilliard, 1992). Nevertheless the early works draw a picture, albeit through the 'lens' with which they understand their world, of the life of the place and time they describe.

If we consider those mentioned above to be the first wave of theorists, then we can see a swing in the style of study that emerged from them. Studies of culture change continued but were over taken by more 'functional', 'cognitive' and 'symbolic' type

of anthropology, for example, Raymond Firth's work on kinship, political systems, land tenure and economic organisation became focal points for investigation (Howard, 1993). These accounts set about to dispel some of the stereotypical conceptions, or misconceptions of earlier literature (the images of natural humanity and Noble savagery mixed with notions of irresponsibility and laziness to compose a 'Polynesian personhood'), (Howard, in Otto, 1992). These newer perspectives and directions of research looked into the social life and personal experiences of pacific populations and became less focused on large societal studies as a whole. For Firth (1954), who wrote about change and its effects on Fijian society (in Nayacaklau, 1978), the genesis of social change was studied in three stages :

- existing structures.
- new circumstances. and
- choice.

Normally the existing structure set the limits for a possibility of change. For Nayacakalau (1978), who studied in Fiji after Firth (1954), change was studied from many angles; from the point of view of the 'agents of change' i.e. missionary activity, colonial administrators, traders or merchants; or in terms of the 'factors of change' i.e. money or formal education, new codes of behaviour, christianity. In the situation of change, he believed there was often conflict in the principle between the old socio-economic pattern and the new, with the conflict being solved sometimes by a definite choice one way or the other, or sometimes by striking a compromise. Change, it was noted, could be influenced by several factors, such as intensity of action of the agents of change, the conservatism of people, the effectiveness of the factors of change, the appeal of change and other such factors (Nayacakalau, 1978). Ethnographic accounts by anthropologists from the 1960's onwards, such as Nayacakalau (1978), have done much to refute the stereotypes formulated by early modernisation theorists. Howe (1994), wonders, in doing so, 'if we have not generated new stereotypes in the place of the ones we have dispelled'.

Ray Watters began his career in the mid 50's, basing research on his field studies. His work, though based on modernisation theory, highlighted the shift of theorists to multi-factor study processes. According to McKinnon and Morrison (1995 p.6) Watters saw the 'inadequacy of orthodox (geographic) methodology of focusing...on...population settlement, landuse and agriculture, trade, industry and the...physical environment' and focused more on 'how the social structure affected production and exchange'. In the 80's, Watters and Bertram introduced their 'MIRAB' theory to highlight how small island economies functioned (MI=major

migration to metropolitan countries; R=Remittances; A=Aid dependency from donor countries; B=Bureaucracy rather than profitable firms).

Recently, more and more is being written on the effects of change in the various Pacific Islands; work has come from Howe (1994); Robilliard (1992); Otto (1992); Linnekin (1990); Crocombe (1992; 1994); Poirine (1995), and many others. For Robilliard (1992), social change, and change in the Pacific, stems from the way people have structured their thoughts, belief systems, kinship systems, customs, rituals, courtship, taxonomies and histories. All these components make up culture, culture that is shaped ultimately by language. To him, the variety that is found in these systems throughout the world reflects the variety of languages. It was, after all, 'through language that they came to exist'. For Heidegger, as we will discuss in the methodology chapter, and for this study, the importance of language cannot be stressed enough. As larger countries penetrate more and more the lives of the Pacific Islanders, so do their languages, the next step, Robilliard (1992), sees occurring is the 'system or systems belonging to the languages beginning to prevail' (Robilliard, 1992; McSwain, 1977).

The Cook Islands and change

Despite its late evolution as an independent state (1965), the Cook Islands has had a 'long history of contact with other cultures which has been pervasive and has irreversibly changed the face of the Pacific' according to Otto (1993, p.1). This impact over the past few centuries, as has been discussed in the introduction, has led to the incorporation of the Cook Islands into the evolving world system of political and economic interdependence. There is no denying the change, but we should not, says Otto (1993), make the Islanders out to be 'passive victims' of developments beyond their control'. They have tackled these various impacts according to their own cultural convictions and where possible they have necessarily 'manipulated' the new circumstances to best suit their own. The process of incorporation of the Cook Islands into a global economic system has been disruptive, often destructive and exploitative, but it has also brought with it many advantageous changes. Howe, (1994), points generally to a wider range of choices, a greater degree of individual rights and personal security, more rights for women, reduction of disease, and increased life expectancy.

As time goes by the combination of pre-colonial elements and post-colonial elements have become, over the years, traditional. What we are seeing in the Cook Islands today are changes resulting from the mixture of absorption of western thought and Cook Island thought which is moving toward social change in which much of what is 'Cook Island' may not survive, as has been witnessed already. For example, island culture, including art, is continually evolving and taking on more and more elements from European, Asian, American and other Pacific cultures. The 'final mix' (which is ever changing and so is only the 'present mix') is therefore quite different from the 'way of life' that prevailed in the Cooks in pre-colonial times. Nevertheless, these new identities are valid and necessary.

The direction of change in the Cook Islands, like many other nations, then, may be one of gradual assimilation to the values and aspirations of larger powers and influences. Large-scale emigration has had a profound effect on the culture of the migrants home islands. The social changes deriving from the effects of emigration and urbanisation are presenting challenges to tradition, which includes the established churches. Whereas the actual speed of cultural change may vary, it has become evident that cultures of traditions are always in a 'flux' (Otto, 1993). Cook Islanders have adapted to new circumstances, imported new elements from outside, or have changed by the internal process of cultural invention. This has been fuelled by the competition and contradictions of meaning and interest. The image of a primitive society dominated by its static traditions is incorrect. A remote village family is now likely to have television and radio to which everyone can have access to. People on the most isolated islands are in touch with the world and are visited by ships and planes. Additionally, there are many relatives living overseas, typically in New Zealand, Australia and America, and they often influence and create certain expectations and changes. People from all over the world stop off in the Cooks for a number of reasons, so the agents of change are not just the various transportation and communication technologies of the late twentieth century, but the opening up of the region to global influences. Advanced telecommunications have helped to promote what Mead (1972) called the 'global village':

The fact remains that limited means are having to satisfy a widespread increase in wants and consumption capacity, severely limited by island remoteness. Cook Islanders may have to rely on the rich resources of their still-living traditions to find alternative and innovative solutions to today's problems. Obviously the small size and remote location places a formidable constraint on the growth of Cook Island economy. However, due to these factors some compensating advantages may exist

(according to Howe, 1994): where isolation offers some protection to human, floral, and fauna populations. Howe (1994), believes that small island populations rarely experience the full brunt of social or environmental problems faced by the larger urban centres, and yet they can still enjoy certain services or innovations, if a little later, once the barrier of distance has been bridged.

One conclusion from this research is that societies vary in their experience of transformation of historic structures, ideologies and behaviours to new and modified ones, 'Special circumstances, cultural traditions, cataclysmic events, political ideologies, economic policies and market place conditions influence such transformations'. Many experiences indicate the difficulty in attempting cross-cultural comparisons (Boh, 1989 p.xii). Socio-economic organisation is now based on a combination of traditional Polynesian elements and post contact modifications from different sources. These combinations vary from region to region and island to island. But just as history is never finished, neither is identity. It is continually refashioned as people make cultural meaning out of changing social, economic and political circumstances as they experience it.

Since the process of development has a profound impact on social institutions, habits and beliefs, Howe (1994), argues, that some aspects of human welfare might suffer if relations that were once personal become impersonal, the continuity in one's way of living is disrupted, and the support and assurance of a stable community disappear. The Cook islands and their government are acutely aware of this. Development plans talk of the need to preserve 'traditional' values, culture and social institutions as far as possible. But the trade offs between 'development' and 'tradition' remain very difficult to isolate (Howe, 1994).

Cook Islanders are in the process of creating a cultural tradition which incorporates elements from their traditional past and European influences which are being transformed into something that is perceived as essentially Cook Island. Traditional forms have been revived even without restoring the power structure on which they were based. A constant theme of all these aspects of Cook Island life is the accommodation of the past to the present and the reconciliation of different ideologies or their manipulation to promote a particular strategy (Badelley, 1978).

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITIES

Having discussed change, we now deal with literature areas important to the participants, to this study, and those affected by change. For all the participants in this study community is an intrinsic part of their life, not only the place community holds for them, but, the role they played and play in their communities on a local and national scale. The change the participants talk about as significant and meaningful is highlighted in many instances by changes in their community.

The word 'community' seems to best be described as an 'omnibus' word (Poplin, 1979), in that it seems to have so many meanings for every type of user. It can be used to describe a small group of people who have common ties, or it can be extended to a larger group, it can have negative or positive connotations depending how individuals view their role in the community, but most of all the concept, I think, describes a sense of common ties, a place for shared interests on any level or type or depth. As Manley (1995, p7) states:

'community is not only a basic requirement for existence in our world but it also forms the social bond that unites people to each other'.

What seems to make the community important and perhaps different from other units of sociological organisation is that it has this firm territorial base. Above all, the community seems to represent an organisational pattern through which people go about their lives and try to meet daily needs in a local area. This, for Poplin (1979), is perhaps a major criterion by which the community can be sought apart from other units of social organisation. Although it is true that families, churches, schools and so forth, exist in a 'territorial milieu', we do not usually think of them as units of territorial organisation, rather they become part of a larger territorial unit, the community, that is potentially able to meet the full range of people's physiological, psychological and social needs (Poplin, 1979).

For the purposes of this study, the preference is for Poplin's definition of communities which he refers to units of social and territorial organisation that, reliant on size, are classified as hamlets, villages, towns, cities, or metropolitan areas: in brief his definition refers to:

the place where people maintain their homes, earn their livings, rear their children, and carry on most of their life activities' (Poplin, 1979 p3).

And within this definition there are three key elements that Hillery found (cited in Poplin, 1979 p.9) that form the boundaries of community:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) Geographical area | (territorial variable) |
| 2) Social interaction | (sociological variable) |
| 3) Common tie or ties | (psychocultural variable) |

The term 'community' should be analysed in terms of interaction, as a social group, or as a social system. The community consists of people who interact with other people for whatever purposes. Communities do have definite patterns of social organisation. And the community can be seen as unique in that it is potentially able to meet the full range of peoples needs. Families meet some needs, as do churches, governments and schools, (and their importance will be discussed later) but none of these institutions can 'exclusively provide people with food, clothing and shelter, with a sense of belonging, with intellectual stimulation, and so on through the seemingly endless lists of human wants. In the hierarchy of social organisation the community emerges as the first social unit that can claim such all-inclusiveness as a needs meeting facility' (Poplin, 1979, p23). Hence, because then of the overall encompassing importance of community, according to Kingsley Davis (in Poplin, 1979 p.10), 'It is no accident that people cluster together. Nearness facilitates contact, furnishes protection and makes easier the organisation and integration of the groups'. People want to be needed and need to be wanted and aspects of the community can offer people this. For the participants in this study they have seen much change to the function of the community. For many there has been a breakdown in what the community has provided for them, and in turn this has led to a chain of causation where, as a result, they now see family and church changing and breaking down.

Theories of 'community' are as wide as they are long. From very early on people have wanted to categorise all aspects of human life, rightly or wrongly. Early theorists, such as Cooley (1902) and Mead (1935), have based their studies on their own personal observations on groups of people. In order to give us a definition of community they tried to characterise human actions and relate the answers they found. As a starting base for community studies their work offers a good insight into early thinking, however, today we know that the early work was very general and that not all communities shared the same characteristics, even if basic requirements are part of any community's lifespace (Manley, 1995).

Throughout the twentieth century people have studied social interaction as they see it, communities and societies as a whole. Lukerman (1976) used his studies into community to help us understand the concept of place, noting that 'complex integration's of nature and culture that had developed...in particular locations' were linked by flows of people and goods to other places. A place was found not merely to be the 'where' of something, it was location plus everything that occupies that area, 'it was an integrated and meaningful phenomenon' that he found in the community (in Poplin, 1979).

It has been difficult for theorists to define community. From its very onset it becomes shaped by different perspectives or contexts of thought and being. A shift by the likes of Greer (1962); Simmel (1977), as highlighted by Poplin (1979), has been not to dwell so much on definitions, but to accept that if we talk about a community it will have a common base, agreed roles and common values. This, for them, seems to constitute a community and from there the research and discussions take their own course. In this study, for example, 'place' is everything and so changes to this 'place', the community, has been of genuine concern to the participants.

Poplin (1979), also offers us definitions on types of communities, conflicts they face, the concept and life of a community and, of importance to this study, the change a community faces. He writes:

...there are many unknowns in community study, however two things may be said with certainty. First communities undergo rapid and continuous change. (i.e., demographic, ecological, economic, and organisational change).

Second, most communities have been plagued by a host of economic, demographic, ecological and social problems.

As a result of this planned and unplanned change, Poplin (1979) sees a relationship between social change and social problems, the latter resulting from the former. But another point to be considered is that community problems may be addressed or solved by yet further change.

With regard to the Cook Island community Beaglehole (1957), was the first to write about social and community change occurring there. Anthropologists, also, throughout this century have been examining communities, as has been discussed, all of them tending to a definition of community that suits their particular research, or shows itself from the research.

Linking culture and community

It is impossible to talk about any society without regard for their culture which is intrinsic to their way of being and to our idea of community. Certainly this is the case for communities such as the Cook Islands. So when we talk about a society, such as the Cook Islands, it is important to also include culture which, as a word, goes hand in hand with community. Culture, according to Blakemore (1994 p.6) is 'itself an umbrella term referring broadly to a way of life : distinctive social institutions (family structures, marriage, initiation into the community), social norms, manners, attitudes and ways of thinking, diet, dress'.

Donald Horne (1986) in 'The public culture' wrote; culture is best approached as :

'the repertoire of collective habits of thinking and acting that give particular meanings to existence...' (in Headon, 1995, xiv)

It is this 'common' or 'collective' link that is important. Raymond Williams (1993) wrote about emphasising the ordinariness of our culture. He spoke of 'our common life' together with its interconnectedness, contrasts and overlap of meanings within 'this common life', that carry 'primary significance'. As Heidegger (1958, p19) declared "'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality'. Here in this study, and pertaining to the Cook Islands community, culture is inclusive of all that encompasses a persons way of living-a-life. The quality of the individual's life world can be seen then, as arising, in part, from the distinctive qualities of social relations stemming from the organisation of different social systems in a given time and place from the community. When we discuss change in the Cook Islands we see how important culture is for identity. With all these changes occurring, Sissons (1995) tells us that the concept of culture is itself at stake : 'firstly because it can no longer be restricted to localised structures of meaning, but instead needs to be seen as integral to structures of state power, and secondly, because culture needs to be situated in relation to political process' (working paper).

Community in the Cook Islands

It is the family along with the church (although this is changing to more welfare based services) as well as the overall community that are usually seen to provide major support for people. This is particularly so for small nations such as the Cook Islands in which the community provides social support that permits a base for

differing degrees of constructive action or non-constructive action depending what is needed. It can range from total support to just the mere comfort amongst groups. The Cook Islands community is as strong as can be found anywhere and much of this strength comes from its older members of the community. In the Cook Islands identification with one's village and island remains strong, community and church alike act as the 'cradle' of the extended family and perhaps provide a minimum standard of living for everyone. The community is crucial here for a people in the process of change, being the instigator for and the refuge from change (Stea, 1993). In a report of Social Welfare Services and Development Planning in the Pacific (1976, cited in Cribb 1992) the team wrote of "'tides of change' (that) were sweeping the Pacific, leaving in their wake the 'flotsam and jetsam' of the breakdown of the family living patterns and changes of individual behaviour'. Change has often been referred to as a big shadow hanging over people, however this is not always the case at all. In a society like the Cooks where a strong community, as I have witnessed, shows awareness of what is important in its own society, combined with their value system, and promotes family solidarity and loyalty, much change can occur without necessarily destroying relationships or, for example, lowering the conception of the status of the elderly held by individuals, society as a whole, and the elderly themselves. For particular reasons, such as the influence of tourism or television, things will change and lifestyles will be affected, but strengths can be found in a community based society and emerge to address or combat change and face it with optimism or an open mind, and that is what the participants have realised. Strength has come from the older generations where, with change occurring, and change as we know is a natural process of daily living, people of the community may decide to revive certain customs or parts of the culture to balance new influences. Hence one gets a revival of things, that may have been left behind, occurring as a reaction to change, the result is often a merging of ideas, which history has shown is a constant happening and will continue to be so in the future.

Cook Islanders may also perceive problems resulting from tourists or residents returning from abroad, introducing new ideas and behaviour that does not fit into the daily pattern of life, but if, for instance, you took away many things introduced such as roofing iron or television and so on you would face much protest. I think people in the community provide enough checks and balances to deal with planned and unplanned change. Hooper (1987 p.250), brings up a relevant point that we cannot expect cultures to exist in a 'museum type state of perpetual inertia'. While no one wants to lose native arts and culture, we have to see that all human cultures adapt to and accommodate change. For Hooper (1987), it is possible to absorb certain

elements of other cultures and allow them to be the focus of renewed interest for further development. People need to have strength in their community and culture and that way they can ensure its success. In Asia, one of the most fundamental changes to occur in their community, in many instances, has been the shift from family to wage employment. Younger family members went off to work, women joined the workforce and so on. One concern was the family's elders' authority being undermined, but what occurred soon after the change in the community was that the elderly were needed to look after children and to teach them the customs, language and about their heritage. So where one thing is taken away, in this case by change, another thing springs up, offering these checks and balances in life (Holmes, 1995, Chang, 1992). Through the community, social commitments of the elderly can be channeled towards the community as a whole, as they can be through the family. Mutual responsibility is still a 'vital' ethic for families in the Pacific (Cribb, 1992; Kaleb, 1991; Kuroda, 1987; Mason, 1992).

THE NATURE OF THE FAMILY

Next to the community, the family is very important to Cook Islanders. The family is commonly thought of as a group based on marriage and biological parenthood, that may share common residence and, above all it is united by ties of affection, obligations of care and support, reciprocity and a sense of common identity. Whatever our definition of the family, it is probably the most important social unit we start our life in, and if we are lucky, we remain in it, as a family unit.

Everywhere families are important. Every culture, according to Bengston (1995), has a social institution we recognise as kinship that 'resolves basic issues of reproduction, enculturation, domestic arguments and sometimes production and politics along with other things'. Because the underlying basis of kinship is generations and the succession of generations, it is an important dimension of social life across the entire lifecourse, both positive and negative. Family is 'versatile in accommodating to variable social and economic conditions' (Bengston, 1995, p.148).

Under the nature of change, and relevant here, are the theories of change and modernisation espoused by 'Social Darwinism', 'unilinear evolution' and 'Parsons' evolution', followed later by 'Marxist' and 'feminist' theorists and so on. All these theories encompass the family or kinship within them to highlight the nature or effects of change. Parsons (1945, 1955, 1964) is one of the most notable early family

theorists, although few people now agree with much of what he wrote (Elliot, 1986). Parsons, mainly with particular reference to the American middle class family, tried to provide a general theory of the family and its relationship to wider society. He characterised traditional societies as societies in which large scale kinship units dominated the social structure and performed religious, political, educational and economic 'functions'. He argued that as societies evolved, economic, political, religious and cultural institutions emerged as units independent of kinship structures and took over many of the families functions. Parsons argued also, that the transition to modernity led to the breakup of kin groups and the emergence of a family system in which nuclear family members were released from wider kin obligations and obligations between spouses are emphasised. The family, he thought, moved from performing 'directly on behalf of society to performing on behalf of personality' (Elliot, 1986).

As Elliot (1986 p.39) states: 'It is now widely argued that we can neither identify a specific modern industrial family nor see the family as simply acted upon by urban-industrialisation. but must see modern family patterns as shaped. at least in part. by their own past'. Parsons and other theorists 'traditional' view of the nature and direction of family change has been rethought over the past twenty years in the light of new research. Marxist and feminist theories have provided us with new models of the relationship between the modern family and the wider society. Marxist models have highlighted the various class conflicts, and exploitation, and feminist models have highlighted gender-conflict and exploitation. The Marxist and feminist theories provide a critical analysis of the family and society and in doing so, Elliott (1986), sees them as lending support to demands for change.

These early theorists such as Parsons failed to take into account many circumstances. According to Elliot (1986), they failed, for example, to take into account the fact that industrialisation has different starting points and many varied levels depending on the circumstances of the country. It certainly is not a fixed process and does not take into account change related to specific historical contexts. His belief in the nuclear family, also, was far too restricted and isolated.

Much evidence suggests that within the 'modern' time frame families have experienced different degrees of geographical and social mobility and that this is associated with variation in family form. In stable social groups, locality based, close-knit kin networks may develop and social life may be organised around kin and community, but where families are geographically and socially mobile, kin interaction

may be intermittent, uncoordinated and selective. Large parts of the lives of family members are free from kin observation and control, and family life may be more sharply focused on the nuclear family. However, evidence also shows that kin relationships, though shifting, are not destroyed and may even constitute a resource in adapting to mobility or in maintaining status. It seems, for Elliot (1986), that there has been 'no progressive or unilinear disintegration of extra-nuclear kin bonds, but rather fluctuating and subtle shifts of emphasis'. Litwak (in Elliot, 1986, p50), refers to the change of the family not as an 'isolated nuclear family', rather as the 'modified extended family', different from that of the 'classical extended family' (Penning, 1987; Rajan, 1989).

The changing role of the family

There can be no doubt that shifts from 'house-hold production' based on familial relationships to systems of 'factory production' based on a contract between capital and labour and subject to market conditions represents a large change in the role of the family in society. But the thinking also points to a continuity as well as to change in the form and role of the family and often fails to take into account smaller areas such as Pacific countries that may not necessarily undergo large 'factory production' change due to their limited resource bases. The kin groups have not necessarily disintegrated, rather there have been subtle change and fluctuating shifts of emphasis in the strength, range and use of kin relationships (Elliot, 1986).

Elliot (1986), illuminates how early theories have often associated industrialisation with major changes in the relationship between the nuclear family and other social institutions 'depicting, on the one hand, the disintegration of large scale, multi-functional kin groups and the erosion of patriarchal authority and, on the other hand, the emergence of a relatively autonomous nuclear family'. The modern family they portray was said to be based on an ideology that stressed equality and individuality of family members. However, we have also seen that much of the historical and sociological research over the past few decades offers a somewhat different view of change in the family. Recent accounts point to levels of continuity rather than out and out change. They show that 'many elements of the modern family, its nuclearity, its individualistic ideals and its emphasis on effective relationships, were present in the past'. This new family theory points to a continuity in family form and ideals. However, it would be impossible to argue that there have not been important changes in family life over recent centuries (Elliot, 1986 p.207).

Older generations within the family

Within the family, living arrangements are an important component for anybody's overall well being and quality of life and this includes the older members of the family. The circumstances in which individuals live are highly variable and multi-dimensional. Boh (1989), provides us with some of the factors to take into account when discussing living arrangements:

- the existence of an intelligent actor, able to evaluate and choose
- relationships of independent interaction, where the subjects are endowed with the ability to alter each others' behaviour by their own means
- a given set of resources and constraints enabling choices to be made in the course of the interaction
- a temporal horizon, where time is not only a resource, or a constraint, i.e., relative to the allocation of time, but is the horizon within which the strategies unfold: the future, in which the possible outcomes of choices and decisions are assessed: the present, in which they are evaluated: the past, which provides the choices with form and informational content.

In the Cook Islands the elderly may rely, to a varying degree, on those who live in close proximity for economic, social, physical and mental support and stability, (as do other family age groups). For all generations the family has traditionally given this support, however, as the Cooks has undergone change, in the future there may not automatically be such a measure of support. This does differ from island to island, with the remoter islands facing less change than the larger, tourist reliant, islands. The issue in social gerontology of the measure of family support for older people is, also, of some importance. This is not surprising, given that 'the family is the most basic social institution in our society' (van Manen, 1990 p.137). A decrease in the number of extended families or a reduction in caregivers may undermine a family's capability to provide effective prolonged care for elders. This decreasing co-residence does not necessarily mean an erosion of support and regard for the elderly by family members and this is true for the majority in the Cook Islands at this stage. The family structure is changing but here it has not disintegrated by any means. (Ngan and Wong, 1986; Andrews, 1992; Gelfand, 1979; Akhtar, 1991; Crandall, 1991; Hoffman, 1970).

One must not assume, of course, that the elderly are passive in the process of change. The stories of the participants in this study reveal that they are far from passive, they are aware of the many changes and, in some cases, show concern, but above all they

demonstrate a willingness to help. There is no substitute for what a family can provide for an elderly person, and equally there is no substitute for what the elderly members in a family can provide the other members, especially the inter-generational relationship that exists between a grandparent and a grandchild. Such things as familiarity of surroundings, love and emotional ties, and a sense of belonging and feeling wanted are all reciprocal values a family can offer its members, however as children start to move towards new opportunities and families open up to the numerous demands of change, this can have effects on the level and extent and willingness to provide care for the elderly (Tout, 1989; Chang, 1987; Kim, 1992; Tout, 1993). Demographic transitions and subsequent changes in family structure have implications for kin contact and for reliance on kin for assistance in a time of need. Changes in mortality and fertility, as well as marriage patterns, also directly determine family structure. Bengston (1995), points out that they also determine the number and types of generational kin available to call on for support. As society faces changes, as they all do and will, they may look to different ways of caring for the elderly. Chang (1987) writes about the new demands in time and financial resources as there is a 'longer life span into old age'. Families look to community care for the elderly if they have no time themselves, and for a society that has always respected and looked after their elderly this, for many elderly, is seen as a big breakdown in traditional lifestyles. Ngan and Wong (1993) highlight the problems families have to face when caring for all members, a 'paradox of care' if you like, where certain socio-political factors related to social development and social change are working in opposite directions. Despite the increase in demand for caregiving, there are fewer available caregivers in the community to meet the increasing demand; thus the 'paradox of community care':

'The paradox of community care' : Ngan and Wong (1993):

<u>level</u>	<u>paradox</u>	<u>outcome</u>
1) society	prolonged longevity <i>vs</i> reduction in caregivers	fewer available caregivers no training/ education for caregivers
2) service	prolonged care <i>vs</i> inadequate community support services	increased strain and role conflicts for caregivers. little or no respite for informal caregivers
3) cultural	(for Chinese elders) preference for sons <i>vs</i> over abundance of daughters as primary caregivers	little appreciation for female care- givers due to assumed social duty. less support for female caregivers from other family members

4) family	(For urban\industrialised preference for extended family systems <i>vs</i> prevalence of nuclear family systems (among young couples)	more elderly people are living apart and alone in the community. problems of loneliness and depression for those lone elderly people due to a mismatch between 'what ought to be' and 'what is nowadays'
-----------	---	--

(total probable effect : the caring dilemma in family care)

Modernisation theories have often held that family commitments will be replaced by segmentation in society, with the elderly neglected (Cowgill and Holmes 1972; Holmes, 1983). But these modernisation theories can be too general to apply to the world and hence we will discuss this under the 'nature of the elderly'. They are correct in that there is, and will be, a change in the position of the elderly in the family, but for a place like the Cook Islands it appears their kinship ties are still strong enough to bind. Often what theorists like Cowgill overlook is the contribution the elderly make to their family and community with regard to care giving and daily activities, so with change in society the elderly do not just get 'swept under the carpet', their role in teaching the young about culture and values may become more important than ever. And a family may change, but their view of the elderly need not due to their role in the intergenerational process, making contributions in economic, familial and social terms, transmitting cultural values, beliefs customs and practices, and they may be able to provide for the family stability and sanctuary (Woodruff, 1983). Montgomery (in Bengston 1995, p107), illustrates well the shift 'from the family as an institution to the family as interacting individuals'. Change is inevitable, but it certainly need not be bad or undermine the society and values. Extended kin groups that reside within a single household may incorporate older parents, adult and minor offspring and non-nuclear relatives (Cain, 1991; Evers, 1991; Liang, 1992). Kinship is a versatile institution. Therefore it is responsive to social, political and economic change and to structural changes in other institutions, which accounts for its variability. Part of this versatility of kinship rests in the 'distinctness of kinship as a social institution, enabling it to bridge nature and culture' and face change in all its forms (Bengston, 1995 p130).

Religion

Beyond the family, the church and the community are the most important social attachments for the majority of Cook Islanders. Having discussed community, it is important, at this stage to briefly touch upon the effect change has had on the church.

Since the arrival of the missionaries in 1821, Christianity has been the largest religion in the Cooks. The rapid adoption of the Christian faith had profound effects on local religions and traditional concepts regarding the ordering of society, as we discussed earlier.

Conversion of the Cook Islanders was faster and more complete than other Pacific areas. Its influence has been described as 'the most pervasive of all institutions' in the Cook Islands (Mitaera, in Cribb, 1992). The church's importance is evident today where it plays an important part in daily life, whether one actually attends or not. It is used as a mechanism for service delivery and a stable organisation. For the younger generations the church is starting to have a lesser influence, especially for those who have moved away overseas (Macquarrie, 1966).

In the Cook Islands today there are now over a dozen established churches, religion is changing its style, and people are moving away from the Christian faith. With Christianity, as mentioned before, the Ariki were important in legitimising and spreading religion. Once the church was established these Ariki lost much power and were replaced by islanders who took prominent places in the church as elders. Nowadays there is a change where indigenous leaders are looking back to their old traditions, seeking a new mix between chieftainship, institutions, church and state. Religion that caused many vast changes is now struggling to keep up with the changes in society and as a result may be becoming 'a victim of its own expectations' (Crocombe, 1973; Cribb, 1992).

THE NATURE OF AGING AND THE ELDERLY

To survive into old age is no longer an unanticipated privilege for a small minority, but an experience shared by the majority. G. Stokes

It is important to provide a base within this literature about being elderly, since all the participants in this study are over the age of sixty years. Growing old or aging is a multifaceted concept, it covers biological, sociological and psychological dimensions. Aging varies with social structure, culture and social change of the surrounding people. Because aging is a 'process rather than an event' (Rathnayake, 1989) one cannot set a point in life when it will be possible to state that from that point onwards a person gets old. For the purposes of study and research, however, chronological

age is perhaps the easiest and most comparable measure of age. In this research project the cut off point for older Cook Islanders has been set at sixty years and over.

Aging, if seen from a macro point of view, has, in the past, not been regarded as important because the proportion and number of older persons in many countries has been relatively low when compared with other population age groups. Yet we should be aware that it is a growing group, and, if the elderly are seen as part of the entire social life process it becomes, or should become, of great importance, irrespective of the percentage of the population they may represent. With a lowering of death rates over the last decades and an increasing emphasis on birth rate control around the world, health and population policies are reshaping the age structure of societies, including the increased proportions of persons in their middle and latter years. With increased older populations fundamental issues of social, cultural and economic consequences now face societies and the importance of the elderly in society is realised more acutely. The need to shape and create resources toward a growing older population in many countries, particularly in developing countries is necessary. New attitudes towards older age populations are required (Bell, 1976; Wither, 1987).

How the elderly see themselves in society and the status they see awarded to them and what effects their way of living is of particular relevance to this study. The elderly are not a homogenous group, there are wide variations to their age, incomes, health, access to services, housing, demographic characteristics, family situation, social conditions, and so on, as are their variations in their life experiences, stories, individual and communal influences and the significance of change that they have faced.

Literature concerning theories and research on the elderly and changes experienced in their daily life practices has soared much like an exponential curve, starting only really from early to mid this century and then snowballing as it has been realised, like any other group in society, how important the elderly are as individuals and as a group, and how important it is to understand all aspects associated with growing old, coping with change and so on. Similarly, there has been a progression in other areas of literature highlighted in this study from broad sweeping studies to narrower in depth studies.

Theorists have followed along the lines of the 'tradition', 'modernity' theories with regard to aging. Cowgill and Holmes (1972) and their subsequent revisions (1974, 1994) were among those who identified influences they saw stemming from modernisation which they believed would lead to the undermining of the status of the elderly, they highlighted:

- improvements in health. especially in youth and middle age which have increased longevity and the proportions of dependent older people in the population:
- migration and urbanisation. leading to a break up of the extended family as a domestic unit in which the elders used to play a dominant role:
- the application of science and technology. which renders redundant formally treasured skills guarded by the older and more experienced:
- the rise of mass education. which invalidates tradition.

Their theory and similar ones have been heavily criticised from many quarters (Laslett, 1976; Dowd, 1980; Palmore et al, 1985, Blakemore, 1994). In fact criticising modernisation theory has, according to Blackmore (1994), 'become folkloric tradition in its own right'. With such general theory there existed contradictions and inconsistencies, however, their theory is not to be entirely rejected. One criticism is that societies do not all face the same changes or the same fate. The future is an open one, and though each community is bound to change with new values and so on, it may be easier to not describe such changes as part of the all encompassing 'modernisation' process with Cowgill and Holmes' (1972) attendant losses of the status of older people (Blakemore, 1994).

This next diagram highlights the dynamic interplay of complexities of change with regard to elderly and how difficult it is to pin point overall influencing changes:

Some factors affecting the significance of change for the elderly :

Individual elderly

- age of individual
- personal lived experience

structural factors

- gender
- living arrangements
- income
- social class
- housing facilities

family factors

- family composition
- type of dependency relationships
- attitudes towards elderly and aging
- age of family members

community factors

- financial support
- transportation
- help/resources available to the elderly
- shops and other services

(Saxton, 1996; based on Brubaker and Brubaker 1981)

Reid (1985) who studied Australian Aboriginal people and Harlan's (1964) study of three Indian villages found that :

‘the actual situation of an old person depends on an interplay of factors, including personal qualities, family support, seniority, sex, ecology and land use patterns, and the effects of colonisation and social change’. (p 69)

If modernisation effects the position of elders, it would appear that its effect comes from ‘a radical alteration of the organisation of information in society, removing the accumulation of valued information from the aging process and hence eliminating a valued role for the elders in social life’ (Albert, 1994 p.182). If the research on living arrangements and elder well-being supports any conclusions, it is that the poor status and compromised well-being of the elderly has less to do with Cowgill and Holmes’ ‘undermining shifts’ and more to do with lack of services and poverty (Goldstein and Beall 1981; Biller 1983; Goldstein, Schuler and Ross 1983; Martin 1989). Some changes have impoverished many developing countries in many different ways to the extent that it has indeed led to poorer outcomes for elders (Albert, 1994; Domingo, 1992; Green, 1989).

Because life is a journey through time, we change and obviously those who are linked to us also change. Some communities, including the Cook Islands, demonstrate a surprising degree of resilience and it is often the older members who hold the community strong. People can adapt to changes and still retain core traditions and make care of the elderly a priority, some societies cannot, but we certainly cannot generalise. Pressures for the preservation of traditional ways come up against pressures for change in a way that may see a change in both areas (Hashimoto, 1991). Processes of individual change are inextricably linked to processes of historical change, and especially to those events both large and small that provide the markers separating past and present. How men or women, old or young, experience and cope with identical life transitions and states varies dramatically as a result of the way in which their make up has been touched by larger social processes and the events that provide the markers of historical time (Bengston, 1995; Anastas 1990; Andrews 1986; Burton 1991).

In the Cook Islands the elderly population represents a small proportion of the total population percentage, at about 6 to 7 percent of men and women over the age of sixty years. Because of the small size of people in this age group, they often do not get as much attention or resources as perhaps they should, it is not usually until the number of elderly grows proportionately to the rest of the population, as in many

European nations, that countries start putting resources towards the needs of the elderly. Since the Cook Islands is also a very family orientated society informal support is the major base for care so the government plays a fairly non-interventionist role with regard to elder care. The elderly, as a majority, have up until now at least had a fairly secure life amongst immediate and extended family members. Young through to old members have had their role to play in the family which has taken the aging factor to be part of the natural course of life.

With changes over the years, due to 'modernising' and moving with the times, the Cook Island way of life has started to change, especially on the larger islands that have tourism as a mainstay of their economy, family members from the smaller outer islands have started to move to larger, more populated islands in the Cooks or overseas, for example, to search for employment. As the families have started to move or disintegrate this has caused concern, or is of concern for many older people. Families are not moving to total 'nuclear status', as Cowgill and Holmes (1972), believed they would, but there is fear that they are starting to breakdown a bit more and this is sure to continue in the future, so it is a worry for the elderly if their family members are moving away and it brings with it concerns the government will need to address, as mentioned above. Coupled with increasing trends of so called 'modernisation' and 'urbanisation' on these islands and the potential mobility of the labour force, particularly to the larger islands away from the smaller more agrarian based and isolated lifestyles, the traditional concept of place and relationship with the elderly is undergoing change (Knodel, 1992; Vasoo, 1993; Sung, 1991).

As society changes, an erosion of the more traditional roles of the elderly in family and community life can occur, as it was illustrated on page 37. The young and better educated may migrate to larger areas and it is often the elderly who are left behind, be it their own choice or not, so contacts with children or family members who have left may be reduced significantly. If the old chose to move with their family then social ties are at risk of being lost or broken and their roles and place in the new surroundings may change considerably from their home ones; all these are worries and problems for the elderly.

Ward (et al, 1988), identified four environments that are critical to elderly peoples' existence

- 1) Neighbourhood - that is the space containing neighbours and services, providing the most immediate links with society at large and representing the immediate surroundings in which an individual interacts.

- 2) Interpersonal environment - social networks or support systems that contribute to the well-being of the individual, by mediating stressful life events and helping to sustain self-esteem. In most cases the family ties dominate and support the systems for the elderly.
- 3) Social environment - macro-environment including norms and values operating in the individual's culture so that the attitudes of the general populace to the elderly make it easier or harder for them to function.
- 4) Supra-personal environment - metropolitan or city spatial structure, shops, offices, transport and all other means through which the local population's daily needs are met.

So depending on the circumstances of the individual, their environment can easily change. With change, the neighbourhood support can decline as it has to make way for change, the social networks may start to break away, and in the social environment, the culture and attitudes also change making adjustments necessary for all (Chappell 1987; Ferraro 1990; Glendenning 1985; Gelf 1987).

With regard to the status of the elderly, there are a number of variables often interrelated which, either separately or in combination, seem to relate to the status accorded older persons in various cultures. These include: family form, religion, knowledge base of the culture, harshness of the environment, the means of production and the speed of social changes (Cox, 1988 and 1990). Evidence from the United Nations statistics of aging trends and policies (1988), indicates that a higher esteem exists where older people are involved in households that contain three or four generations which may share a common life. Kinship in the Cooks is still one of the most important factors and one can see how important it is to be part of the family and respected, of course then, an erosion of more 'traditional' roles, as highlighted by the participants in the findings, will be hard because it is the role the elderly have always known, from children to growing old themselves.

THE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

Kein Ding sei wo das wort gebriert
(Where the word breaks off there is nothing)

Stefan George

The research method chosen in a study is obviously very important. It not only guides the type of study undertaken, but the format of the study and the results. For this study I wanted to be able to let people express their feelings, emotions, thoughts and concerns with regard to how change had impacted upon them, so the nature of research had to be qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, to allow ideas to be as fully

expressed as possible, and to come from the participant, not the researcher. A Heideggarian hermeneutical analysis (HHA) was chosen because of its interpretive (hermeneutical), descriptive (phenomenological) approach, to allow this study to go beyond question and answer styles, so that the participants could narrate their stories and highlight what, for them, was experienced as significant and meaningful in their daily life practices.

Regarding research practices, many early philosophers were committed to thoughts that made them base their studies on quantifiable, rational things. For scientists and philosophers alike, interest was in the observable, something that could be seen and described in a tangible way and made logical to the human thought and the human eye. Socrates and Plato are seen to be among the first philosophers to pose the question of existence in an 'analytical rational guise' (Steiner, 1978; Kockelmans, 1968). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Europe especially, there were noticeable moves away from analytical thinking to enquiries into other ways of thinking and knowing. Theorists agreed to disagree as to the different types of methodology. Scientific thinking tended to be quantitative whereas philosophical thinking took a qualitative stance. Minichiello et al (1992, p187), show the contrasts between quantitative and qualitative methods of research :

	QUANTITATIVE	QUALITATIVE
perception of subject matter:	Reductionist: identification and operational definition of subjective variables.	Holistic: persons in the context of their social environment.
positioning of researcher:	Objective: detached observation and precise measurement of variables.	Subjective: close personal interaction with informants.
data base:	Quantitative: interrelationships among specific variables.	Qualitative: descriptions and related personal meanings in context.
theories:	Normative: general propositions explaining causal relationships among variables.	Interpretative: providing insight into the nature and social contexts of personal meanings.
theory testing:	Controlled: empirically supporting or falsifying hypotheses deduced from theories.	Consensual: matching researchers interpretations with those of informants and other observers.

As you can see each method is useful and suitable for many different studies, but more relevant for this researcher is the scope that a holistic, subjective, interpretative and consensual method gives. Of the many qualitative methods, it is hermeneutical phenomenology that offers research approaches concerned with life world, human concerns, habits, skills, practices, experiential learning and, in this case, the lived experience of a group of elderly people. Appreciating the implications for research of a phenomenological view of people involves going beyond the qualitative-quantitative, objectivism-realism debate. It involves a fundamental shift in orientation away from traditional notions of objectivity as unitizing and generalising, with prediction and control as its goal. Many other research methods put life into categories and fragments, but Heideggerian hermeneutical analysis (HHA) allows us to 'look along' the entirety of what is under study. The use of HHA allows the researcher to uncover common meanings, concerns and experiences, as well as dissimilarities, and to bring to understanding what it is that the participants, not the researcher, find to be significant and meaningful about their daily lifeworld (Babbie, 1989; Ellen, 1984; Peace, 1990).

Having introduced the idea of a descriptive interpretive research approach we conclude this chapter with a brief description of 'hermeneutics' and 'phenomenology' which will lead us into the next chapter on methodology.

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics represents a 'turn' away from an epistemological view of the world to an ontological one. Hermeneutics can be traced back to Greek times where it has its roots, with early translation suggesting that the Greek verb 'hermeneuein' meant to interpret and the noun 'hermenia' meant interpretation. It was Hermes, Palmer (1969), tells us, the wing footed messenger God, who was associated with 'transmitting what is beyond human intelligence and putting it into a form that human intelligence could grasp', so hermeneutics was associated with the idea of 'bringing to understanding', particularly where language was concerned or involved. Palmer refers to it as; 'The tools which human understanding employs to grasp meaning and to convey it to others' (Palmer, 1969, p13).

There are different perspectives on how hermeneutics should be understood. Dilthey (1853/1988) and others (Ermarth, 1978; Polkinghorne, 1983), believed that lived experiences should be studied through human projects. Heidegger (1927/1962), and

Gadamer (1975 and 1976) focused more on ontology, believing that hermeneutics was a way of understanding human existence through interpreting the dialogue of transcribed texts or some other form of human expression (Rather, 1990). Schleiermacher's hermeneutics were seen as romantic in appealing to a living relation with the process of creation, according to Ricoeur (1981).

Wilhelm Dilthey, (19th Century), is often attributed as developing the theory of hermeneutics as the principal of humanities, the contrast between physical sciences (Naturwissenschaften) and human sciences (Geisteswissenschaften). For Dilthey, 'life grasps life only by the mediation of units of meaning which rise above the historical flux' (Benner, 1994; Stapleton, 1994). According to van Manen (1990), Dilthey saw the human world/sciences characterised by Geist - mind, thoughts, consciousness, emotions, actions and purposes - which find their objectification in languages, beliefs, arts and institutions. This type of study meant interpretation and analysis was aimed at explicating the meaning of human phenomena and at understanding the lived structures of meanings. In other words some human science studies saw 'persons' or 'beings' that have 'consciousness' and that act 'purposefully' in and on the world by creating objects of 'meaning' that are 'expressions' of how human beings exist in the world' (van Manen, 1990 p3). With this surge of rethinking 'understanding' and 'Being', it was Martin Heidegger (1927/1962), in the early twentieth century, and later Gadamer (1975, whose philosophy was, for Ricoeur (1974), a synthesis from regional hermeneutics towards general hermeneutics, from epistemology of the human sciences towards ontology, who thought human experience was only able to be made intelligible through the study of existence. They believed persons to be fundamentally self-interpreting beings for whom things had significance. So understanding human action involved interpretation, interpretation that quantitative scientific method would never capture, especially with regard to what it is to be human (Diekelmann, 1991, draft; Benner, 1994). From Heidegger onwards, hermeneutics is involved with 'going back to the foundations', a movement which leads from the epistemological question concerning the conditions of possibility of the human sciences to the ontological structure of understanding. It is Heidegger who brought hermeneutics to phenomenology, hence, the relevance of hermeneutics to the human sciences these days, is generally, then, accredited to the philosophy and writings of Martin Heidegger (Bleicher, 1980; Buckley, 1992; Heidegger, 1968, 1975).

Phenomenology

Heidegger goes back to the Greek roots of the word - 'phaino-menon' or 'phainesthai' and 'logos'. Phainomenon means 'that which shows itself, the manifested revealed'. The 'pha' is akin to the Greek 'phos' meaning light or brightness, 'that in which something can become manifest, can become visible'. 'Phenomena', then, are 'the collection of what is open to the light of day, or can be brought to light', what the Greeks simply identified 'ta onta' - 'what is'. This 'becoming manifest' or form of recalling something 'as it is' 'should not be construed, Heidegger believed, as a secondary form of referring - as when 'something seems to be something else', nor is it a symptom of something, pointing to another more primary phenomenon. Rather it is a showing or bringing to appearance of something as it is, in its manifestness' (Palmer, 1969, p128). The '-ology' in phenomenology goes back to the Greek word 'logos', which Heidegger tells us is that which is conveyed in speaking; the deeper sense of logos then is itself to let something appear. It is not defined by Heidegger as something like 'reason' or 'ground', but rather suggests the speaking function, which makes both ground and reason possible (Heidegger, 1927/1962; Palmer 1969).

Phenomenology, in general, may be characterised as a philosophy which has learned 'to wonder again and to respect wonders for what they are in themselves, where others see only trivialities or occasions to employ the cleaning brush' (Spiegelberg, 1978). There are many people associated with the phenomenological movement; Brento, Stumpf, Husserl, Pfander, Geiger, Scheler, Heidegger, Hartmann, Marcel, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, and Ricoeur.

'Phenomenology' means letting things become manifest as what they are, without forcing our own categories on them, so things show themselves to us. Phenomenology aims to get a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our life experiences, a tool, if you like, and through this tool we ask, '**what is the significance of that?**', '**what was that experience like?**', '**how did that make you feel?**' and so on, in the attempt to gain insightful descriptions of life experiences (van Manen, 1990). For people such as van Manen, to do research from a phenomenological point of view is:

'to question the way we experience the world, to want to know the world in which we live as human beings..' (p5) .

'Phenomenology differs from other disciplines in that it does not aim to explicate meanings specific to particular cultures (ethnography), to certain social groups (sociology), to historical periods (history), to mental types (psychology), or to individuals personal life history (biography). Rather, phenomenology attempts to explicate the meanings as we live them in our everyday existence, our life world' (van Manen, 1990, p11). It is possible to make a distinction in human science research between phenomenology and hermeneutics. Phenomenology is the description of lived experience and hermeneutics is the interpretation of experience via some text or via some symbolic form (van Manen, 1990; Palmer, 1969; Parse, 1995; Stewart, 1974).

Summary

Throughout this chapter it is clear that studying social organisation and change is a multi-disciplinary subject within which the focus is on structures which individuals and groups organise themselves and how they interact within structures such as the family and the community. To understand where the participants have come from and where they are heading we need to be aware of their contributions and achievements, to understand both traditional and non-traditional roles, the nature of changing processes that affect peoples lives, similarities and differences in social organisation that have developed over time, values, and so on.

We need to understand the importance of 'place' and being in a community, how culture and shared understandings and practices have developed, how people communicate, interact and live their lives, the role that the environment plays. For the Cook Islanders, understanding is needed regarding the places where they live and work, the size of their islands, the distances between them, how the nature of the environment has affected their lives, and the movement of ideas, experiences and needs.

The Cook Islands are now very much a part of the 'world system' in which they share different or additional ideas and ideals, but they also retain a mixture of Polynesian and Cook Island elements within their 'post-contact modifications'. This has come about due to change; change that is happening all the time yet is unique to the Cook Islands based on 'episodes' or certain 'factors' that have influenced that change. Change, which has, for these participants, seen a move from a more 'traditional' ethos to one of a more 'modern' ethos. The success of this change is

due to the fact that they are modernising, continually, on one hand, yet maintaining traditional patterns of orientation on the other hand. (Boh, 1989).

The interaction of these many factors combined with an understanding of time and the participants dialogue has allowed us to explore the relationship between past, present and future and to give us an insight into the effects of change, the forces and beliefs of social, economic, religious, political and technological factors which have impacted on their lives.

Finally, a particular research approach, HHA, has been introduced with reference to hermeneutic and phenomenological movements, enabling us to see how, with this particular research approach, we can explore what matters and what is significant, for those who have participated in the study, as they undergo marked change in their life.



'Some people speak of method greedily, demandingly: what they want in work is method: to them it never seems rigorous enough, formal enough. Method becomes a law...the invariable fact is that a work which constantly proclaims its will-to-method is ultimately sterile: everything has been put into method, nothing remains for writing: the researcher insists that his text will be methodological, but the text never comes: no surer way to kill a piece of research and send it to join the great scrap heap of abandoned projects than method'.

(Barnes, in Munhall, 1994 p.169)

THE HERMENEUTIC WORM THAT TURNED...

The essential data of this research is the dialogue and textual interpretation of the stories narrated by the older Cook Islanders who participated in this study. In their stories they tell us about what they have found to be significant and meaningful as they experienced change in their daily lifeworld. The methodology, used when studying the dialogue, Heideggerian hermeneutical analysis (HHA), is a descriptive, interpretive approach, with a general orientation to life. It is a particular tradition of philosophy whose concern is with the meaning of being (existence) and an understanding of what it means to be human. Heideggerian philosophy is concerned with telling the story and the nature of being-in-the-world. In this context we seek to understand phenomena in peoples own lived experience and to learn its significance and meaningfulness in their lifespan. HHA is an appropriate form of analysis for this study as it allows the elderly Cook Islanders to tell their story in their own way. It considers the uniqueness along with the universal meaning of what it is to be an elderly Cook Islander living in a fairly traditional society during a period of marked changes in their lived experience of particular phenomenon.

Martin Heidegger (1927/1962), who is credited with bringing hermeneutics to phenomenology, has given researchers a way of understanding the meaningfully rich and complex lived world of human beings. It is because we take a stand on our being in the world - because we are 'understanding' in Heidegger's special use of this word - that we engage in familiar, skilled practises in everyday contexts, and we thereby open a leeway or field of free play (*spielraum*) where things can stand out as being important or mattering (Benner, 1994; Guignon, 1993). Hermeneutics as a theory of understanding, is a theory of ontological disclosure in the way that Heidegger will

not allow us to see the hermeneutical problem apart from human existing. Hermeneutics, for Heidegger, then, is a fundamental theory of how understanding emerges in human existence (Barrett, 1964; Heidegger, 1971; Kaelin, 1988):

‘His analysis weds hermeneutics to existential ontology and to phenomenology, and it points to a ground for hermeneutics not in subjectivity but in the facticity of world and in the historicity of understanding’ (Palmer, 1969).

HHA holds that our core mode of existing is interpretation and understanding fuelled by the human desire to make sense (meaning) of an aspect of life - to turn to phenomena which seriously interests us and commits us to the world (van Manen, 1990). Heidegger takes the final step and defines the essence of hermeneutics as the ontological power of understanding and interpretation which renders possible disclosure of the being of things and ultimately of the potentialities of daseins own being (Heidegger, 1927/1962). Hermeneutics is still the theory of understanding, but understanding is differently defined. For Heidegger, it is the power to grasp one’s own possibilities for being, within the context of the life world in which one exists. It is not a ‘special gift’ for knowing the situation of another person, more, it is access to a mode of being-in-the-world which makes understanding possible. Understanding is the basis for all levels of interpretation; for Palmer (1969), it is co-original. ‘It is the study of lived or existential meanings: it attempts to describe or interpret these meanings to a certain degree of depth and richness. In this focus upon meaning, phenomenology differs from other human or social sciences which may focus not on meanings but on statistical relationships among variables, on the predominance of social opinions, or on the occurrence or frequency of certain behaviours, etc’ (van Manen, 1990 p11). For this study with a group of older Cook Islanders, it offers a sensitive way to see the significance of situations and relations of living-a-life during a time of change. It allows dialogue to flow and expose the real heart and soul, if you like, of peoples experiences and to present it in a rich way. Phenomenology does not problem solve but rather it concentrates on what van Manen (1990), calls ‘mediating in a personal way the antinomy of particularity (being interested in difference and what is unique) and universality’ (being interested in the essential, in difference that makes a difference). As Leonard (in Benner, 1994, p50), states;

‘persons in the phenomenological view, have not only a world in which things have significance and value but qualitatively different concerns based on their culture, language and individual situations’.

In the last chapter we provided a definition of phenomenology. Heidegger, according to Spiegelberg (1971), regarded it as neither a 'standpoint' nor a 'school' : and it cannot ever become one 'as long as it understands itself'. It is seen as a concept of method, not characterising the qualitative content of research, but the mode of approaching it. It is, perhaps, better described as an approach, as opposed to a method. The term 'phenomenology' can be represented by the phrase: 'to the things themselves' If a phenomenon is interpreted as 'what shows itself' (das sich an ihm selbst zeigende) or 'what is manifest' (das offenbare) then the goal of enquiry is not to give an account of entities but rather to grasp the being of entities (Spiegelberg 1971). Using hermeneutics combined with Heideggerian phenomenology does not mean a hotch potch study is undertaken, on the contrary, an extremely indepth process occurs where, from the interviews undertaken, verbatim transcribed texts are used for interpretative analysis. It is systematic in that it uses specially practised modes of questioning, reflecting and focusing.

The actual systematic research approach used in this study is based on a seven step HHA process as adapted by Diekelmann, Allen and Tanner (1989). The research process, after transcription of the audiotaped interviews was completed, involved the following steps:

- _____ *Stage One.* The entire set of interviews was examined as a whole by each member of the research team to obtain an overall understanding of the texts.

- _____ *Stage Two.* The text of each interview was summarised by each member of the team with possible themes identified. Written interpretations were supported with excerpts from the interviews. The research team met weekly to discuss the interpretations of each interview. Dialogue among team members regarding analysis and textual evidence ensued. Group consensus was the ultimate goal.

- _____ *Stage Three.* In further independent analysis, each team member's interpretation was compared with the investigator's for similarities and differences. Any discrepancies in the interpretations were clarified by referring back to the text and further discussion.

_____ *Stage Four.* Material generated in previous stages was reread and studied to see if similar (common) or contradictory meanings were present in various different texts. The purpose of this stage was to identify relational themes, arising out of common meanings, which cut across all texts.

_____ *Stage Five.* During this stage of analysis, a constitutive pattern emerged. Constitutive patterns are present in all texts and express the relationships among relational themes. Constitutive patterns are the highest level of hermeneutical analysis.

_____ *Stage Six.* The purpose of this stage was to validate the analysis with persons not on the research team but familiar with the content area and/or research method. Validation of relational themes and constitutive pattern was also sought from a subset of the interview participants.

_____ *Stage Seven.* The last stage was the preparation of the final report, this thesis, using sufficient excerpts from the interviews to allow for validation of the findings by the reader (as can be seen in the next chapter).

The purpose of the multiple stages of this interpretation are to expose any possible inconsistencies, contradictions and conflicts by reading and rereading and sharing ideas. The multiple stages are not only a natural progression but serve as a bias control, and in clearing up inaccuracies.

In the works of many phenomenologists, 'thoughtfulness' is described as a minding, a heeding, a caring attunement (Heidegger, 1962) - a heedful, mindful wondering about the project of life, of living, of what it means to live a life. For researchers the phenomenological interest of doing research materialises itself in our everyday practical concerns. 'Interpretive phenomenology cannot be reduced to a set of procedures and techniques, but it nevertheless has a stringent set of disciplines in a scholarly tradition associated with giving the best possible account of the text presented. The interpretation must be plausible and must offer increased understanding from the study' (Benner, 1994, p.xvii). Heidegger talked about phenomenological reflection as following certain paths, 'woodpaths', towards a 'clearing' where something could be shown, revealed or clarified in its essential nature. This happens through the various seven steps where our 'clearing' is the constitutive pattern. It is important though to realise that in HHA the paths cannot be determined by fixed 'signposts' (van Manen, 1990).

This research gains strength in attempting to articulate, through the content and form of text, the structures of meaning embodied in lived experience. It is self critical in the sense that it continually examines its own goals and methods in an attempt to come to terms with the strengths and shortcomings of its approach and achievements (van Manen, 1990, p11). The whole of the approach is necessarily circular, with a 'to-ing' and 'fro-ing' between parts of the texts and between individual texts as a whole. Rather than being seen as a closed circle, I would use the image of a spiral where we are able to pick up new interpretations, re-evaluate constantly, as we come to better understanding along the journey, and, as such, it never finishes, there is no end point to interpretation.

A good phenomenological description, then, is collected by lived experience - is validated by lived experience and it validates lived experience. This is sometimes termed the validating circle of inquiry. Each interpreter enters the interpretive circle by examining 'otherness', 'silence', 'similarities' and 'commonalities' from his or her own particular historical, cultural and personal stance, in doing so, this allows us to engage dialogue with the text. 'One is always within the hermeneutical circle of interpretation. researcher and participant are viewed as sharing common practices, skills, interpretations and everyday practical understanding by virtue of their common culture and language' (Leonard in Benner, 1994, p55). Methodological rigour is based upon the rational of circulation and a strong perception of what it is to be a human being skillfully embodied and dwelling in a world that is constituted by taken for granted background meanings, concerns, practices, habits, relationships and understandings of the self and other (Darbyshire in Benner, 1994; Dreyfus, 1991; Heidegger, 1962/1927).

In attempting to construct a full interpretive description as to the effect of change on these participants, HHA recognises that complete, full or final description is unattainable. So the experience is investigated more as we live it rather than as we conceptualise it, this enables us to describe the phenomena and reflect on essential themes by balancing individual ideas with common themes that emerge. HHA seeks to overcome what Benner (1994) refers to as 'the dualistic dichotomy between the subjective and the objective', thereby rejecting the notion that the person is 'disconnected' and responding to an 'objective world' (Benner, 1984). HHA aims to put the person in context, bringing forth commonalities of language, practices, everyday shared understandings and ontological questions concerning persons' being-in-the-world (Benner, 1994).

Martin Heidegger - the man who turned the worm

'A genuine beginning', Heidegger says, 'is always a leap forward, in which everything to come is already leaped over, even if as something disguised'
(Guignon, 1993, p24).

Heidegger, in his works, challenged the idea that reality had to be thought solely of in terms of substance. For Guignon (1993), Heidegger's claim was not that mind and matter do not exist, but that they are a derivative, regional way-of-being for things, 'the deritus of some fairly high-level theorising that is remote from concrete, lived existence'. In doing so, Heidegger's thinking shifted us away from considering problems from an epistemological view (how we know what we know) to an ontological view (what it means to be a person and how the world is intelligible to us).

For Heidegger, the founding beginning occurred in Greece. What was in the future to be called 'being' was sent into work in a way which set the measure 'for what was to come' (Heidegger, 1971, pp.76-77). Heidegger believed that the power of a beginning could never sustain itself, 'decline' was inevitable, so that the beginning needs to be 'repeated' or 'retrieved' if its promise is to be brought to realisation. It is 'only by thoughtful repetition that we can deal appropriately with the beginning' (Heidegger, 1964, p191) recovering what is always there though in a concealed form (Guignon, 1993). At the time, 1920-1930's, it was radical thinking and today Heidegger's writings and their use in research remain topical. Previously the self was seen more as a subject within the world or environment that was regarded as an object. Heideggerian phenomenology criticised this subject/object relationship (Cartesian view point) for not pushing ontological reasoning.

Heidegger maintained that everything could be understood in the context of the subject, whether it be whole or in parts, because no subject can stand alone from its own historically given context. Just as the conditions of our existence are historically constituted, so then are the conditions of our understanding and interpretation (Seung, 1982). In the Heideggerian view, there is no pure external vantage point to which we can retreat in order to get a disinterested, presuppositionless angle on things. So fundamental ontology begins with a description of the 'phenomena' where this means what 'shows itself', and what 'becomes manifest' or 'shows forth' for us, in relation to our purposes as they are shaped by our forms of life. Taylor (in Benner, 1994), doesn't see this as a restriction because it readys us for a

'pre-understanding' of what things are all about. It is our being as participants in a shared and practical world that first gives us a window into ourselves and reality.

Heidegger hoped to discover the true meaning of things by setting aside the view of reality that comes from theorising and focusing, instead, he wanted to highlight the ways in which things show up in the 'flux of our everyday pre-reflective activities'. The investigation starts with an inquiry into our being, insofar as we are the entities who have some understanding of being, and it does so in order to lay the basis for inquiring into the being of entities in general (Guignon, 1993; Langan, 1966). Phenomenology of everydayness, coupled with a hermeneutic outlook brings to the light the hidden basis for the unity and intelligibility of the practical lifeworld. Since the goal of inquiry is not to give an account of entities but rather to grasp the being of entities, phenomenology seeks what generally 'does not show itself at all', the hidden 'meaning and ground' of what does show up (Guignon, 1993, pp6-7). Fjelland and Gjengedal (in Benner, 1994), perhaps, helps us to come to terms with understanding what Heidegger was looking for in his descriptions;

'When clouds of smoke are used for making signals, they are no longer only natural phenomena but objects of language as well. They are still subject to the laws of physics, and they can still be investigated as physical phenomena, but as communication they cannot be reduced to physical phenomenon. We understand the linguistic expressions because they make sense. (p.9)

For Heidegger, 'being' discloses itself in lived experiences, experiences which previous theorists, Heidegger believed, had not let come to the fore. Through his exploration of 'being there', and its essential relatedness to our 'being-in-the-world', Heidegger (1962) shifted the focus of basic philosophical questions about the nature of persons and their relationship to the 'everydayness' of their world of existence. For Heidegger persons were self interpreting beings whose 'prime mode of access to being' was perception in its broadest existential, rather than merely sensory meaning (Benner 1994). As stated, instead of asking 'what does it mean to know?', Heidegger asked, what he saw more importantly as, 'what does it mean to be?'. Therefore, the 'essence (wesen) of human being lies in its existence'(Heidegger) and Spiegelberg (1971), illuminates this further to show that this 'existence' lies in its possibilities to choose different ways of being. In this term, Heidegger explains it as man's 'standing in the clearing of being', or as 'standing in the midst of being' in such a way that we have access to being. Within this language is the 'House of being', if you like, the way in which we are present in the world, and 'being' is that which imparts focus, coherence, belongingness and a richness to the possibilities of things. Language creates the possibility for particular ways of feeling and of relating

that make sense within a culture. Heidegger uses the term 'thrownness' to show that the person is 'always' 'already' 'situated' as being-in-the-world and this relates to Taylor's (in Benner, 1994), notion of 'pre-understanding' and 'windows'. For Leonard (in Benner, 1994), human existence is involved in the working out of the possibilities that exist for us by virtue of our being 'thrown' into a particular cultural, historical and familiar world. So the self constitutes the world, it is constrained in the possible ways it can constitute the world, by language, culture and history, by its purposes and values.

Heidegger describes human existence as a 'happening', a life story unfolding 'between birth and death', (Being and Time, 1927/1962 p.427). For Heidegger these are three structural elements that make up human existence:-

- first. Dasein's facticity - 'thrown' into a concrete situation and attuned to a cultural and historical context where things already count in determinate ways in relation to community's practises.
- second. agency is discursive in the sense that in our activities we are articulating the world and interacting with situations along the guidelines of interpretations embodied in our public language.
- third. Dasein is 'understanding' in Heidegger's special use of this term: it has always taken some understanding on its life insofar as it has undertaken the vocations, roles, lifestyles, personal relationships and so on that give content to its life (Guignon, 1993 pp7-8).

According to Heidegger, the future has priority over the past and the present in defining the being of the self, so personal identity is defined by the stands it takes in acting in day-to-day situations over the course of its lifetime. So what makes agency possible is not some underlying substance, but is rather the way our life-stories unfold against the backdrop of practices of a shared, meaningful world (Guignon, 1993 p.23). Heidegger explicates, as 'the essential foundations for everyday circumspective interpretation' (p191), a threefold forestructure of understanding upon which all interpretation is grounded:

- 1) A fore-having: we come to a situation with a practical familiarity, that is with...background practices from our world that make interpretation possible.
- 2) A fore-sight: because of our background we have a point of view from which we make an interpretation.
- 3) A fore-conception: because of our background we have some expectation of what we might anticipate in an interpretation. Plager (in Benner 1994 p.77)

To summarise according to Dreyfus (1991 p.73), Heidegger maintains three theses throughout his career that are crucial to his philosophical stance and to hermeneutic phenomenology as research methodology:

- 1) Human being is a self-interpreting activity. This is the hermeneutic relation.
- 2) This activity involves understanding of what being means, and it is this understanding that opens a clearing. All members of society share a preontological understanding of this interpretation.
- 3) Everyday practise and everyday awareness take place inside this clearing that governs what everyday human activity takes for granted. These practices embody specific cultural ways all of which adds up to an understanding of what counts for the real us.

His works : ‘turning other worms’

Heidegger’s works are numerous. He wrote many individual works as well as producing several collections and journal articles. Such was their importance that most of them have been translated into English, although not until several decades after Heidegger first wrote them. Individual works include: ‘Being and Time’ (1927/1962); ‘What is Philosophy?’ (1958); ‘The Question of Being’ (1959); ‘Introduction to Metaphysics’ (1959); ‘Kant and his problem of Metaphysics’ (1962); ‘What is called Thinking?’ (1968); ‘Discourse on Thinking’ (1971); ‘Identity and Difference’ (1969); ‘Poetry, Language, and Thought’ (1971); and ‘The end of Philosophy’ (1975). Heidegger’s influence, then, has been felt in many different areas: literary theory, poetry and theology and so on. His thought has, according to Guignon (1993), contributed to phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty), existentialism (Satre, Ortega), hermeneutics (Gadamer, Ricoeur), political theory (Arendt), psychotherapy (Boss, Binswanger, May), theology (Bultman, Tillich). ‘Being and Time’(1927/1962), is perhaps the best known of Heidegger’s works. It was in this book, Benner (1994), tells us that:

‘Heidegger developed hermeneutic phenomenology as a philosophical methodology to uncover the meaning of being human beings, the significance of which he claimed had been covered over by past philosophical approaches that were reductionist and objectifying. Further he claimed, that we are so culturally and socially embedded in familiarity with our practices and skills that we lose sight of our being from existing within this familiarity’

(Benner, 1994 p.65; Dreyfus, 1991; Heidegger, 1927/1962, 1968).

Guignon (1993), believed that in 'Being and Time' Heidegger developed a 'descriptive metaphysics' which was concerned with what 'being' means to us and characterises 'Being-in-the-world':

'Heidegger's insight is that many of the knots in thinking that characterise philosophy are due to a particular way of understanding the nature and reality. an outlook that arose at the dawn of western history and dominates our thoughts to this day. This outlook is what Dorethea Frede in her essay calls the 'substance ontology', the view that what is ultimately real is that which underlies properties - what stands under (sub-stantia) and remains continuously present throughout all change. Because of its emphasis on enduring presence. his traditional ontology is also called the 'meta-physics of presence' (p.4).

In a sense, then, Heidegger's later writings may be seen as a series of 'foot notes' to 'Being and Time' (Guignon, 1993), reiterating and reinterpreting the quest for an access to being, 'deepening and rendering more radical the insights of his masterwork'. The basics in his thinking do not change but simply become more detailed. Heidegger points to the existence of an interrelationship of being, history and selfhood, this becomes clear in the following passage from Heidegger's 'Introduction To Metaphysics' (1964):

1- The determination of essence of man is never an answer. but essentially a question.

2- The asking of this question is historical in the fundamental sense that this questioning first creates history...

4- Only where being discloses itself in questioning does history happen and with it the being of man.

6- Only as questioning historical being does man come to himself. only as such is he a self. Man's selfhood means this - He must transform the being that discloses itself to him into history and bring himself to stand in it.

(Palmer, 1969 p.150)

For Heidegger, understanding comes from grasping one's own possibilities for being, within the context of the lifeworld in which we exist, so understanding is an element of being-in-the-world. Understanding is the basis for interpretation, being co-original with one's existing and is in every act of interpretation. Palmer (1969), uses a well known example from 'Being and Time' (1927/1962), to illustrate 'understanding':

'the process of hammering does not simply have knowledge about the hammer's character as a tool. but it has appropriated this tool in a way which could not possibly be more

suitable. In dealings such as this, where something is put to use, our concern subordinates itself to the 'in-order-to' which is constitutive for the tool we are employing at the time. The less we just stare at the hammer-thing, and the more we seize hold of it and use it, the more primordial does our relationship to it become, and the more unveiledly it is encountered as that which it is - a tool. No matter how sharply we just look at the 'outward appearance' of things, in whatever form this appearance takes, we cannot discover anything ready to hand. If we look at things just theoretically, we can get along without understanding readiness-to-hand. But when we deal with them by using them and manipulating them, this activity is not a blind one. It has its own kind of sight, by which our manipulation is guided and from it acquires its own thingly character. A hammer that is merely present is something that can be weighed, catalogued as to properties, compared to other hammers; a broken hammer at once shows what a hammer is. This experience suggests a hermeneutic principle: that the being of something is disclosed not to the contemplative analytical gaze but in the moment in which it suddenly emerges from the hiddenness in the full functional context of world' (pp 131-133)..

In other words, in understanding something, it is easier for it to be seen in its being, not by glancing over its outward appearances, but by looking into it in a deeper manner, or listening to what is said and what is not, letting it, through its own description, take shape and come to understanding (Palmer, 1969). For Leonard (in Benner, 1994):

'Heidegger's example of the hammer exemplifies the phenomenological objection to our emphasis in Western culture on the primacy of the abstract, present-at-hand: it passes over the world, the taken-for-granted, lived experience of our everydayness, and, concomitantly, it misses the meaning that is made intelligible through the linguistic and cultural skills and practices given by the world' (p.49).

Related to Heidegger's 'being' is language, and it is an important aspect to this research, as will be discussed in the findings. Its importance according to Leonard (in Benner, 1995 p46), in particular, sets up a world; it both articulates and makes things show up for us. Heidegger wrote, (in Steiner, 1979 p.127), that 'language is the house of being, man dwells in this house. Those who think (die denkenden) and those who create poetry (die dichtenden) are the custodians of the dwelling'.

Another key to Heidegger's 'being' or a 'constitutive' of being is temporality. Temporality does not exist as a set of unrelated phases, but more as 'forms of dynamic systems of reference in which one form implies the other' (Spiegelberg 1971

p.336). So in order to construct time as a sequence of 'nows' we have to be able, Heidegger says, to understand what 'now' means, and to do this we have to understand the past and the future together in order to understand the present. When we move on to the 'findings' chapter we will see that a key part of the participants ability to cope with change can be found in their understanding of the interrelatedness of the past, present, and future. For instance Heidegger describes the past as 'having-been-ness'. '...In every sense and in every case everything we have been is essential determination of our existence. Even if in some way, by some manipulation, I may be able to keep my bygone-ness far from myself, nevertheless, forgetting, repressing, suppressing are modes in which I myself am my own having-been-ness' (1975, p265). 'Temporality' is thus the term Heidegger uses to describe a notion of time that is prior to or more original than our common sense of time as a linear succession of nows. Related to Heidegger's notion of temporality is his account of the essential structure of human being that he describes as care: 'Earlier than any presupposition which Dasein makes, or any of its ways of behaving, is the 'priori' character of its state of being as one whose kind of being is care' (Heidegger, 1927/1962, p249). 'We exist existentially in terms of the things that we care about, the for-sake-of-which' (Leonard in Benner, 1994 p.54).

To summarise, Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenological research encourages an awareness to details, for example, what may seem to be trivial dimensions to every day life, things we take for granted or things not consciously noted are fundamental to our existence. So in this type of study we bring to our notice things close and remote and significant, and as with any phenomenological study it is concerned with gaining an understanding rather than explanation. van Manen states (1990, pp8-9):

'...it makes us thoughtfully aware of the consequential in the inconsequential, the significant in the taken for granted...(in) the world as we immediately experience it pre-reflectively rather than as we conceptualise, categorise or reflect on it'.

The purpose of a hermeneutic account is to interpret and bring to understanding the everyday skills, practices and experiences; and in doing so find commonalties in meanings, skills, practices and embodied experiences; and to 'find exemplars or paradigm cases that embody the meanings of everyday practices in such a way that they are not destroyed, distorted, decontextualised, trivialised or sentimentalised' (Benner, 1984, pp 5-6).

Human expressions contain meaningful components which need to be recognised. A key point to hermeneutics is embodiment, as it is for this study, not just providing a case study in research, but taking this study further by extracting, or bringing, significant life experiences to our interpretative understanding. In order to undertake

this challenge, a phenomenological, hermeneutical approach was used, based on the thoughts and writings of Martin Heidegger (1927/1962). Hermeneutics describes how one interprets the 'texts' of life and phenomenology interprets how one orientates to lived experience (retrospectively). Hermeneutic phenomenology is a human science that studies the person, and as such it begins within the 'lifeworld'.

In this research we are not after the possibility of theories to explain things, although we are aware of their importance, rather we want to, via HHA, gather plausible insights into peoples lives and experiences through their dialogue, and to pull out, or highlight, the meanings as these participants live them. In this study then, the intent of the study is to explore and make visible what the participants find to be significant and meaningful as they live their life during a time of much change to their 'traditional' lifeworld.

APPLICATION OF HHA

Having discussed the importance of a descriptive interpretive study, and highlighting Heidegger's significance within the methodology, the application of HHA is discussed as it pertains to this study. Within this research, dialogue brought forth stories or narrative about events or episodes in the lived experience of the participants involved in this study. After transcription of the audiotaped dialogue the texts of the study 'came into being', or 'brought to light an underlying coherence or sense' (Taylor in Benner, 1994). What follows next is an account of what happened in the research process to gain this dialogue and a description of the people and areas involved in carrying out this research.

Ethical issues arising from the study

Ethical issues in qualitative research can be less visible and more subtle, for example, than issues in surveys or in experimental research. Because this study relies on interaction between investigator and informant, relationships between researcher and researched become close and multifocal, making it very important to start with a good base that is sensitive to all parties and that offers protection from any possible pitfalls.

Before any research could begin, I gained permission from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, and Inter-Ethnic Committee, to study. Then permission to study in the Cook Islands was gained from the Chairman of the Board of the National Research Committee, Prime Ministers Department, in the Cook Islands and an Associate Researcher was also assigned to me for any help I needed such as translation of letters, interviews and setting up meetings. All these groups received a copy of my proposal and reviewed possible pitfalls with regard to the participant rights and mine and as to the minimising of harm and so on.

Satisfying these parties was an important step, but more importantly was the protection of participants. Participants need enough information about the risks and benefits of taking part in a study, also the character of their potential involvement, and the purpose of the study so they can make a decision based on their own judgment about whether or not they should participate. In this study consent was only sought after the participants had been given a letter about the study, or told about the study, and before any interview got under way, again, we discussed what the interview would entail. Verbal or written consent, or consent through an interpreter was gained as was permission to tape the interview, and only then did the interview begin. Confidentiality and anonymity was assured for the purpose of meeting ethical committee prerequisites, however, most participants requested that tapes and transcribed interviews be returned to the Cooks so they were made available for possible future use. For research purposes names were made up as a measure to protect the participants. No coercion, constraint or undue persuasion was placed on the participants to participate, or to continue, in the study if they did not want to, and sensitivity at all times was given, as well as a follow up for participants. Information and other material issued was in Maori and English so as to make quite sure participants knew their rights. Most important perhaps was the informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity offered. Each aspect was dealt with thoroughly and satisfactorily (see appendix for details pp106-110).

As stated, each participant was contacted individually and supplied with written information about the study, if this was not possible a verbal account was given and discussion held. A mutual time for the interview was arranged only after participants were told about the research, knew the question area and agreed to an audio-taped interview. By knowing the question before the interview the participants had time for reflection and to be prepared so that the unexpected could be avoided. Participants were also made aware that they could pull out at any time, no questions asked. van Manen (1990), highlights that when conducting hermeneutic interviews

the participants in the study often invest more than a passing interest in the research in which they are involved. Participants care about the subject and about the research question, and accordingly the researcher needs to develop moral obligation to his or her participants that try to prevent a pure exploitive situation.

The researcher

'I attempt to guide, not to instruct, but merely to show and describe what I see'.
(Husserliana in Spiegelberg 1971 p.74).

Entering into another culture is difficult, however I have never met a more caring and warm, welcoming society through the Cook Islanders I met. I stayed with Cook Island families the whole time I was there and hence it was very easy for me to live as much as possible a Cook Island way of life and take part in many activities. This also made it easy for me to try and reciprocate and made research a smooth and very enjoyable process. I tried to be as open as possible about my research and my role within that.

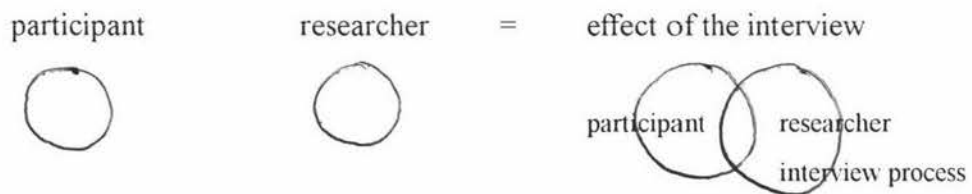
As the researcher, I conducted all the interviews, except where a translator's help was needed and in that case I was still present at the interviews. It proved very rewarding to be able to conduct interviews in Cook Island Maori and English or in a mixture of both and gave the participants a choice to express themselves in a language they were comfortable with. Each of the indepth interviews was approached separately as these were peoples' own individual life stories, however I usually started the interview in the same way, along the lines of '... Now we have discussed this research, perhaps you could start by telling me about something significant in your life that highlights the effect of modern change on your lifestyle...'. As you can see I was not after 'yes' or 'no' replies, or looking to see if what was said was true and could be substantiated, or was false, rather I was concerned with letting the other person talk about what was significant to them in their life and thus unveiling a rich tapestry of dialogue.

With regard to questions and questioning the participant, even having very general guiding questions prior to data collection can be seen as controversial within phenomenology. Husserl (1962) refers to it as 'bracketing'. Kvale (1983) suggested that researchers should make themselves 'presuppositionless' where they 'remain open to new and unexpected phenomena' (p.176). Heidegger did not have such a problem - his concepts of 'forehaving' dispelled such a possibility of

'presuppositionless' understanding or involvement. In order to meet these positions half way the interviews were approached with some very general questions and a knowledge of wider issues that would give at least an initial focus and direction while also being prepared to let the participants take these interviews in directions that they believed to be most important for them. So the art of the researcher in the hermeneutic interview is to keep the question open, whilst keeping the interviewee orientated to the substance of the thing being questioned. 'One needs to be orientated to one's question or notion,' according to van Manen (1990 p.67), 'in such a strong manner that one does not get easily carried away with interviews that go everywhere and nowhere'. I entered each interview with an open mind and was not looking for possible outcomes in advance or seeking certain findings. In this respect I was better able to accept and follow directions that the participants themselves would wish to take yet remain orientated to the story. As Leonard (in Benner 1994, p57), states:

...the researcher has the commitment to stay true to the text and to honour the lived experience of the research participants...

Morse (1994), believes that qualitative research is a 'collaborative endeavour'. So for her an underlying factor is that the participants 'who are the focus of the study' be considered as 'participating informants', rather than 'objectifying subjects'. From this perspective, researcher and participants are colleagues who can be considered as a type of research team. This dynamic character is one of the very positive characteristics of qualitative research. For HHA the result is a change often in both the researcher and the participant. The researcher and participant respond to and influence each other. The interviews in both contexts involve a process of unveiling personal feelings, wishes, problems, experiences, and behaviours (Diekelmann, 1991). The effect is that we move from individual actors to working together within the 'hermeneutic circle':



van Manen (1990), states 'When someone has related a valuable experience to me then I have indeed gained something, even though the 'thing' gained is not a quantifiable entity' (p.53). This makes all recollections of experiences, descriptions of experiences, taped interviews,

transcribed conversations a transformation of the experiences shared, as the diagram above indicates.

The participant

'In all the texts we see a group of people creating themselves'

Barbara Myerhoff, 1992

In this study, 23 Cook Islanders, born before 1935, were interviewed. The islanders were all born in the Cooks, but many had travelled since then. Of the 23 interviews, only eight of the interviews were studied and analysed in depth by the research team, as some were weak due to language barriers or interruptions or time restrictions. Having said that, the other interviews were still valuable and were studied by the researcher and brought to the research teams attention where it was seen that parts could be useful to highlight a point or illuminate on a subject. An abundance of participants is not needed for this type of qualitative study, with 5 to 10 interviews being a desirable amount. Amongst the interviews there was a good mix of ages, gender and participants from each of the four islands I visited (Rarotonga, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Aitutaki).

The interview

As field work involves interviewing in a natural setting, I considered it important that the interviews were held in the participants homes, as I believed this was less fuss for them and where they would be most comfortable. Some participants chose another venue to meet, but generally the home environment proved the best. By doing the interviews in homes the researcher becomes a 'temporary member' of the setting and this also helps to understand the place and the participants from their perspective. Kaufman (1994 p.130) refers to the whole approach as 'inductive theory building from the bottom up, rather than deductive, hypothesis-testing research'.

An important point in relation to participants feeling uncomfortable concerns the use of a tape recorder in interviews, this proved to be of little or no concern to participants, none of whom asked that the interview should not be recorded, as prior consent had been sought and given. It was important to have the use of a taperecorder as it allowed the researcher more freedom to focus on the participant. van Manen (1990), tells us, that as well as that, when people are telling us personal

lifestories and significances, taping is often easier than writing because 'writing forces the person into a more reflective attitude, which may makes it more difficult to stay close to an experience as it is immediately lived' (van Manen, 1990 p.67). Another benefit of taping was that the interviews were held as close to natural informal conversation as possible. Being relaxed in this situation benefits dialogue no end.

HHA sees interviewing as conversation or dialogue; a joint reflection on a given phenomenon that alters the understanding of both the interviewer and the interviewee, as the diagram highlighted. This allows it to move beyond the individually unique understanding of each participant to the universal shared phenomena of experience. Because using HHA was a new experience for me I carried out two 'pilot interviews' prior to my research in the Cooks. These interviews were very valuable to the research, firstly, they gave me at least some experience in HHA, and secondly, how to go about the interview, and to be relaxed when using a tape recorder. Each interview was later transcribed and although this was an extremely lengthy process, again it was essential in HHA, allowing intimate knowledge of subjects by being able to read and re-read each interview and make the interviews available for the research group analysis.

The research group

Having taped and transcribed the interviews, each interview was discussed within a research team of three members. The seven step process was followed as proposed by Allen, Diekelman and Tanner (1989): see pg 53. The multiple stages allow for contradictions, conflict and inconsistencies to become evident through reappraisals and comparisons. Multiple interpretation throughout also served as a bias control, exposing unsubstantiated meanings, and this is a major strength of the method. Lived experience has a time and a place, and within that we look for themes emerging, follow up with parts of the text to show context and give validity, find a commonality of themes and relationships and come up with a constitutive pattern, as will be discussed fully and brought to light in the next chapter on findings.

Another strength of a research group comes from the diverse backgrounds, combined with a common interest in this field of study. The group setting enables new ideas to be brought forth in different ways and encourages similarities in ideas too, offering a validating strength in this methodology. Validation also came from some participants who, at a later stage, read through the findings and offered comment on

the research done. As the researcher who undertook the interviews I was able to sometimes give a fuller description of the participants to the research group, but other than that no one was 'right' or 'wrong' in offering their thoughts, it was more of a 'too-ing' and 'fro-ing' of ideas where we understood each other and came to a consensus when all ideas were shared. We were all aware of the importance of not just what was written, but to hear what wasn't said, this was achieved by immersing oneself in the text and reading, re-reading and not being afraid to often have a complete change around in ideas.

Having discussed individual interviews, collaborative discussion, or hermeneutic conversations, on the themes and thematic descriptions of interviews were also conducted, the group setting helping to generate deeper understanding. Gadamer (1975), describes the method of conversational relation as 'the art of testing' and the art of testing consists of the art of questioning - meaning to 'lay open, to place in the open' the subject matter of the conversation: 'friends do not try to make the other weak: in contrast friends aim to bring out strength' (van Manen, 1990 p.100).

Most of these interviews were one-off interviews. Munhall suggests that two to three interviews with the same person are more helpful. With more contact more 'reflected' material is usually forthcoming, and you have a chance to mutually agree on the description and interpretation of what was said in previous interviews. If clarification was needed then it was helpful to return to the participants, but this was not possible in most cases due to time restrictions when visiting the islands and subsequent problems of distance on returning to New Zealand.

Asking people to recall, reveal, and construct aspects of their personal life and to discuss what has been meaningful and significant to them is a rich process, one of the strengths of in-depth interviewing is that, generally, people enjoy talking about themselves and their lives; they want to communicate, and if questions are posed carefully, then informants are only too pleased to respond thoughtfully. By asking open ended questions, the researcher is able to learn what is pertinent to the individual, and more importantly something about the identity of that individual and how they construct and define the self in relation to the topic (Gubrium, 1988). Data, then, is not so much collected as created through the collaboration between researchers and informant (Kaufman, 1994; Babbie, 1989; Mackie, 1985). What is crucial is to stay faithful to what was interpreted to you, others' interpreted experience.

The use of HHA provides us with a picture of experiences, one person's view at one moment on topics of significance to them. Each of us start life differently and live through a completely personal stream of differences, one person's style can never honestly suit another's wholly but, interviews provide a forum for exchange of verbal and non verbal information - the spoken and the information that comes from not speaking, from the silences. When participants talk about things significant and meaningful to them this allows, by way of a hermeneutic study, disclosure of issues and concerns in their everyday activities, and an understanding of those issues and concerns. Often people can take their surroundings for granted and rarely bring them to full consciousness, and yet it is the everydayness that can highlight the significant.



CHAPTER FOUR	FINDINGS
---------------------	-----------------

The end of all our exploring
will be to arrive where we started
and know for the first time.

excerpt from T. S. Elliot's, 'Little Gidding'

Heidegger, as we have mentioned, used his phenomenological investigations to capture a phenomenon that many other philosophers had 'passed over' as trivial and not worth attention, that of the importance of 'everyday existence' (Guignon, 1993). 'Everyday existence' or the daily practices we engage in as we live-a-life in a particular context and culture, are those which inform and give meaning to the 'Being' (existence) of individuals and communities. Rather than being 'passed over' as trivial they are of the essence of a people.

In this chapter, on 'findings', we are essentially after what Husserl (1982) called 'the things themselves'; in this instance, to what the elderly Cook Islanders find to be of the essence of their everyday life. *What we seek to unfold is what they themselves find meaningful and significant in their way of living a life in a traditional society undergoing considerable change.* Hence, in the dialogue that comes from the interviews, and with the transcribed texts from the audiotaped interviews, we seek to let unfold from the stories what they tell us is unique to them, and what are their common concerns, meanings and experiences. In particular, what are the lived experiences that highlight what they have found to be meaningful and significant about the change experienced in their 'traditional' lifestyle over the last thirty years or so. Factual status or specific instances in time in these interviews are not so much needed as are descriptions of the essence and nature of an experience, as van Manen (1990) states:

'(to show)...the experience's lived quality and significance of the
experience in a deeper and fuller manner'.

The overall process is a complex one involving, to begin with, developing a courteous and thoughtful relationship with the participants to gain their consent to participate in the study and all that followed. A sensitive deep regard for those that were my elders and came from a different culture and context was of paramount importance. This was greatly assisted by being introduced to Cook Islanders living in New Zealand who, in turn, introduced me to those Cook Islanders who not only had a respected place in the Cook Island community, but who were willing to take me under their wing and introduce me to their culture and to many more Cook Islanders, some of who became participants. It was a heart-warming experience to be treated

as a member of the family by those who acted as my guides and interpreters and who took me in to their homes. It was valuable to have approached and then be greatly assisted by officials of the Cook Islands. All this, I believe, represents Kaufman's (1994), 'inductive theory building' from the bottom up and is absolutely essential in the overall dialogue such as the hermeneutic inquiry this study encompassed.

The process, once the intricacies of the relationship with the participants was established, involved listening attentively, intruding as little as possible, as they told their stories; transcribing the audiotaped interviews; reading and re-reading the texts; and engaging with the research team in a series of steps to analyse the data (the texts) and bring to understanding, what for them, had been the highlights of their lived experience. There is much 'too-ing and fro-ing' with the text as we try to uncover and increase understanding of what they found to be meaningful and significant. Although you, the reader, do not see this process, validation for the findings comes from this 'to-ing and fro-ing' with verbatim parts of the text, that bring you to closer understanding of the themes, relational themes, and the constitutive pattern. The process of hermeneutic inquiry employed in this study made use of the seven step method of textual analysis (p 53) described by Allen, Diekelmann and Tanner(1989). Based on the three strategies of Heideggarian hermeneutic analysis (HHA) developed by Benner (1985, 1988), it extends and refines that approach. This has been discussed in the chapter on methodology and what is revealed in the 'findings' is the application of HHA in this study.

Textual interpretation of the narratives of the participants has revealed four themes, two relational themes and one constitutive pattern. In order to allow you, the reader, to appreciate the validity and appropriateness of the textual interpretation sufficient excerpts from the text are included along with the discussion on what I have found to be unveiled in the telling of their stories. The themes that became revealed through textual interpretation included:

The devil in the can

The tree the wasn't there

Language : in the house of being

An unchanging variant : the church as a constancy

As part of the 'seven step' hermeneutical process, (Diekelmann, Allen, and Tanner, 1989), stage four of the process leads us to identification of relational themes, which arise out of the common meanings in the text, and cut across all texts.

The relational themes that emerged to link the above themes uncovered in this study are perceived to be well described in words gleaned from the participants stories. There are two relational themes:

Remembering is restoring : delight in memories and the self

Prickles and roses : challenges and choices

Similarly, as the process of HHA continued, reading, rereading, interpretation and re-interpretation in stage five made it possible to grasp more clearly the relationships to be found among the common themes. This led to a constitutive pattern, the highest level of hermeneutic analysis being uncovered which cut across all the texts of the participants. It is inherent in the 'stories' of the lived experience of all the older Cook Islanders who took part in the study. The constitutive pattern that showed itself strongly was;

Keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role

These themes, relational themes and the overall constitutive pattern tell us much about the concerns, daily practices, and the meaningfulness and significance of these experiences for the participants.

Significance of the themes

The first theme presented, '**the devil in the can**', represents outside influences and things that have been introduced into the Cook Islands, such as alcohol, tinned food, and so forth. Participants tell of how these things have affected them and disclose how they are part of the 'fabric' of change that have affected them. The other three themes '**the tree that wasn't there**', '**language : in the house of being**', and '**an unchanging variant : the church as constancy**' all show something of the significant changes they have experienced as a consequence of change and how they have been affected and, in many instances, how it has altered significantly the values and practices of their 'traditional' society as expressed through the family, their language, church and so on.

Relations between the themes above, in this process of interpretation, bring us to uncover common relationships, themes emerging that link the participants stories and share significance and common meaning. **'Remembering is restoring : delight in memories'** links what the participants tell us has been meaningful and significant for them, and highlights the importance of sharing stories and remembering the past. The second relational theme, **'Prickles and Roses : challenges and choices'** brings what the participants have said about the past together with what they see now, and compares the two, moving the participants to reflect on what they have seen and what they see for the future, this both challenges their way-of-being, and also, allows them to consider what opportunities and choices are present to them. It lets them reflect on what their telling of their stories has revealed: what it reveals to them of change that can be accepted, tolerated, or rejected and allows them choices.

The constitutive pattern, **'Keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role'**, brings together what all the participants reveal of paramount meaning and significance for them in their daily way-of-life. What is unveiled to us is the deep concern of keeping what is 'their culture', 'their way of life' and the role they see they can play as **'keepers of the way'**, safeguarding what they have come to see as integral parts of their 'traditional' Cook Islands way of life, making the future possible, through the present but by way of the past.

Uncovering the significance and meaningfulness of the themes

The following discussion describes and opens up the nature of the themes, then the relational themes, and finally the constitutive pattern. Sufficient excerpts from the texts are provided to make it possible to appreciate that 'the findings' uncover what the participants have found to be meaningful and significant in their lived experience of *'the influences of modern change on the traditional lifestyle of older Cook Islanders'*. What is interpreted claims to be an uncovering of the 'covered-up-ness' inherent in their life stories. It is not the researchers interpretation of what they 'think' is there: it is what they disclose in the telling of their stories.

THEME #1

THE DEVIL IN THE CAN

The '**devil in the can**' is a theme chosen from a comment made by Papa Mathew. It highlights and represents items which have been introduced into the Cooks; the tinned meat, canned fish, tinned coconut milk, beer, television and so on. All these introduced items represent a changing world and are seen by the majority of participants as undermining what used to be 'traditional' practices and values, practices such as fishing, planting; values such as living-by and appreciating the gifts of the land. Television and video, new foods, alcohol, tourism, and money were all mentioned in the interviews as causing change. The degree to how they affect each participant are different and unique, but there are commonalities. All these factors have become prominent over the participants life times and they comment on the impact this has had for each of them.

Television and video

Each participant who mentioned the change brought about by the television highlighted the struggling dichotomy between good and bad. It was seen to be valuable as an educational tool for learning and as a means of being in touch with what was happening on the other islands and around the world. It was seen to be bad when it was seen to influence the children in ways that would counter traditional values, and to a lesser degree, though still important, daily practices. They express concern as to what children would simulate when they saw, for example, fighting and violence:

Tepou '...ah, well you will find the little ones, they use the small stick, rat-a-tat-tat, rat-a-tat-tat, like that eh, that is from the television and that's, that's the danger of television I think. Learning, children at that stage learning quickly, knowing early how to hurt someone, and that is no good. On the other hand, Kate, it is about an education, with t.v. today well we know what's happening in that country...that's why I say the t.v. is the programme of wickedness and it is also the programme of education. It is up to us to be in charge...'

Enua '...I think the radio is good...for me to hear the news, it is also good for the young children so they can learn English...but the t.v., well I'm not blaming the t.v., its up to the parents to discipline the children...'

Poko '...well some of the things that have been shown on t.v. they are good, we know a lot of things that are happening overseas, what is happening in countries overseas, so I don't think its a bad thing. Concerning children, I don't think its good, its no good. You know these children who are watching t.v., 'cause like, for example, when we see things on t.v the parents can see all these things on t.v., the things that are bad, and the children are seeing this, so um..that's why these peop...these children nowadays know about these things because they see them on t.v. and ah..it happens in all these other countries, so they see this on t.v. and a lot of them learn this...'

Mathew '...part of the problem and part of the help, good and bad. I think it goes back to discipline again. There is a set time for children and there is a set time for parents too...'

Samuel '...good, we understand, we know what happens in New Zealand and Australia for the life. Well the other side, I remember for the life of the children, because not in proper controlling of the t.v. here, well a tape not proper for the children, mixing up...'

Amy '...the programmes are not suitable for the education for the children. I believe in educational programmes for children and adults. The programmes are talking about ah..murders and all these violence, we don't want to look at that, we don't want to know about that, but every day, every night, you don't see anything good, you only see the violence...'

So, what appears strongly is the concern over what is shown on the television and how it may harm the children and their evolving daily practices if they watch the wrong programmes. It is not a rejection of television per-se, but a rejection of programmes that, potentially, and in some instances, actually, are harmful to the children, and thus to the whole society.

Food

For participants the changes in their diet and food had occurred early on and so new foods are not such a big thing, rice and tinned meat (bully beef) have been around as long as they can remember. What has changed is the availability and the new reliance on these such foods, and the resulting changes to the lifestyle such as the need to earn money to afford to pay for the foods. A shift from a subsistence type living to a money driven economy is acknowledged as a big change to the Cook Islands way-of-life.

Mathew '...the changing of the food is the same, first we live on local food and its rich, very rich and the money weren't much, but now the money comes and there is much money on the island and less time to get...for getting the food. So we depend on the money, on the Papa'a and their food...'

(Papa'a - Pakeha)

Tepou '...people eating imported food too much...might be of the taste as one, sometimes we like the luxuries...maybe I will add, I will bring in the laziness, you will find, I find this myself, too many of our young boys loitering in the streets and not doing any planting, I think this is not proper and it worries me...'

'...that life I lived in were mainly the old way of living - we spent it in our plantations and ah...fishing.

Enua '...on the food nowadays, I think this is the difference because when we get hungry you can just run up to the shop and buy a tin of fish or corned beef to eat. It was different in the old days, when you get hungry and there's nothing to eat you go and husk the uto...if you want it its there, but now you have to have the money...before you had no money and you can survive...'

(uto - coconut)

Toka '...most of the food, the kai, we had was local...today no, you can sleep in...and you wake up and the bread is near you, near your lips I would say...'

(kai - food)

'...from what I have seen the imported foods are very easy to come by and I can see the changes in the lifestyle of the people for that...'

Samuel '...but ah..you know the kids, they want ah..new food today, like the noodles and the chopsuee, all those sorts of things, but ah..when the time of, short of food over here, well they (the young) try to talk -"oh..nothing for this and nothing for that, why can't help, just wait for another boat to come back here", then they'll have the tin meat, tin of fish, but plenty of fish in the sea, plenty fish. But it seems to me, better to go back and start to eat our own food, not to ah..not to believe for the tin meat and some of the..well better to eat our food...'

Alcohol

Alcohol is seen now to be a major problem in the Cooks by most of these participants. Alcohol has always existed in the islands in the form of the home brew, however, the participants tell how it was illegal to drink it up until a few decades ago, so much of the drinking that did occur was done in the bush in secret, and so it was kept away from homes, and out of the sight of the law.

What seems to be the problem for these older Cook Islanders is that liquor nowadays can be easily obtained and is readily available in the shops for the young to have access to, and it is now out in the open, so that people drink freely in public.

Mathew '...its the can, the beer. I would say that because drinking Coca-Cola ah..is in the same can, the other drinking, I would say, I think comparing they think oh..same tin, what's the difference, same tin but in one there's a devil inside and the good one is none of that...its inviting, its an inviting drink...'

'...of course we're living in modern days now, where as before there never was any liquor and people make home-brews and they hide it because you're not supposed to have it and it not like here where we sit and enjoy a beer, but not at home now, but now the people are coming and they sit and have a drink, there's been a change with the liquor license I find, yeah...'

Poko '...there's a lot of drinking that has, that's the worst thing happening today that I can see...our families do not fight as much as they do nowadays...'

'...the main thing I can see is alcohol, this would bring problems into the household. In a very good and stable home, when alcohol comes along it starts to ruin it and argue...'

'...in our day we didn't have those things, there's more drinking and its no good, its no good for the young...'

Tepou '...oh - they drink much younger..they drink in a much cleaner way...and sometimes I think its all right, but not too much...'

Enua '...what I can see is the youth today, they are consuming alcohol, I cannot see any good in it. I can only see the damage it causes. When you get drunk the only result that arises is problems within the households. Children are continuously arguing with their parents...I think its peer pressure making them drink, and also to show off...'

'...but now its very many of the family make trouble, I don't know why. Perhaps problems of money, food, children, drinking, those are the problems, but not like before...'

Money

Perhaps one of the greatest changes introduced has been the move to a money or cash economy, instead of their every day practices being based on a subsistence way of living. There has been a large move, during the participants lives, to income generated work so people can afford to buy many of the new things they see, and also to afford what have come to be perceived necessary items such as power, and many other technological changes. The whole system is self perpetuating as people want to try new things but they must have money, so they have to work, so they spend less time on plantations and work that doesn't generate income. For the older Cook Islanders this signifies an erosion of 'traditional lifestyles' and big changes.

Tere '...the life is changing because the um...the people like the European way of life...oh yes, yes I think life in those days is much better, but today I think it looks tidier, to me its tidier, but its harder, see you need the money to go machine, they're trying to get the washing machine but they can't catch up with it, they can't work it...'

Tere '...you great if you got a push bike in your house and now a push bike is no good, you gotta have a car to make it good...'

Kimi '...My uncle had a bakery, he could never make a profit because we know the bread is cooked, cause we smell the bread, so off we go to the bakery, well uncle put the bread out and we all waiting there, we start eating, there's no profit...I think he's pleased about going to his grave ...well he didn't get used to it because our main thing is the family together...we visit and then you go and visit, 'oh, we got extra here, here you take this back home', that's what we do, now you have to buy them, big changes...'

Enua '...I think nowadays everything depends on money, that's what is disadvantageous about today, you need money, if you have money then you can get a lot of things...if you get sick, well only to hop on a plane, not like the old days, that's what I can see, good benefits are money and transportation...the children that are being educated, I think that they are benefiting most out of this era...this will help them in the future, and also to help their parents and the people of Manihiki. The disadvantages is only being caused by a few youths because they aren't making good use of their time, so they try and influence the ones that are trying...'

Enua '...our life here is still free...even if I don't work for an income, I will survive even if I have no money...you are controlled by money, when you get paid you are happy, but not for me...'

Mana '...we were reliable on what we have, no money. Money income doesn't matter to us, but now we are advancing, changing and ah..money economy is coming in and ah..subsistence living has gone by, now its up to the people to take their choice...'

Mana '...As the money economy comes, and that change I think is suitable for our way of living. It is very necessary but we've got to learn in a sort of experiencing ways, things like that. Things will not work out sometimes, but we got to know how to balance it so that it will work, get a balance if possible...'

Tourism

Tourism is very important to the Cook Islands, and it is a catalyst for providing avenues of change and provides income for many people. But they reveal the importance of finding a balance between being cautious in relation to introduced change and acknowledging and accepting what is of value and capable of enhancing and not diminishing traditional values and everyday practices. They look to monitoring its impact so preservation of the culture, it is hoped, remains number one.

Amongst those bringing in these influences are the tourists, this is mainly the case in Rarotonga and Aitutaki (of the islands I visited), the other two islands, Rakahanga and Manihiki rarely get tourists to the islands because of the distance and costs, as well as there not being any tourist facilities. However, tourism for all the islands is an issue that the participants discussed, the first two islands discussing its significance now, as it affects them, and the latter two discussing what effect it might have and how to be ready for it.

'...I think sometimes the tourist is a good thing, what I think because they bringing money into the country but sometime I think that they the thing that spoiled the place...'

Toka '...yeah we like the tourists, its alright. Tourists is playing their part, they are not ah..coming here and destroying us and destroying that...they bring in money for people...'

Enua '...I think tourists are o.k because when they come, like we're here and there's no money, maybe I have a pearl, and when they come I don't have any money, so I can approach them and sell my pearl, so that's quite good because I can get some money to buy clothes and food...'

Enua '...maybe there are other areas which are not so good because of the tourists ...some tourists come just wearing a bra or bikini, us Manihikians do not like the bikinis or the shorts...'

Samuel ‘...I’m not in favour for the tourism over here...I think that too many problems will happen in the future...what I think, it doesn’t matter if some of the people say “oh, better for the tourist for the money”, well man is bigger than money, if no man, no money, okay...’

Kimi ‘...ah, oh its alright, motels are going up, boarding houses are going up and ah takeaways is going up, you know everybody is out to make money, sort of thing. Whereas there might have only been a few business people, bakeries and things like that, but now every body is out to make money. Whereas before peoples are quite happy, they’ve got no money and they plant and they, well I survived eighteen years, we had no money but it didn’t matter. Yeah, now the more you get the more money you want...’

Amy ‘...its alright but they have a different way of life, they come here to enjoy themselves, there’s nothing wrong with that...because that’s their way of life ...but I’m saying our people do not see the difference, they think that is a way of life for them to live and its not. For us we have to have a different way of life because we live here all the time, we’re no tourists, okay we can enjoy ourselves by doing what we are supposed to do, in that way we can’t just ignore what we do, and go and do what the tourists do, go and drink in the hotels, you know, that is not a way of life. This is the way I think, there are more hotels on the island now and more drinking and night clubs, more drinking for the young ones. In our days we didn’t have those things, there’s more drinking and its no good, its no good for the young, drinking is always no good whatever people say drinking is no good. You look around and what do you see, broken homes, broken families, when we argue in front of our children this is our way of life...’

Amy ‘...there have been certain things that have been created for the tourists, to satisfy the needs of the tourists, which I believe isn’t our real way of life...’

So it seems that for many of the participants the changes that they see as significant are those that are undermining their traditional way-of-living and that this transition is harder for them, not just because they have been used to another way of living, but that it separates them from their old way-of-life. It seems the ‘devil in the can’ has been introduced and is here to stay, and with it comes a change in life style. They seek a way to increase understanding of all the effects of change and for a more informed way of accepting or rejecting other possibilities in the daily practices of their life.

THEME #2

THE TREE THAT WASN'T THERE

'**The tree that wasn't there**' is a theme that is significant in representing and highlighting the changes participants have seen, the effect of the 'devil in the can' if you like. Whether the participants have lived some of their life overseas or have moved to other islands within the Cooks, when they return to their own island, their stories tell us about the change of one kind or another and what they report highlights what they have found to be of particular meaning and significance. '**The tree that wasn't there**' represents a summation of what is revealed as important to them in the changes experienced on returning, expectantly, to familiar, deeply remembered and loved daily life practices. Like a tree that they have seen grow or have walked past everyday on the way to school, and then one day it has gone, been chopped down or uprooted and left barren or been replaced with something different, these participants have seen changes to their family, to the community and so on. The tree is symbolic of these changes.

Tere '...well I, if I compare life and my days life, I think I like mine, yeah, because that kind of, they always coming back in my mind. I feel sad about it, when you go back and you think oh..., in your mind the tree is there and after seeing it, but when you back its no, gone eh, somebody has chopped it down and the faces of the people is different...'

Tere '...when I think about it and go back...oh I used to sit here, we used to, you know, you think about a group of guys being on that spot, you know that's where the spot is but it's different, it's different, that's what worries me...'

'...my generation is not there any more...'

Tere '...the people are not there any more, they are somewhere (else), so its not so many people now. Those are the things that hit me back home, sometimes I feel cry...'

For the islanders, like Tere and Kimi who have travelled out of their islands to live, their roots still seem to remain firmly in the Cooks and most of all on the island they grew up on. The place of birth and acculturation of their early years is, as it were, the mirror through which they look at subsequent lived experiences. As Tere talks about how the '**faces of the people is different**' and '**its different, that's what worries me**', there is a deep sense of passion, passion about their feelings and about how they look back and reflect on the way things were and the way things are now. Having

experienced change outside the islands, they seem accepting that the process of change will occur and keep happening to their island. They accept the dynamics of change but, in doing so, they lament, also, the ‘rapidly fading sunset’ of days gone by:

Tere ‘...yeah, sad in a way I guess...its not the same now, well not that I know of, this last trip I noticed that...when I think about it and go back..oh I used to sit here, we used to, you know you think where the spot is but its different, its different, that’s what worries me...’

‘...its a shame, I myself think my generation is just right in the middle of both thing eh, the past and the new, you know. I think that’s, it is hard for me to ah..what I think in the past is always make me feel sad, yeah, because you miss it, because you are going into something different now and you learn it again, to me you learn it again for your next life. You know in the past is a lot easier, but in my own thinking now, if I ever go back to the old life, what I used to know I, I might buy a fridge, no maybe a house, that kind of..but most of the things that go back save, the olden days way...’

For all the participants, whether they have travelled outside of their island or not, there are several factors that they reveal as significant in the change they experience to their traditional lifestyle. What follows next are concepts of this theme; ‘family’, and ‘outside influences’ and expressive comments about the effects of change experienced.

Family

The family is, for most Cook Islanders, the most important ‘institution’. As we discussed in a previous chapter, it offers a place or an environment where we are loved and taken care of and it is also where we learn values and practices. The participants told how the family has responsibility for teaching the young about their culture, and for disciplining them, and so on. They sensed that the respect for the older members of the family was fading and that this made it harder for them to teach the young and to pass on what they valued as important. This sense of loss about cultural mores is prevalent in comments about the influence of the television and so on:

Toka ‘...ah very hard to tell them what to do because changing times and they hate picking that rubbish up...ah..they don’t, but they want to listen video, ...watch the video, play music and sleep and sleep, that’s ah hobby...’

‘...and if you talk to them something, they don’t want to listen to you...’

Toka ‘...well its good and bad. Well why we get the video because that’s the only way to keep them inside so they won’t go out...so they can stay at home with us...’

Tere ‘...well I, heard even my, my brothers children, they got to yell and yell and yell for the kids to listen to what they say, they talk and the kids don’t take any notice of it, I think that is now is not, but I think it is this kind of t.v., all those kinds of things in the house is spoiling it...’

There is this genuine deep rooted concern that practices from the past are being challenged and that the children are going to come up against trouble or cause it. I’m sure this is the case with every generation who compares their way of growing up with that of their offspring’s, but it does not lessen the worry they reveal when showing concern for their family and the young. Not only the fear of losing traditional culture to the television and other such impacts, but to see their family changing:

Samuel ‘...ah what I can say for the young people today, ah...if you start to talk to them, well they say.. “that’s the time of the past time”...’

Samuel ‘...I feel worried about it, now seeing the ah...young people today, they are easily coaxed with the worst ideas..I, I hope and I’m always hoping that our old people today will, will think very hard about their future for their own family...’

Outside Influences

Introduced change comes not only from visitors or tourists to the Cooks, many of the things that have been seen as significant factors of change for the participants have been introduced by Cook Islanders who have been overseas and then returned back to their islands with new ideas. The introduction of new ideas is seen as good and bad. It is recognised that it can’t be stopped since change is a natural part of living - it just is. It is, however, understood, also, that people cannot be prevented or be denied from seeing or trying what other people have. But it is recognised that these changes are undermining ‘traditional’ ways of living and this is a worry for the participants. Regulating the change is a common solution for these participants and this will be discussed more fully under the constitutive pattern - ‘**Keeper of the Way**’. The following are comments with regard to outside influences:

Mathew ‘...outside influence, our people going overseas with their children and coming back with their influence, they come back and they practice with these innocent people...’

Mathew ‘...the family that went to New Zealand, they’re the ones that erupt, stir, cause the problems, they don’t come and join...the Papa’a, their foreign ways to the island, it doesn’t suit...the standard is fit for big countries...’

Mathew ‘...now I would say, ignoring, stopping and leaving our heritage of planting using rope, we are, we live in a laziness, put on the Papa’a, the Papa’a roof...’

‘...well its different nowadays, there’s a lot of European things around, its not the same as it is today, its very different...’

THEME #3

LANGUAGE : IN THE HOUSE OF BEING

Language for all of us is central, meaning is made intelligible by it. Language, then, is not only fundamental for the dialogue of this study but is fundamental to every persons way-of-being in the world. Language is shown, by the participants, to be significant and meaningful in their lives. Language distinguishes us and is understood by the participants to be a unique part of their cultural identity. The native language, Cook Island Maori, is very widely spoken on the islands and is seen by the participants as crucial in linking and holding on to their traditional culture. All the customs, ceremonies, and traditions are conducted in Maori, so the loss of the language would be a loss of great magnitude as it is central to what it means to be a Cook Islander and its loss would be a serious impediment to holding on to their ‘traditional’ everyday life practices. Language is also central to Heideggarian philosophy. Heidegger referred to ‘language’ as the ‘house of Being’ and ‘in this house man has his abode’. Not only do things come into existence through language, but they can collapse without it. The participants in this study all revealed how important it was to preserve Cook Island Maori and the central role the language had in the culture.

Tepou ‘...well I would say that our language is our very important culture, we must not lose it and every child, if he is an Aitutakian child, should be able to talk in Aitutakian and know the tradition of Aitutaki and can tell something about his own culture and his own people. Today I think it is being lost, maybe it is getting low in standard I think, now I think that the way, way it should be brought up to a better level is through the school...’

'...the English language is very important, and Maori is, I say, ah..I would say Maori is our first language...'

'...ah..in the school there should be a program to make children know about history...they've got to know this as a basis of their being Cook Islanders, of their being or a race...'

Dialogue with the text in this theme reveals that these participants have grown up in families in communities in which Cook Island Maori has been the common tongue and medium, but, also, English by missionary teachers was spoken. For participants the new language is not revealed as a matter of conflict, so much as an appreciation of acquiring another language of a wider, more universal usage.

Many participants reveal themselves to be at home in both languages but it is this 'being at home' in their own language first, that brought them to be comfortable with both. The concern they reveal about language is that **their young are not at home in either language**, Maori or English and nor can they be if their family and the school are not pushing for Cook Island Maori language and Cook Island culture.

Amy '...No we didn't speak English at school, we speak Maori, but we were made to speak English, ah..so you don't speak when you can't speak English, you don't, you just keep quiet and you speak when the teacher is away, when your enemy is away, you speak Maori to your friends and you both don't tell, Oh...yes you get a hiding, oh..you get shot for speaking Maori, I was never strapped because I am a clever girl, I am cunning...'

'...I'm worried its going, it is going. Some people are not very careful, for example my own children, I'm the only one who speaks Maori to them and they understand, I make sure...it is sad, they have no basis of thinking, you know they can't think in English, they have no basis of thinking, they can't think in Maori because they can't speak it, they have no basis of thinking...'

The above dialogue shows their thoughts as to the centrality of language. As Heidegger emphasises, it is language that is distinctive to the human way of being and its use and recognition makes people stand 'tall'. As you can see from the dialogue, language gives these participants an identity and a base for what is 'Cook Island'. There is a sadness and a marked sense of loss of the diminished use of the language, Cook Island Maori.

In the 'traditional' lifestyle, there was thought to be, by these participants, more family togetherness, and greater parental responsibility for the education of the

young. The next excerpts tell of the significance of what they perceive to be changes in the use of Maori language.

Amy ‘...I think it is the Maori who are ignoring their own language, they are looking down, looking small on their language...’

Mana ‘...I think that we ourselves should learn our own language before we get on with English...we have to deal with one language, not 13 or so (in reference to the 13 Cook island dialects)...’

‘...well the language will stay but it will become mixed language, like ah.. pidgin language...’

Tepou ‘...well the education at the time I was going to school, I, I would say it is not as good as it is today and the..teachers weren’t as good as the teachers today also...discipline was very, very high, very high, well comparing today I would say the discipline of the children of that time is much better than today, very obedient the children in those days...’

Mathew ‘...what I know through the education previously was, was the base is discipline, discipline, that’s the key, respect, obedience and trust...the standard of the children and the adults of the day, previously, was very outstanding...they trust, honour parent, it started from the home, second the church and third the education...’

THEME #4

AN UNCHANGING VARIANT : THE CHURCH AS A CONSTANCY

This next theme follows on aptly from the importance of language, and relates to the importance of belief. For the participants I interviewed, and for most of the older Cook Island generation, one very distinctive constancy seems to be found in the church, or it is looked to as a constancy at least. It is experienced strongly as a constancy that is intrinsic to their traditional way-of-being. Faith seems to be very meaningful and to provide an important stability for the participants. The church, as has been mentioned, is relatively new to Cook Island history, being introduced by missionaries in 1821 and taken to the many islands in following years by both European and newly converted Cook Island missionaries. As it evolved, however, it has become a distinctly ‘traditional’ part of Cook Island society. It has an important place for the participants, inextricably interwoven into the fabric of their ‘culture’.

Enclosed alongside the love and regard for the family is the love and respect for the church. One can't say yet whether the church is going to fade with less of the young attending and with more denominations coming in, but, for these participants the church is seen as a 'constancy' and, they perceive it to offer standards and values for understanding and meaning for the types of change they are experiencing and are on-going.

Mathew '...No the church won't fade, because that's the strong belief, only the problem is people changing their religion, that's the fading and discipline, and why I think its also the parent I would say...'

Kimi '...like the church is our basic thing, it hasn't changed at all, what we do at home with the church, yeah it hasn't changed at all...well it hold the community together I think, as a whole, even all the other islands in the Cooks, we all see the church as important, yeah. It is the one culture that hasn't changed...'

Toka '...its still the same, maybe that's why..more people stay away from church...because nowadays we have a lot more knowledge of these kinds of different things, like we understand more, so that's why we have so much variety, not only in our worship but in religion as a whole...'

'...the way of the church been right from the old, old days, never will change, I don't think it will change...'

Tere '...ceremonies and all those things are still going on, ceremonies and Sunday service still the same, just a matter of less people, now the service feels different, there's lower, like its going down, you know, not like it used to be. But the service, all kinds of those ceremonies or whatever is still there, but it is just not enough people to bring it up again to keep it what it used to be...the church can go without anyone in it at all, I believe, see if not all people, there only a couple or ten, the church can go ahead with it, the same way, no problem there, but it just no one around. See in our big church, see four old ladies there, or two can sing it, just one old man go with it, the whole thing is just like when you listen to a big crowd, you know 'cause they manage to use it, but they never die. the church never die, but the people will, but the church never die...'

Tepou '...before the community was very strong, Kate, we'd have a meeting to discuss many things, now its very weak, the ah..the custom of going to church is gradually fading away...I worry about this, there are something outside the church distracting the attendance of our young people today...'

'...well it hold the community together, I think...we all see the church as important, it is the one culture that hasn't changed, you know, still remains the same from way back...'

‘...worshipping, no, still continue our own, ah..our Cook Islands way...’

The church is seen as a ‘last’ hope, if the participants can hold on to it then they can hold on to certain values and keep the community and family together.

Whatever the origin of the participants, the way-of-life they express as in accordance with their beliefs and practices goes deeper than an assumed identity, it reveals itself to be a significant, distinctive part of the Cook island culture. Like language and family values, if the church fades from Cook Island lifestyle, they are concerned that along with it will go much of ‘traditional life’.



RELATIONAL THEMES

‘The Contours of our memories are much like the features of a distant landscape: we cannot be sure of what we think we see is what is really there. nonetheless, memories, however ephemeral they may be, are essential to our sense of self.’

(Hendricks, 1995 p.1)

In the hermeneutic process, as mentioned earlier, these themes we have just introduced are able to be linked as relational themes, themes emerging that cut across all the texts and identify common meanings embedded in the stories. Although these were all individual stories, you can already see how themes have emerged and how they relate from the stories the participants told. This next step in the HHA process ‘pulls out’ the linkages between the themes and shows how they merge into the two relational themes uncovered from the ‘stories’ of the participants. The relational themes are;

**‘Remembering is restoring : delight in memories of the self’; and
‘Prickles and roses : challenges and choices’,**

They bring together from their ‘stories’ what the participants highlight as significant regarding ‘things introduced’ like **‘the devil in the can’** and ‘things being undermined’ like **‘the tree that wasn’t there’, ‘language : in the house of being’** and **‘an unchanging variant : the church as constancy’**. These draw together how the participants remember and compare ‘how it is now’ with ‘how it was then’, and having to make the best of changes by making choices and facing the challenges.

The first relational theme highlights how putting significant and meaningful memories to dialogue proved to be a very rewarding experience for all the participants. On thoughtful reflection important parts of their life have been highlighted for the participants and brought back memories of their ‘traditional’ days. Their remembering has been restorative of how it was it and how has been for them alongside of how it challenges them presently, and directs their thoughts to the possibilities of how it may be.

The oldest form of building historical consciousness in the community is story telling, the transfer of knowledge, skill, and value from one generation to the next. Similarly when I interviewed the participants there was a conscious awareness of historical building; for myself, for them, and for those of you who will read this.

REMEMBERING IS RESTORING : DELIGHT IN MEMORIES AND THE SELF

The participants disclose a deep satisfaction in acknowledging, through the telling of 'their' stories, the worth of traditional values, beliefs and practices that they experience. In these interviews, and through textual interpretation, it was not difficult to unveil that the 'traditional' way of life was central, was deeply expressed as their 'way of being', and that there was a marked sense of longing to return to the 'old days'. As the participants glance in the mirror to portraits of their past they look back on significant and meaningful times. What is disclosed is a sense of tolerance and regret, a sense of loss, of sadness at the losses or the differences they have observed and felt. Interestingly, also, they express a sense of restoration. In telling their story of how it has been for them as a Cook Islander facing marked change they have been able to re-affirm their 'traditional' way of living a life. In this relational theme much relates to the idea of 'knowing-and-being-known' and the 'contentment-in-belonging' there is present a calmness in remembering and a dignity and a pride of having lived their lives; and a dignity and sense of value in giving meaning to the new within the old. Remembering, then, not only restores but it underlines what the participants are becoming.

'...I think that, that the past, those days were a lot better than, than today...'

Samuel '...you know we had enough strength and we were willing to do these things, and that's what we wanted to do...so that's what we used to do...what I know in those days, the life was very good, these days what I can see is not very good...'

Tepou '...very happy times, I tell you honestly, I remember someone saying "I cannot forget the old times, the very old times, the good old times"
...and I agree very much...'

Tepou '...before there is unity, there is unity in the, the thinking of peoples and they love being together...today's people seem to think of their own self and, and not of other people, not of their community and not of benefit to the island...'

There is a feeling of satisfaction of old ways and traditional management, these participants survived easily on what they had and express their enjoyment of surviving off the land.

Tere '...we only survive by our oranges, we pick our oranges and sell them and the food on the land, we have plenty of food, except we haven't got any money, ah..to buy a few new clothes and so on, extra luxury things, but on the whole we are happy as we were, we are not poor, we are alright...'

'...whereas before people are quite happy, they've got no money and they plant and they well, I survived eighteen years, we had no money but it didn't matter. Now the more money you get, the more money you want...'

Amy '...you know we all like to sit together you know, I think it makes people much closer to have the one room...the beds on the floor, it makes us all together you know, one big family, one big extended family and we used to have that...'

Utter satisfaction seems to show itself when the participants relive some of their early life, dusting off their memories to reveal an 'unbreakable cord' with the past - a two-way cord that relates to the past and the present, but with its deepest roots in the past.

PRICKLES AND ROSES : CHALLENGES AND ACCEPTABLE CHOICES

This second relational theme is focused around participants having to face up to challenges and make choices. In the themes in which they reflect on the influences of change; the effects of alcohol, new food, tourism and so on, what they all seem to do is then, to reflect and compare in order to perceive more clearly how to meet the challenges and choices they face. The participants have all lived long enough to have seen enormous technological, lifestyle and moral changes in their world. Their strategy for coping can be likened to embracing a rose bush, not only do they experience painful cuts into their 'way-of-being' but the scent of the bush pleases and exhilarates, thus, they can pluck the reward of being able to straddle both the modern and the traditional world with a manageable tension between the 'pain' and the 'promise'. This gives them a vantage point that permits them to philosophise and see the marriage of these two worlds. They are able, from their vantage point to prepare themselves and to help others to deal with the changing lifestyles. The following excerpts highlight their recognition of change and how they feel about it.

Enua '...I think I will accept the changes of today, the old days are in the past.. we have tasted the goodness of the past...and some lessons of the past can be applied today...we must be able to judge what is good and bad, today I will accept that life is a lot better...'

'...I feel sad if we get the change, I think it is the development and I hope we should not try and rush development on the island...'

Samuel '...well the problem today, when this young generation, there's not ah..people, there's only a few over here, so they didn't tell a lot about their past, these young ones, not many have been told...its very hard then to give the children education, experience from the past...ah..it seems to me our old custom here, our Manihiki culture, I don't like to forget all this, I don't like. but its better for me to teach to my children to understand and try to pass to their ones for the future time...'

'...the real culture is fading away. Yeah..to match the times...because its olden times, forget about the old time, look for the future, yes that's right, but the future didn't make the culture, its those old people that make the culture. So they are changing culture to match the times...'

'...I don't see anything that, that'll harm the people, all these changes because the changes go with the times. The way people live and ah..work, people work so they have to change their way of life to fit the time...'

What is revealed in these stories is that no changes are only imposed from without, exteriorly driven, but that they also stem from within. Responsibility in making acceptable choices comes, then, from monitoring the change, and not being 'closed' to naturally evolving change.

As the participants have evolved and continue to evolve they have to make choices and these will have meaning and significance within the cultural patterns they value. Their identity emerges as being intricately linked to culture, language and religion, and so, in order to keep much of what is 'traditionally' Cook Islands, they have to be active participants in sustaining what they value, becoming the 'gate keepers' of the way, of their Cook Islands way.

CONSTITUTIVE PATTERN

'We are what we remember: the actions we lived through or should have lived out and which we have chosen to remember' Albert Wendt

KEEPERS OF THE WAY : PLAYING A SUSTAINING ROLE

This constitutive pattern pulls together the significance of the traditional life and how important it is for these participants to pass on what they treasure as important in their culture. The constitutive pattern is one that is inherent in all the texts. Like the seven step process that we go through as researchers, what emerged from the participants was also like a process in the telling of their stories. Participants seemed to evolve with their dialogue where they first talked about changes, their meaning, and significance, what caused them. This then lead them to talk about what effects the changes had and how they were undermining certain values and practices. This brought the participants to remember what they did, as compared to what happened nowadays, that was remembering and restoring: which led them, also, to wonder as to what would happen in the future to their Cook Islands 'way-of-life'; and, then to deep concern and thought as to what responsibilities the changes beckoned them to.

As we read through the stories we are made aware of the deep concern for further generations, and for efforts to keep alive the continuation of culture, Cook Island culture. The stories are not full of irrational fears or over reactions to changes, but rather show a deep concern to preserve all that is beneficial, and to be affirmative of change as appropriate to their context and culture. What is evident is a resolute determination to remain 'translator' or interpreter of the heritage of the 'traditional' ways-of-living-a-life, '**Keepers of the Way**'.

Amy '...I like to enrich my identity, be proud of the Maori...I have to keep up what has been given to me, if I don't keep it up then I am guilty of losing it, I value that...'

'...if we really sit down and work out the advantages, what are...the basic rules we should lay down, so that we don't break down something really good that's been good along, o.k, to keep our identity...'

'...well things like our culture, we are drifting away into the Pakeha culture, and I said we are losing our national feeling about ourselves, we have not looked in the past and see how we grew, and then looked at the position now what we are doing, and be able to plan ahead how we should be going...'

Mathew '...I would say if we have a good leadership, a leadership that works and gives us good advice and good things, but we can also choose, select, then we can have a happy life to seek, to seek what we can, to seek things that will bring good...'

'...I can say if there is change then we have to consider very carefully ah.. what could be done to control the change and ah..let us have the changes, but it must be control...'

The significant concern for these participants is the effect changes will have on the next generation, on their grandchildren. They know they can hold on to what they see as 'traditional' because they have lived that 'way-of-life', but their grandchildren and great grandchildren, who are face to face with new experiences, are a big concern for the participants. There is this feeling of 'who will look after our grandchildren' and teach them the values and practices that the participants hold as important and traditional.

There is expressed regret at some changes that are harmful to the new generations and that without care the Cook Island people may miss the vital opportunity of holding onto and handing on their culture. There is also an expressed need and want to remember and sustain what is inherent in the Cook Island society, what is not so much unchanging in form but immutable and core to their daily life-world.

'...well it depends on the old people here, our duty to teach them...teach all the young girls how to plait hats, mats, these sorts of things...before, not now, they're getting lazy now. Well I'm shamed for the young girls who do not know how to do that. They should know...I say its our culture, Cook Islands culture, Islands culture, church culture...'

'...At school I know we did a lot of this tradition ah..items, performances all about our own people, tribal wars, ah..ocean travelling canoes and all this sorts. We performed them and they were , the stories and the singing and all this were, you know, ringing in the minds of the children at the time. Anytime, sometimes you see them in a group, they were singing, they were singing about it because its there all the time. Like today, who can remember it...So what we can do today is, as I said earlier on, you got to do it at school, we had it on a programme at school and why we didn't have it today, you know its just a matter of giving it a room on the timetable, and maybe doing just a little bit...'

'...The role of the grandpeople, the old people, we set examples to our little ones, we need to tell them what they should do...'

'...So I remember in some years ago, not very long from now um..school go, our school here went to Rarotonga and they perform, school children, well they did very well, school children, yes. Where are these children, they are fathers and mothers today, they should be the one, I would say Kate, to pass it on to their children and again the education there, they should not stop, they should continue doing it, doing it, they should not stop, it will come back...'

Amy '...I should think there should be an education programme for the youth club, a purpose for them to meet, oh..an hour and a half a night, and then after that, games, and hour and a half of learning about bringing up a family. Well that's, those are some of the solutions that I, I believe should be carried on to bring back discipline, this control and this influence from the outside, especially the bad ones, there's nothing wrong with the good ones, and establish to, to contain the language, Maori language speaking in the homes. There are some of the topics that should be, and I think we can't really talk about, okay, the topics like drinking and so on, you know there is a beginning of say that, we can't just talk from that, unless you solve the beginning, then you get the rest in place, when you start from the back then you can never get it back, you can never get it back, you have to start from the beginning...'

These participants show they have a deep, serious concern for the young to the extent that they are committed to finding ways of working and helping them in establishing ordered ways of living-a-life, that will be satisfying and meaningful for them and of benefit to everyone.

Life is this continual spiral, taking on new change at various points and various levels, leaving behind old ways in the same manner, assuming different importance so that the present is possible by way of the past, through the future. As change beckons what these participants show is that they are able to evolve within the known.

'...well I've adjusted to this life because I've had to...

Question - If you had a choice would you...

'...well I would have taken both, this is the only choice so I'm quite used to it...'

Mathew '...we are in this world, we have to go on...'

Mathew '...the good things of the past, hold it as we go along, keep, keep, well like training, you need to keep exercising...'

Enua '...but that's how life goes on, it changes...'

‘...I find great joy in teaching my grandchildren to do the right thing and to know the difference between good and bad...’

‘...I don’t think our culture should change, it is fine, but we should teach the next generations because today it is important that they learn the culture...’

The participants reveal people who are happy in their life, measuring their present from the past things they have experienced, Heidegger also derives the insight that human being is always orientated toward future possibilities, characterising their way of being and using it as a ‘yard stick’ and in doing so they make visible a future for themselves and their ‘young’. As Heidegger said: ‘History as a happening, is acting and being acted upon which, passing through the present, is determined from out of the future and takes over the past’ (Guignon, 1993 p.25). To embrace and understand what is coming enables them to, in some measure, control what it will mean to be for them. Identity throughout the interviews emerges as being intricately tied to the culture, context and language and this has an appearance of a humanness that has a great capacity to identify, accept and live with the sometimes uncomfortable dynamics inherent in change, or, living a life.

There is a warm sense of belonging and in recollecting with pride a nostalgic yearning for the ‘ways we lived our lives’. But the past is not remote, it is inherent in the present and from it a future is emerging.

‘...a combination of the old and new, you’ve got to have change, you know, to fit in with the way of life, you got to have these changes but you got to be careful of these changes, what are these changes, the outcome of these changes, what are the advantages and disadvantages...’

Enua ‘...So I think it is better to follow the things of today, because we have tasted the goodness of the past, so we eat the food of today...’

Amy ‘...If you have a sick nation, what would you expect, expect everything to be sick. You’ve got to have healthy people, you, you got to have not only educated people, sometimes those educated people, their minds go crooked because their ideas are so, but they haven’t had the experience, they’ve got to be working together, the ideas and the experience, sometimes the ideas win, good at talking but they’re not good at practical...’

Spiegelberg highlights Heidegger’s parallelism between temporality in its three phases of future, present, and past and this is what we see emerging in the participants’ stories: ‘the three aspects of *Sorge* in which we are ahead of ourselves toward the possibilities of future existence, immersed in the facticity of our past, and ‘fall for’ the escapes of our present’ (Spiegelberg, p.335). The sense of wholeness in these participants shows a capacity

to acknowledge and to live with change, and to adapt, as best they can, with change that is not in too much conflict with their core way of being; mourning the loss of culture, but making the most of new found freedoms, embracing new things and trying them out but being able to refrain from negative change or change that undermines. There are strong concerns that come through in the texts, as mentioned in the earlier themes, but whilst there is concern, there is also acceptance.

Like the game, 'rock, paper and scissors', these participants are faced with choices:

Amy **'...they talk about pride, they talk about Christianity, they talk...but its all talk, its all a painting over...you look really inside and there's a little bit of glass or a little bit of coconut shell, or a little bit of something, stone over there, you know its not all stone, all coconut shell, all glass, its a mixture of everything, good and bad. You touch a piece of glass and you have to be careful because you'll cut your fingers alright, coconut shell takes longer to cut, its blunt but the glass is sharp. You know you have both of these within that, you know...'**

The past has provided the significance and meaning to the participants of a way-of-life that has made them who and what they are today. Within that there is a constancy in what the participants disclose as important and significant to them, a constancy of being grounded in themselves. It is based on many factors; space, place, time, being and more, but the constancy is them, in them; the strength is inherent in them and as 'keepers of the Cook Island way' they are playing a crucial sustaining role. They represent and hold within them the 'wisdom' of the generations. A wisdom that is not static; but it has roots, growing roots that search and find new places and regions for their growth, finding new and renewable ways of sustaining what is intrinsic to the Cook Islands way of life.

The findings from these eight participant's interviews reveal to us, as the listeners and the readers, many of their experiences of dealing with change in their life. Through this dialogue the participants moved from highlighting change (the what) to showing its effects (the how). Themes were able to be linked to relational themes; **'remembering is restoring : delight in memories and the self'** which revealed to us how important memories are in making a possible future and what these participants were making of the new change; **'Challenges and acceptable choices'**. As a final step in the hermeneutical analysis, a constitutive pattern linked to the themes and the relational themes expresses how important it was for these participants to be playing an active role in their country's future and in the change

they saw. They have moved from observers to actors in playing a sustainable role as 'gate keepers' to the Cook Islands future. Throughout this chapter has emerged the core of the participants being of living a life during much change.



DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

**New Zealand is a
Polynesia:**

Hey Daughters of the Hibiscus
Sons of the Sea and Sand.

Remember the old plantation
That we worked with the sweat of our hand
Caressing life at our fingertips.

Land
That was our families
and forever ours.

Do you remember?

Here, our home, our land, is not ours

It belongs to the mortgage
the finance company
the housing corp
the debt collectors

It belongs to a thousand pieces of paper
But its ours too...until a better place comes along.

Do you understand?

Here, my father works in the shadow
Of the flashing arlight and thus said he :

Learn well
Open wide the books
Learn how to earn the bucks everyday
Learn how to do it the Palagi way.

So what now

I know who we were
I know who we want to be
But who are we now?

Is there an answer

Daughters of the Hibiscus
Sons of the Sea?

For the
Sons of Todds
And the Daughters of the Late Night Cleaning.

All I hear is Silence.

- **Fa'afetai Ta'ase** (in Loomis, T 1990)

In this study into the influence of modern change on the traditional lifestyle of older Cook Islanders it was hoped that we could capture the ‘essence’ of everyday living from the participants, letting the participants show, through their interviews, the significance and meaningfulness of living a life during marked change. Throughout this process much of the participants way-of-life was revealed, this is the strength of Heideggarian hermeneutic analysis. HHA explores the participants way of being and everyday life practices and, also, allows them to thoughtfully consider what opportunities and choices are presented to them. It lets them reflect on what their telling of their stories has revealed: what it reveals to them of changes that can be accepted, tolerated or rejected. The participants provided a rich tapestry of unique stories, a cultural and historical look at how they have lived a life during change. A look that when put with the other stories showed not only the unique but the commonalties as well, and the pattern inherent in them all; that of the value they place on their culture, and their Cook Island way of life. To gain understanding as to the meaningfulness and significance of these stories we identified themes, emerging from those were relational themes and finally our constitutive pattern: ‘Keepers of the way : playing a sustaining role’.

Cook Islanders are, as you can see from these participants, now asserting their concerns for the future of their islands in many ways. Much of what is ‘Cook Island’ has been lost along the way, but hope hasn’t been, there is the hope that skills and systems can be re-vitalised. For thousands of years the fortunes of the Cooks have been shaped and reshaped and will continue to be shaped. Buzacott, in Beaglehole (1957), wrote;

Certainly there have been changes on the periphery of life (tools, clothing, communications, religion, power), but despite these changes the people have remained tenaciously Polynesian, with their own characteristic social life, their own values and emotional attitudes, their own motivations and interests’.

This is very relevant even today, if you go to the Cooks there is certainly something ‘tenaciously Cook Island’ish’ about the place. Yes there have been changes, but there is still a special feel and pride about being a Cook Islander. Even for those Islanders I interviewed in New Zealand, their home will always be in the Cooks. According to Sissons (1995), beyond the ‘traffic flows’ of this ‘international intersection’ through which 50000 tourists flow and ideas flow, beyond all this, remain ‘distinctive island identities’ which in some respects are being strengthened...

'local titled leaders are seeking greater autonomy...new marae are being built, ancient marae restored, in the midst of all this, a new sense of nationhood is emerging'.

Intrinsic parts of the Cook Island life survive because elements of past, present, and future are not separated. On the one hand the Cooks is continually modernising and on the other it is maintaining traditional patterns of orientation. Wendt tells us that it is knowledge that gives us a precious source of inspiration for living out the present. Therefore when relationships between people and places and events are studied within the past, present, and future times it helps us to develop understanding into the forces that have shaped the life of Cook Islanders, for example, we can see through all the contact phases (pre-colonial, missionary, colonial, etc) how people and their environment are changing continually, as are the resources needed to meet social, physical, and emotional needs. For many Cook Islanders, greater contact with new ideas and 'western' culture has seen a clash between older 'traditional' ways of living or cultural values and the newer 'western' ideas. There is expressed concern that the young people can hardly remember the 'traditional' lifestyle of their grandparents, nor is it seen that they necessarily want to. Their values and practices, aspirations and principles have altered quite significantly from their parents and grandparents. Through television, videos, tourists, returning Cook Islanders and so on, the young are presented with different views of life from other countries. Lockwood et al (1993), refer to the compelling views of life present in larger nations creating certain aspirations amongst the younger generations that may be obtainable financially but are at odds with local customs and culture. Aspirations that are not 'immune' to negative aspects that come with them; part of the 'new cultural package'.

As western institutions, values and consumer goods are increasingly incorporated into the cultural systems of the Pacific and the Cook Islands they must somehow be reconciled with the Islanders' own values and understandings of the world. This is the expressed concern for participants. Change is and will always happen but the people can have some influence as to the nature of change and the speed at which it takes place. As this reconciliation process takes place, Cook Islanders are having to negotiate new cultural identities and world views, but, they can also incorporate what is important to the 'Cook Islands way-of-life'.

These participants have all shown that a sense of place, space and time and a sense of being can provide stability and identity during change. In a recent journal article Porine (1995), wrote :

‘...the pace of economic and cultural change (in the Pacific Islands) has been so rapid there that old people still remind the young of ‘the good old days’. They do it mostly with regret because, in spite of all the welfare gains of economic development (better health care, longer life expectancy, electricity and running water, television and cars and other amenities) , the traditional ‘poor’ life of the Pacific Islands had (and still retains in some places) many good sides...the older Pacific Islanders tend to focus on the welfare losses (of traditional values and solidarity’s and a freer organisation of work and leisure time), and the bad sides of western ‘progress’. These include unemployment, juvenile delinquency, television and tourists exhibiting the ‘American way of life’...(p47-48)

From what has been uncovered in the text all that is very clear. But what I think comes through even more strongly than the feeling of a sense of loss or regret is a very deep sense of pride that emerged from the remembering of the way participants lived their life, and an equally strong determination to play what ever role they could in sustaining or offering what they had experienced to their next generations of young. They also show understanding that it will not be just a copy of how daily life was lived, but, of bringing it in to a relationship with what they see as good for the culture and for the people. For these participants the goal seems to be preservation of their ‘traditional’ way of life that encompasses the modern and the traditional in such a way that it remains distinctly Cook Island. The success of holding on to these traditions is very significant and topical with the current situation and developments in the Cook Islands. Being a small nation means the Cooks has difficulty in facilitating contemporary wants and needs and dependence on other countries help is not only deeply entrenched but necessary. At present the Cook Islands Government is in severe financial trouble, the main outcome is that it cannot keep paying its large resource of government workers, the largest arena of jobs available in the Cooks. Many people have lost and will lose their jobs and will find it difficult if not impossible to replace them. So for many islanders they will have to return to their still-living traditions for problem solving, such as using their land to provide food.

The expressed concern of these older Cook island participants, which precedes this present time of financial crisis, is very relevant and important. This fear of the degree to which daily life practices have diminished and how it affects future possibilities for their people are certainly justified by the current crisis. Just as much as the social, economic, and political changes have presented challenges to ‘traditional’ Cook Island society, so too, can traditional ways present challenges and offer new applications of old ways to new ways. It should be remembered that not only do

people deal with change because they are continuously modernising, but also, they deal with change due to the help and success in maintaining traditional orientation.

Many of the features of Cook Island 'traditional' lifestyles have been seen as impediments to growth and yet they are a fundamental part of the lifestyle. They are the 'familiar', known features of the social and moral landscape that everyone uses and know how to cope with; that embody basic values of interpersonal conduct and that stand out as emblems of a distinctive culture and identity. They have the potential to return them, as Heidegger (1927/62) would say 'to the things themselves' to a renewed understanding of the oneness of being, inherent in all of us. Instead of taking that away we should, according to Poirine (1995), 'favour a rich cultural life as an investment'. It offers a foundation on which to build sound economic, social and cultural development in the future. 'In this sense, cultural preservation', as highlighted by the participants, 'may, in many cases, be the preliminary condition of an endogenous cultural change process accompanying economic development, while a complete neglect of indigenous cultures might lead to a 'brain drain' of the elite.' (Poirine, 1995, p.70)

We need to look to people like these participants for help and their advice. Their input, as has 'shown itself' in much of the dialogue is necessary in making sure that with change there remains an important part of 'traditional' Cook Island life.

All systems are changing in some measure, and in research, we need to understand the forces of change, the nature of change and the speed at which change takes place. In this study it is hoped that through these rich life stories somewhat more of the nature of change is revealed. In this study no great theories have been discovered or disproved, instead what was important was that participants told their own stories in their own way, in their chosen environment and in their own time. With this research coupled with other types of qualitative and quantitative research, equally as valid, we can perhaps look to well thought out, well rounded studies to use in the development process, one that needs much more care and thought.

In order to design a future that fits people, and to choose development models best suited to their needs and cultural background people have to know where they come from and who they are, as comes through in Fa'afelai Ta'ase's poem. I believe, that, from the rich tapestry of these interviews, the older Cook Islanders are able to offer much to the development of the Cook Islands. What their stories have revealed does

not mean that they live in the past or that they are unwilling to accept or adjust to modern times, they have shown, rather, an ability to adapt to change. 'Lived time', as van Manen (1990) refers to it represents our temporal way of being-in-the-world, as a young person who is orientated to a new and beckoning future, or as an elderly person recollecting their past. Past, present, and future constitute the horizons of a persons temporal landscape. The past changes, itself, because we live towards a future which we already see taking shape.

'To exist is to change: to change is to mature: to mature is to create
oneself endlessly'. Henri Bergson



APPENDIX

A. INFORMATION SHEET :

Dear,

I enjoyed meeting and talking with you the other day through the kind introduction of..... This letter allows me to tell you again, briefly, something of what my study is about. It also tells you what I will ask you to do should you be willing to be a participant in the study and what you have a right to expect if this happens.

I believe it is important that people can share their experiences of what it is they have found to be important and how it has been for them to deal with changes so that we can learn from and be helpful to one another.

Now to tell you what you will be asked to do if you agree to be a participant in this study. I will ask you to give me up to one and a half to two hours of your time for an interview at a time and in a place that suits us both. As we discussed, my study explores what it has been like for you, as an older Cook Islander, to have experienced changes that have had an effect on your daily life in a Cook Island community. This is a question that you will be given to think about before we meet.

If you agree to be a participant, I will ask you to sign a consent form. I will then interview you for the study and this will be audio-taped. The audio-tape will then be transcribed and it will be this transcript, and the others, that will be studied. I may also need to get in touch with you at a later date to clarify something that I am unsure of in the interview.

If you participate in this study then you have the right to expect:

- 1) that you have the right to refuse to answer any questions;
- 2) that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time;
- 3) that your name and any information that may identify you will not be used in this study;
- 4) that you have the choice of what happens to the audio-tape when the study is finished i.e. - have the tape returned to you,
 - agree that the tape be kept in an archive for future use,
 - have it destroyed on completion of the study.
- 5) that the transcript of the interview will only be seen by the researcher and research associates;

- 6) that you can contact me at any time during the study if you have further questions;
- 7) that a brief account of the research will be sent to you on completion of the study.

It is important also to realise that in consenting to participate that you agree to:

- 1) the interview being audio-taped;
- 2) that you agree to the information being used in the publishing of research articles, books, teaching materials, and talks;
- 3) that you are willing to advise the researcher about something that is not clear in the interview.

I do hope that you will join me in this study and I look forward to hearing from you. If you have any further questions to ask then please do not hesitate to write to me or phone me at...

Yours sincerely,

Kate Saxton

B.1**CONSENT FORM :****TITLE OF THE PROJECT :**

An exploration into the influences and effects of modern change on the traditional lifestyle of older Cook Islanders.

I have read the information sheet for this study and I am interested in taking part in the study. I have had the details of it explained to me and my questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand the study needs to be audio-taped and I agree to this. I also agree to the information being used in the publishing of research articles, books, teaching materials and talks. I understand that copyright belongs to the researcher but that I may have a choice about what happens to the tape when the study is completed.

It is my understanding that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is completely private (my name and any information that identifies me will not be transcribed or used in this study).

I also agree to advise the researcher on something that is not clear in the interview at a later date.

These are the dates and times and place that would be most suitable for me:

DATE :

TIME:

I wish to take part in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet.

DATE :

SIGNATURE:

PLEASE PRINT YOUR NAME:

B.2 CONSENT FORM: PEAPA ORONGAANGA TIKA :**TE INGOA O TEIA KIMIANGA MATATIO****E Kimikianga ki roto i te au akatereanga e te tauiana ta teia tuatau i akatupu ki te oraanga taito o te pa metua.**

Kua tatau au i te peapa akakitekite no runga i teia apii, pera kua akamarama ia mai ki aku no runga i te reira. Ko taku au uianga no runga i teia kimianga matatio, kua pau ia te reira ki toku anoano e ka rauka iaku i te ui atu i tetai au uianga a tetai uatu tuatau ki mua.

Kua marama au e ka anoanoia kia rekotiia teia apii ki runga i te matini teepu, e ka akatika au i te reira. Ka akatika katoa au, i te au tuatua taku i orongo kia ta-angaangaia ei tataanga peapa kimi kite, puke, apinga apii e pera katoa te tuatua ki tetai urupu tangata. Kua marama au e, ko te tikaanga o teia rekotianga tei te tangata nana e rave nei i teia apii kimi kite. Inara tei aku te tikaanga eiaa te ka raveia ki te au teepu me oti tana kimianga.

Kua marama katoa au e, ka rauka iaku i te akaatea mai mei roto i teia rekotianga me kua anoano au, me kare ka rauke iaku i te vao i tetai au uianga - auraka au e pau. Kua akatika au i te oronga atu i te au tuatua akakite ki teia tangata e kua irinaki au e kare a kitea e koai au. Mei teia te tu, kare toku ingoa, me kare, tetai uatu tuatua te ka akakite e ko au teia e tuatua nei, kare e tataia, kare katoa e ta-angaangaia ki roto i teia rekotianga. Kua akatika katoa au e ka akamarama atu au ki te tangata rave apii i tetai au mea kare e taka ana tona aiteanga penei uake ka inangaroia te reira a te tuatau ki mua.

Ka anoano au i te piri atu ki teia apii i raro ake i te au tukuanga tika tei tataia i roto i te peapa akakitekite.

RA:

TAINA IA:

TATA MAI TOOOU INGOA:

C. LETTER OF CONFIRMATION :

Dear

Thank you for returning the consent form to me. I am happy that you have agreed to join my study.

I noted the times and days you are available for the interview and I would like to meet you at..... If for any reason you need to change this appointment then please contact me at..... and we can arrange another time that would be more suitable for you.

In our interview I would like to discuss and find out as much as possible about your experience of being an older person in recent times in the Cooks.

The question for the interview asks :

What has it been like for you to live your life, as an older Cook Islander, during a period of marked change in a 'traditional' society.

The reason I am asking you this question is to find out the kinds of things that have been meaningful and important for you over this time.

Please tell me anything about your experiences over the last few decades that you see as highlighting how it has been for you. Any stories that highlight the things that have happened to you or are of concern to you as you manage your daily life is of great interest and importance to me.

Your thoughts, on what is significant to you and what has meaning for you, are very valuable to me.

The above is a brief idea of what I would like to discuss with you. I will explain and discuss it more fully when we meet and you can ask me anything that you are unsure about or have questions about.

I am looking forward to meeting with you and interviewing you.

Kind regards,

Kate Saxton

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achenbaum, W.A., and Stearns, N. (1978). 'Essay : Old age and modernisation' in *The Gerontologist* Vol.18 No.3 pp.307-313.
- Akhtar, R. (ed) (1991). *Health care patterns and planning in developing countries*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Albert S.M., and Cattell, M.G. (1994). *Old age in global perspective : cross cultural and cross national views*. New York: G.K.Hall and Co.
- Anastas, J.W. et al., (1990). 'Working families and elder care : A national perspective in an aging America' in *Social Work* Vol.35 No.5 p.405 Sept. 1990.
- Andrews, G. (1986). *Aging in the Western Pacific*. Manila: World Health Organisation.
- Andrews, G.R., and Hennick, M.M. (1992). 'The circumstances and contributions of older persons in three Asian countries' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No.3 pp.127-146.
- B**abbie, E. (1989). *The Practice of social research* (5th ed). California: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Baddely, J.G. (1978). *Rarotongan society : the creation of tradition*. Ph.D, Thesis, University of Auckland.
- Barrett, W. (1964). *Irrational man : A study in existential philosophy*. London: Mercury Books.
- Beaglehole, E. (1957). *Social change in the South Pacific : Rarotonga and Aitutaki*. London: Allen and Lane.
- Bell, B.D. (1976). *Contemporary social gerontology*. Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.
- Bellwood, P. (1987). *The Polynesians : prehistory of an island people*. (revised edition. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bengston, V.L. et al.,(eds) (1995). *Adult intergenerational relations : effects of societal change*. New York: Springer Publishing Co.
- Benner, P.(ed) (1994). *Interpretive phenomenology : embodiment, caring and ethics in health and illness*. California: Sage Publications Inc..

- Benner, P. (1984). *From novice to expert*.
California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.
- Beruquo, E., and Xenos, P. (eds). (1992). *Family systems and cultural change*.
Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Biller, S. (1983). 'Family support for the elderly in the third world' in *The Gerontologist* Vol.33
- Blakemore, K., and Boneham, M. (1994). *Age, race and ethnicity : a comparative approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bleicher, J. (1980). *Contemporary hermeneutics*.
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Boh, K. et al., (1989). *Cross-cultural perspectives on families, work, and change*.
New York: Haworth Press.
- Buckley, P.P. (1992). *Husserl, Heidegger and the crisis of philosophical responsibility*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Burton, L. et al., (1991). 'Creating culturally relevant ways of thinking about diversity and aging' in *Generations* Vol.15 No.4 pp.67-72 Fall/Winter.
- Cain, M.T. (1991). 'The activities of the elderly in rural Bangladesh' in *Population Studies* Vol.45 p.189-202.
- Campbell, I.C. (1992). *A history of the Pacific Islands*.
Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press.
- Cassell, P. (ed) (1993). *The Giddens reader*.
London: Macmillan Press.
- Chafetz, J.S. (1988). *Feminist sociology : an overview of contemporary values*.
Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers Inc.
- Chang, J.P. (1992). 'Implications of changing structures on old age support in the E.S.C.A.P. region' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No. 2 p49.
- Chappell, L. et al., (1987). 'Ethnicity and informal supports among older adults' in *Ageing Studies* Vol.1 No.2 pp.145-160.
- Cowan, G. (1968). *Urbanization in Rarotonga*. Dissertation, Dip.T.P. Auckland University.
- Cowgill, D.O., and Holmes, L.D. (eds). (1972). *Aging and modernization*.
New York: Appleton Century Crofts.

- Cox, H. (1988). *Later life, the realities of aging* (2nd ed).
New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Cox, H.G. (1990). 'Roles for aged individuals in post industrial societies' in
International Journal of Aging and Human Development Vol.30 No.1
p.55-62.
- Crandall, R.C. (1991). *Gerontology* (2nd ed).
New York: McGraw Hill.
- Cribb, M.A. (1992). '*Attitudes of Cook Islanders in Porirua to sources of help*'.
Masters thesis. Massey University.
- Crocombe, R. (1973). *The new South Pacific*.
Sydney: Reed Education.
- Crocombe, R., and Meleisea, M. (1994). *Land issues in the Pacific*.
Canterbury: McMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Crocombe, R et al., (1992). *Culture and democracy in the South Pacific*.
Suva: University of South Pacific.
- D**avis, T. (1992). *Island boy*.
Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Diekelmann, N. (1991). 'The emancipatory power of the narrative' in *Curriculum
Revolution: community building and activism*. New York: N.L.N. Press.
- Diekelmann, N. (1991). *Nursing education : Caring, dialogue and practice :
hermeneutic experience as inquiry*. Tokyo: Unpublished Paper presented
at 23rd Open Seminar for Nurse Scholars.
- Diekelmann, N. et al., (1989). *The N.L.N. criteria for appraisal of baccalaureate
programs : a critical hermeneutical analysis*. New York: N.L.N. Press.
- Domingo, L.J., and Casterline, J.B. (1992) 'Living Arrangements of the Filipino
Elderly' in *Asia Pacific Population Studies* Vol.7 No.3 p.88.
- Dreyfus, H.L. (1991). *Being-in-the-world: A commentary on Heidegger's Being
and time*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.
- Driedger, L. (1987). *Aging and ethnicity : towards an interface*.
Toronto: Butterworths.
- Dube, S.C. (1988). *Modernization and development : the search for alternative
paradigms*. Tokyo: The United Nations University.

- E**isenstadt, S.N. (1986). *Tradition, change, and modernity*.
Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.
- Ellen, R.F. (ed). (1984). *Ethnographic research : a guide to general conduct*.
London: Academic.
- Elliot, F.R. (1986). *The family: change or continuity ?*
Houndmills: MacMillan Education Ltd..
- Evers, H. (1991). *Sociology of old age* (3rd ed).
Buckingham: Open University Press.
- F**erraro, K.F. (ed). (1990). *Gerontology : perspectives and issues*.
New York: Springer Publishing.
- G**adamer, H.G. (1976). *Philosophical hermeneutics*.
Berkely: University of California Press.
- Gadamer, H.G. (1975). *Truth and method*.
London: Sheed and Ward.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of cultures : selected essays*
New York: Basic Books.
- Gelf, D., and Barresi, C. (1987). *Ethnic dimensions of aging*.
New York: Springer.
- Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology* (2nd ed).
Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glendenning, F. (1985). *Educational gerontology : international perspectives*.
London: Croom Helm.
- Goldstein, M.C., and Beall, C.M. (1981). 'Modernization and aging in the third world and fourth world : views from the rural hinterland in Nepal' in *Human Organisation* Vol.40 No.1 pp.48-55.
- Goldstein, M.C. et al., (1983). 'Social and economic forces affecting intergenerational relations in extended families in a third world country : a cautionary tale from South Asia' in *Journal of Gerontology* Vol.38 No.6 pp.716-724.
- Gray, A., and McGuigan, J. (eds). (1993). *Studying culture : an introductory reader*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Green, J.W. (1989). 'Aging and ethnicity: an emergent issue in social gerontology' in *Journal of Cross Cultural Gerontology* Vol.4 No.4 pp.377-383 October.

- Guignon, C (ed) (1993). *The cambridge companion to Heidegger*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- H**ashimoto, A. (1991). 'Living arrangements of the aged in seven developing countries: a preliminary analysis' in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* Vol.6 No.4 pp.359-381 October.
- Headon, D. et al., (1995). *The abundant culture : meaning and significance in everyday Australia*. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.
- Heidegger, M. (1959). *An introduction to metaphysics* (3rd ed).
New York: Yale University Press.(tr. Manheim, R)
- Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, language, thought*.
New York: Harper and Row.(tr. Hoftstadter, A)
- Heidegger, M. (1975). *The end of philosophy*.
London: Souvenir Press.(tr. Strambaugh, J)
- Heidegger, M. (1927/1962). *Being and time*.
New York: Harper Collins.(tr. Macquarrie, J and Robinson, E)
- Heidegger, M. (1959). *The question of being*.
London: Vision Press.(tr. Kluback, W and Wilde, J)
- Heidegger, M. (1968). *What is called thinking*.
New York: Harper and Row.(tr. Wieck, F and Gray, J)
- Heller, A. (1990). *Can modernity survive?*
Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hendricks, J. (ed) (1980). *In the country of the old*.
New York: Baywood Publishing.
- Hendricks, J., and Leedham, C.A. (1987). 'Making sense of literary aging : relevance in recent gerontological theory' in *Journal of Aging Studies* Vol.1 No.2 pp.187-208.
- Hendricks, J. (ed) (1995). *The meaning of reminiscence and life review*.
New York: Baywood Publishing.
- Hoffman, A.M. (1970). *The daily needs and interests of older people*.
Illinois: Charles, C. Thomas.
- Holmes, L.D. (1983). 'Varieties of aging experience' in *Other cultures, elder years : an introduction to cultural gerontology*. Minneapolis: Burgess.

- Holmes, E.R., and Holmes, L.D. (1995). *Other cultures, elder years* (2nd ed).
California: Sage Publications.
- Hoogvelt, A.M. (1978). *The sociology of developing countries* (2nd ed).
London: MacMillan Press.
- Hooper, A. (ed). (1987). *Classes and culture in the South Pacific*.
Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Howe, K.R. et al., (1994). *Tides of history : the Pacific Islands in the twentieth century*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- I**diens, D. (1990). *Cook Islands art*.
Princes Riseborough: Shire.
- J**ames, K. (ed). (1993). 'The rhetoric and reality of change and development in small Pacific communities' in *Pacific Viewpoint* Vol,34 No,2 pp.135-152.
- K**aelin, E.F. (1988). *Heidegger's being and time : a reading for readers*.
Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida.
- Kaleb, K. (1991). 'Ageing and culture' in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*
Vol.6 No.4 pp.449-459 October.
- Kaufman, S.R. (1994). 'In-depth interviewing' in *Qualitative methods in aging research*. Gubrium, J.F., and Sankar, A (eds) California: sage Focus Edition.
- Kauraka, K (1995). Interview
- Keesing, F.M. (1942). *The south seas in the modern world*.
New York: John Day.
- Kim, I.K., and Choe, E.H. (1992). 'Support exchange patterns of the elderly in the Republic of Korea' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No.3 pp.89-104.
- Knodel, J., and Debavalya, N. (1992). 'Social systems and economic support for elderly in Asia : an introduction' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No.3 pp.5-12.
- Kockelmans, J.J. (ed) (1968). *Philosophy of science : the historical background*.
New York: Free Press.
- Krishnan, V. et al., (1994). *The challenge of change : Pacific Island communities in New Zealand 1986 - 1993*. Wellington: N.Z. Institute for Social Research and Development Ltd.

- Kuatai, N et al., (1984). *Atiu, an island community*.
Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Kuroda, T. (1987). 'Population aging in Japan with reference to China' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.2 No.3 p.3.
- L**angan, T. (1966). *The meaning of Heidegger* (4th ed).
New York: Columbia University Press.
- Liang, J. et al., (1992). 'Social support among the aged in Wuhan, China' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No.3 p.33-62.
- Linnekin, J., and Poyer, L. (1990). *Cultural identity and ethnicity in the Pacific*.
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lockwood, V.S. et al., (eds). (1993). *Contemporary Pacific societies : Studies in development and change*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Loomis, T. (1990). *Pacific migrant labour, class and racism in New Zealand*.
Aldershot: Avebury.
- M**ckinnon, J., and Morrison, P. (1995). 'The challenge of social change : the work of Ray Watters' in *Pacific Viewpoint* Vol.36 No.1 pp.3-25 May.
- McSwain, R. (1977). *The past and future people : tradition and change on a New Guinea Island*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Mackie, F. (1985). *The status of everyday life : a sociological excavation of the prevailing framework of perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Macquarrie, J. (1966). *Principles of christian theology*.
London: S.C.M. Press.
- Manley, S.E. (1995). *The lived experience of interaction with authority by members of a fringe group (Gang) in New Zealand society*. Thesis. M.Phil. Massey University.
- Maretu. (1983). *Cannibals and converts : a radical change in the Cook Islands*.
Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Martin, L.G. (1989). 'Living arrangements of the elderly in Fiji, Korea and Malaysia and the Philippines' in *Demography* Vol.26 No.4 pp.627-640 November.
- Mason, K.O. (1992). 'Family change and support of the elderly in Asia: what do we know?' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.7 No.3 p.13-32.

- Mead, M. (1972). *Culture and commitment, a study of the generation gap*. London: Panther Books Ltd.
- Minichiello, V, et al (1992). *Gerontology : a multidisciplinary approach*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Morse, J.M. (1994). *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.
- Munhall, P. L. (1994). *Revisioning phenomenology : nursing and health science research*. New York: National League for Nursing Press.
- Myerhoff, B. (1992). *Remembered lives : the work of ritual, storytelling, and growing older*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Nayacakalou, R.R. (1978). *Tradition and change in the Fijian village*. Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association.
- Ngan, R., and Wong, W. (1993). 'The caring paradox: family care for Chinese elderly' in *Asia Pacific Journal of Social work* Vol.3 No.2 pp.50-65 July.
- Nisbet, R. (ed) (1972) *Social change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd.
- Ogawa, N. (1988). 'Aging in China: demographic examples' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.3 No.3 p.21 September.
- Oliver, D.L. (1989). *Native cultures of the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Oliver, D. (1989). *The Pacific Islands* (3rd ed). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Otto, T. (ed) (1993). *Pacific Island trajectories : five personal views*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies.
- Palmer, R.E. (1969). *Hermeneutics : interpretation theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Parse, R.R. (ed) (1995) *Illuminations : the human becoming theory in practice and research*. New York: The National League for Nursing Research.
- Peace, S.M.(ed) (1990). *Researching social gerontology : concepts, methods, and issues*. California: Sage Publications.

- Penning, M.J et al., (1987). 'Ethnicity and informal supports among older adults' in *Journal of Ageing Studies* Vol.1 No.2 pp.145-160.
- Poirine, B. (1995) 'Is more always better? the South Pacific view point on development and cultural change' in *Pacific Viewpoint* Vol.36 No. 1 pp.47-73 May.
- Poplin, D.E. (1979). *Communities : a survey of theories and methods of research* (2nd ed). New York: MacMillan.
- R**ajan, S.I. (1989). 'Aging in Kerala, one more population problem' in *Asia Pacific Population Journal* Vol.4 No.2 p.19 June.
- Rather, M. (1990). *The lived experience of returning registered nurse students : a Heideggerian hermeneutic analysis*. Thesis. Ph.D.
- Ricoeur, P. (1974). *The conflict of interpretations : essays in hermeneutics*. Evanston: North Western University Press.
- Riley, M.W. et al., (1968). *Aging and society*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Robilliard, A.B. (ed). (1992). *Social change in the Pacific Islands*. London: Keagan Paul International.
- S**cott, M. et al., (1991). 'In Search of the Cook Islands' in *New Zealand Geographic* (part 1) No.11 p.24 July-September and (part 2) No.12 p.72 October-December.
- Seung, T.K. (1982). *Structuralism and hermeneutics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Short, I. (1987). 'The Cook Islands' in *Class and culture in the South Pacific*. Hooper, A. (ed). Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Simpson, G.R. (1990). 'Wallerstein's world-systems theory and the Cook Islands : A critical examination' in *Pacific Studies* Vol.4 No.1 p.73 November.
- Sissons, J. (1995) '*Nation or desti-nation? Cook Islands nationalism since 1965*'. Working paper. Massey University.
- Spiegelberg, H. (1971). *The phenomenological movement: a historical introduction*. (2nd ed). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Spradley, J.P., and McCurdy, D.W. (1972). *The cultural experience : ethnography in complex societies*. Chicago: Science Research Associations Inc.

- Stapleton, T.J. (ed) (1994). *The question of hermeneutics : essays in honour of Joseph J. Kockelmans*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Stea, D and Turan, M. (1993). *Placemaking : production of built environment in two cultures*. Hants: Avebury.
- Steiner, G. (1979). *Martin Heidegger*.
New York: Viking Press.
- Steiner, G. (1978). *Heidegger*.
Hassocks: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Stewart, D., and Mickunas, A. (1974). *Exploring phenomenology : a guide to the field and its literature*. Chicago: American Library Association.
- Strickland, M. (1979). *Say it in Rarotongan*.
Sydney: Pacific Publications.
- Sung, K.T. (1991). 'Family centered informal support networks of Korean elderly: The resistance of cultural traditions' in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* Vol.6 No.4 pp.431-447 October.
- T**ibbits, C. et al., (eds). (1960). *Aging in today's society*.
New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
- Tongia, M., and Kauraka, K. (1991). *Tipani : poems of the Cook Islands*.
Rarotonga: University of the South Pacific Extension Centre.
- Tout, K. (1989). *Aging in developing countries*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tout, K. (ed) (1993). *Elderly care : a world perspective*.
London: Chapman Hall.
- V**an Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience : human science for active and sensitive pedagogy*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Vasoo, S., and Tiong, N.T. (1993). 'Strengthening service delivery and programmes for senior citizens' in *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work* Vol.3 No.2 pp.1-5 July.
- W**alsh, A.C., (1982). 'Cook Islands' in *Migration, urbanisation and development in south pacific countries* in United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: United Nations.
- Watters, R.F. (1969). *Koro : economic development and social change in Fiji*.
Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- White, G.M. (1991). *Identity through history : living stories in a Solomon island Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wither, A., and Hodges, I. (1987). *Elderly people in view 1972-1985 : a bibliography of New Zealand research*. Wellington: Health Research and Development Unit.
- Woodruff, D.S. (ed). (1983). *Aging: scientific perspectives and social issues* (2nd ed). California: Brooks Cole Publishing Co.