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95
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A STUDY OF ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION ON MARAES

AND OF CONTEMPORARY DRINKING PATTERNS

IN RUATORIA:

(A Social, Political and Economic Account of
Drinking on the East Coast).

A thesis presented in partial
fulfilment of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

in

SOCIOLOGY

at

Massey University

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the consumption of alcohol ("drinking") which takes place on maraes in and around a rural Maori community of Ruatoria. The town is situated in the heart of Ngati Porou on the East Coast, New Zealand. This study focuses on drinking practices in the community and on maraes, and identifies the views and perceptions of local people towards alcohol consumption. The contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences people have about drinking are explored. The fieldwork is designed around the principles of participant observation where the task is to "tell it like it is" as I interpret the facts presented.

In examining drinking patterns it is necessary to account for the influences of social, political and economic factors. Drinking on maraes is not a new thing and the historical accounts of drinking in the past provide important facts about the way in which drinking is viewed today. Also, it is important to describe the extent to which such factors affect the marae. Major features of this study are examination and comparison of the views of the younger people in Ruatoria to those of older people. Generational differences are apparent in the way people relate to and perceive their maraes, and in the way they participate in and perceive of their drinking practices.

In society generally, drinking is considered either a good thing or a bad thing depending on the circumstances, this is also apparent on

maraes. Alcohol is accepted as an important feature of hospitality; it ensures that guests enjoy themselves and that unity among marae members is maintained. But on the negative side, alcohol consumption on maraes is subject to abuse like anywhere else. As a result of drinking excessively people fight, cause damage to property and create a lot of pain and suffering for others. In accepting that drinking is the norm, this study concerns itself with establishing why this is the case for maraes.

The marae, however cannot be discussed without consideration of formal procedures (marae protocol) and leadership. Protocol exists as rules which guide and dictate the formal proceedings that occur on maraes. As I point out, however, what people do and what people say are two entirely different things. Protocol is challenged as being past commonsense which people adapt to fit what is considered the commonsense of today. People drink on maraes as part of what is seen as a rationalising process where protocol is given meaning to what is relevant. Marae and community leaders, like kaumatua,¹ are concerned with the question of alcohol on maraes because it affects their power. In seeking to maintain cohesion among the people and progress towards objectives they compromise drinking at the risk of diminishing their own decision-making authority. Drinking is an issue which many marae people must reluctantly deal with.

PREFACE

This study embodies the results of a fieldwork project that looked generally at alcohol consumption in a rural Maori community and specifically at drinking on the marae. The research took place in the rural East Coast township of Ruatoria from March 1985 to August 1986. It was conducted among my own people of Ngati Porou in the area I regard as home. Spending 19 years of my early life here meant a challenge in returning to make this study. Following a five year absence studying social work and sociology at university I gained the necessary skills and training in the field of social research, however, I could not discount the fact that my life experiences as a child - kinship, neighbourhood and friendship ties - provided the foundation of my worldview. Developing this and the university training I had, was as a consequence of my return, subject to the scrutiny of my own people.

The decision to do this study in Ruatoria was not without trepidation and anxiety. I knew instinctively that the task of studying alcohol in the area would encounter criticism and ridicule. There was little that could have been done to prevent this as my activities in interviewing, observing and studying their drinking was reason enough for concern. Following six months of initial difficulty people began to tolerate what I was doing. Some people saw me as bold yet arrogant while others thought the research project worthy of praise

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and encouragement. My biggest critics included those with an interest in protecting the marae with perhaps their own interests also in mind. For the "locals" considering the study of drinking on the marae opened the door to many contradictions, in particular, why drink on maraes was seen as bad although it has social significance. The research was indeed put to the test by such contradictions.

I received consistent criticism from close friends and associates who live in Ruatoria and who attend university, many of whom are Ngati Porou. Despite some difficult moments I saw most challenge and criticism to my work as a healthy sign. I recalled one instance on my first arrival back home when I met up with friends in the pub, whom I had not seen in over a year. I was asked if I was still attending university and what my plans were. When I explained what I intended to do some laughed and joked about it, especially about the fact that I had come back to observe drinking. One friend thought that I will always be a "schoolboy" and that I should try to get a "real job". We all laughed and joked and continued drinking.

The familiarity I had with people and the place meant I was able to minimise time taken to establish rapport, sort out who is who and learn about traditions and marae protocol. Being an 'inside' researcher, however, has its disadvantages. For one thing, familiarity often gave rise to some unintentional mistakes, particularly in dismissing things common or obvious to myself. Other researchers with an outside perspective would probably pick up on such things. They, however, would encounter some working problems themselves, perhaps in interpreting and "living" the experiences of the people, something I as

a "local" had access to.

I was disadvantaged to some extent by the fact that I was not fully conversant in Maori. Often I relied on the help of fluent speakers to translate phrases I could not work out. However, most people I interviewed recognised my difficulty and spoke in both English and Maori.

It was considered that throughout this research people may not divulge information which was personal, delicate, damaging or controversial. This was lessened to some extent by reaffirming confidentiality with those I interviewed. As anticipated information often became the centre for public opinion and though this did have obvious benefits for the research in terms of gaining certain facts I was nevertheless aware not to disclose some facts to certain people. I found it necessary many times throughout my work to appreciate and learn from the the local gossip. During interviews it was apparent that some people were whakama about the use of tape recorders. To avoid this I resorted to pen and paper, often having to be extremely articulate in my writing and recording. Brief notes were taken and expanded upon soon after discussions. Sometimes it was necessary to rely on information supplied by other listeners.

Visiting each of the 16 maraes was an important initial step to take. My going to these places was to pay respects to some of the kaumatua and to acknowledge the importance of all the marae in the area.

My research methods were based on the principles of participant observation: meeting and talking to people, attending public meetings, listening to local gossip, attending social functions, talking to patrons in the pub, at the R.S.A, at rugby clubrooms, at the local shop in the mainstreet and also becoming involved in community activities. In the course of my work I joined the voluntary fire brigade and became a volunteer ambulance driver. I also participated in local sporting events including rugby and tennis. My focus was to "tell it like it is" and it was important to interact with people in order to reflect on how they saw drinking. To maintain confidentiality I have changed people's names, however, I have made no attempt to change any of the facts presented. In Chapter Five I have given names of specific rugby clubs as I felt they needed to be stated to back up my facts. In telling it like it is, certain conditions were followed, such as including a number of quotes with little or no alterations. I have also clarified terms used by locals as they understand their meanings to be. One point I wish to mention is my use of the "s" as a plural for Maori terms. To remain consistent with the colloquial use of words such as, marae, I have used the "s" to represent the plural as people speak it. Therefore throughout the text, "marae", is seen as "maraes". Also, I use the word 'drink' as being the common term for 'liquor' and 'alcohol'. These two latter terms I interchange throughout this study where I have thought appropriate. I use liquor more as a historic term and alcohol for more contemporary useage.

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter One is a general introduction to the study of the relationship of alcohol consumption to the marae and Maori culture. It discusses important background

information that the social researcher must take account of in Maori settings. Chapter Two is presented in two parts. First, the setting of Ruatoria and the East Coast region within a wider socio-economic context of New Zealand society is described and analysed. The second part deals specifically with the history of drinking among Maori people in general and people of Ngati Porou in particular. Its connection to the present day is valuable in understanding my observations and interpretations of alcohol consumption. Chapter Three discusses three important related influences which affect people's drinking; first institutional influences, specifically the State and the media; second, community arrangements in relation to drinking patterns and third; an account of the people's views and behaviour toward drinking. Chapter Four describes what the marae is, and its meaning to the people of Ruatoria. Here I discuss the social significance of the marae and marae politics. Chapter Five examines the nature and extent of drinking as I observed on maraes. This chapter "tells it like it is" as I interpreted the information told to me by the people. In Chapter Six I draw conclusions that are based on the evidence I have presented.

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Finally, I must in keeping with my recognition as Ngati Porou pay my deepest gratitude to the tangata whenua of Ngati Porou and in particular the people of Ruatoria. This study has served greatly to increase my own awareness of my Ngati Poroutanga and in the course of writing exposed much of what I knew little of. I wish to thank all those who helped make this research undertaking possible. Also acknowledged are my tribal connections to other areas and to my pakeha side. I wish to express my indebtedness to my family and my parents, Mary and Morris. To the late Joe "Dust" Tawhai, who died while I was in my writing stage, I am also greatly indebted. In concluding this acknowledgement I must stress that I take full responsibility for the writing of facts presented in this thesis.

Aku rangatira, nga pakeke, me rangatahi ka nui taku aroha ki a koutou. Na reira ka tu te mana o Ngati Porou.

Peter J. Mataira

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
PREFACE	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
GLOSSARY	xiv
<u>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</u>	1
Statement of purpose	1
FIELDWORK PREPARATION AND METHODS	3
NGATI POROUTANGA: ITS MEANING TO THE PEOPLE	12
Defining 'Maori' in the text	15
APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY TO RUATORIA	16
THE EFFECTS OF CHANGE	20
SUMMARY	25
Footnotes	27
<u>CHAPTER TWO: THE SETTING</u>	29
THE CONTEMPORARY SETTING	30
Ruatoria as a community	30
Recreational activities	32
The economy of the East Coast	33

Problems in Ruatoria	36
SUMMARY	38
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DRINKING:	
THE EARLY YEARS OF DRINKING AMONG NGATI POROU	39
Early access to liquor: 1830s-1870s	39
Prohibition: Legislative action and controls on drinking	45
POROPEIHANA: THE PROHIBITION HAKA	50
Prohibition and the wartime period (1900-1945)	53
SUMMARY	58
Footnotes	59
<u>CHAPTER THREE: DRINKING IN RUATORIA</u>	62
LIQUOR ADVERTISING AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT	63
THE EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL	67
DRINKING LOCATIONS	68
MODERATE AND EXCESSIVE DRINKING IN RUATORIA	72
THE SHOUT: A DEFINITION	75
VIEWS OF OLDER PEOPLE TOWARDS YOUNG DRINKERS:	
Views of men	77
Views of women	78
SOME DRINKING PROBLEMS IN RUATORIA	79
SUMMARY	81
Footnotes	82

<u>CHAPTER FOUR: THE MARAE</u>	83
A description of the marae	83
Maraes around Ruatoria	84
PLANNING AND ORGANISING FOR THE USE OF A MARAE	85
Work and co-operation on the marae	87
The hakari: feast	88
MARAE PROTOCOL	90
The powhiri: welcoming of visitors	90
The whaikorero: speaking on the marae	91
The tangi: a view of protocol	92
Politics and protocol: status and leadership	95
Who has status and power?	97
THE ROLE OF MAORI WARDENS	100
SUMMARY	102
Footnotes	103
<u>CHAPTER FIVE: DRINKING ON THE MARAE</u>	105
THE ECONOMICS OF DRINKING ON THE MARAE	108
The "shout" at the marae	109
WHERE PEOPLE DO AND DO NOT DRINK: NEGOTIATING RULES	111
Drinking among marae workers: end of a working day	115
Drinking in restricted places: past and present experiences	119
Drinking at a church service by a young man	121
DRINKING AND FIGHTING	122
Case: A family dispute at a 21st birthday	125
Case: An argument concerning a right to drink	127

	xiii.
Case: "Argy-bargies": Fighting among young men	128
SUMMARY	132
Footnotes	135
<u>CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS</u>	137
RECOMMENDATIONS	146
APPENDICES:	
Appendix One: Research methodology	150
Appendix Two: Maori cosmology	156
Appendix Three: Alcoholism and alcohol abuse	164
Appendix Four: Maori Community Development Act 1981 (amend)	179
Appendix Five: Regulations regarding liquor permits	187
Appendix Six: Local views about cannabis smoking	189
BIBLIOGRAPHY	193

GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERM

Haka	Statement presented visually as well as verbally, a war chant
Hakari	Celebration usually involving the use of food, banquet
Hapu	Subtribe
Hinengaro	Emotional, spiritual and intellectual element that encompasses a dimension of human existence
Hongi	Pressing of noses
Hui	A gathering
Ihi	Charismatic appeal
Iwi	Tribe, eg. Ngati Porou
Kai	Sustenance, food
Kai moana	Seafood
Kainga	Home, house
Kai Korero	Speakers
Kai whakahaere	Organisers
Kaumatua	A general term for respected elders
Kauta	Cookhouse
Kawe mate	Formal procedure for the purpose of appeasing any residual spiritual element that lingers at the human level that should have departed and for the spiritual world, also, alleviates emotional suffering of the living
Koha	A gift of reciprocated exchange given on maraes usually in form of money

Korero	Utterances, to speak
Kuia	Elderly female
Mahana	Warmth
Manuhiri	Persons with the tapu of other than <u>tangata whenua</u> , visitors
Mate	Deceased
Mauri	The life force generated by all things
Paeke	Speeches made in blocks, that is, where <u>tangata whenua</u> speak first and <u>manuhiri</u> speak last, normally <u>tangata whenua</u> have last speaking rights. This is the protocol of Ngati Porou maraes
Paepae	The line of division between <u>tangata whenua</u> and <u>manuhiri</u> , acknowledged on the marae as the foreground of the speakers
Powhiri	To beckon, welcome
Puremu	Adultery
Ringawera	Those involved in the preparation of food, cooks
Runanga	Tribal council
Ruru	Shaking hands
Takahi te whare	Formal procedure by which the house of bereavement is aired of its memories so that life can be resumed, normally
Tangi	Acknowledge, lament (verb) funeral (noun)
Tauparapara	An introductory statement made in acknowledgement of a speaker's identity during their <u>whaikorero</u>
Tau utuutu	Alternating speeches between <u>tangata whenua</u> and <u>manuhiri</u> . (eg. Te Arawa and Waikato tribes)
Tinana	The physical dimension of human existence, the body

Tipuna	Forebears
Tukutuku	Traditional panel work within the meeting house and dining hall of a marae
Turangawaewae	Situation where <u>tangata whenua</u> have exclusive, geographical and spiritual privileges pertaining to their rights to make decisions
Urupa	Traditional burial grounds, cemetery
Waiata	A recited verse, to sing
Wairua	The spiritual dimension of human existence
Wehi	Awesome fear of the presence of other people
Whaikorero	Formal speeches made between <u>tangata whenua</u> and <u>manuhiri</u>
Whakapapa	Genealogic schedule with events associated with the names of a given <u>tipuna</u>
Whakataauaki	Proverbs
Whare	House
Whare karakia	House of worship
Whare Tipuna	Ancestral meeting house central to the marae usually built in honour of a specific <u>tipuna</u>
Whanau	Extended family
Whanaunga	Relatives, used as a general term
Whanau pani	A bereaved family

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

AJHR	Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives
ALAC	Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council
CWI	Country Women's Institute
DMA	Department of Maori Affairs
MWWL	Maori Women's Welfare League
NZOYB	New Zealand Official Year Book
NZMC	New Zealand Maori Council
PEP	Project Employment Programme
RSA	Returned Servicemen's Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of purpose

The aims of this research are three fold: first, to present alcohol in a social, political, economic and historical context; second, to describe the nature of consumption in Ruatoria and third to document people's attitudes towards drinking on maraes [1]. That is, to describe and account for the form which drinking on maraes take and to record the views of the people as they tell it. I am concerned with discovering and recording the reality of life around Ruatoria for the majority of Maori people as they live it.

As a starting point for this study, it is important to address the contentious nature of alcohol. Why is it seen by people as both a good and a bad thing? One the one hand, drinking alcohol has wide appeal. It is a symbol of hospitality; bringing people together and allowing them to share and enjoy the company of others. On the other hand, alcohol can be abused. Abuse is in the form of fighting, physical injury, property damage and in a manner that offends people. Yet in spite of concerns people generally tolerate alcohol abuse when it

happens.

A fact that drinking is so common in the community means it is freely open to abuse. From this, one observes the obvious problems of fighting; domestic arguments, car accidents and alcoholism among some locals. Consequently, abuse not only affects lives in a material way, it also raises moral issues. Most older people are aware that they cannot realistically control drinking because it has wide appeal and importance in a social context.

Within Ruatoria I relied heavily upon information from my own people, Ngati Porou. This information provides the basis for establishing a picture of how alcohol is viewed. In describing drinking practices I found it important to allow conversations to flow around the topic of drinking, thus, people's ideas dictated a large part of the study. During some interviews [2], I became as much the learner as I was the researcher and this I felt was an important point to remember. This learning and understanding as well as that gained by some of my informants was what Freire (1977:10) termed a 'dialogical process of investigating reality'.

As a necessary part of investigating drinking behaviour on maraes, this study seeks to document how people of Ngati Porou view the maraes. That is, the significance marae protocol has and its relevance in everyday life experiences. I discuss this in terms of exploring how drinking alcohol affects marae life and its formal procedures as told by the people. I seek to discover the extent to which protocol is still firmly believed to embrace many aspects of the marae.

Considering this, I explore "What tradition is and what makes it important to the of Ngati Porou?" I will explain why people are able to pick and choose what they consider appropriate to tradition what they consider be "old-fashioned" or "out-dated". What people see as important to preserve is taken to heart and examined within the context of the rapidly expanding knowledge and technology of today. I argue that traditions are what people do everyday and as such often take them for granted. Traditions, therefore, have a place in society but not as the conscious guide to everyday life experiences. Culture and traditions are embedded in what people say and do. This point is important as it relates to a concern of this study to examine what is considered commonsense to the people.

FIELDWORK PREPARATION AND METHODS

My aim is to document peoples' views through what Webster (1979:44) calls the 'participant model' [3], that is, the examination of ideas, values and beliefs that guide and are used to rationalise people's actions. In order to do this adequately it is important to examine the social, political and economic forces which affect how people interrelate and behave as individuals and as members of groups. In this study on alcohol it is believed that the interpretation understanding of how people behave cannot avoid critical examination of social structures.

As a necessary starting point I established that I had to find out what people really do in contrast to what they think they do. This involved observing for myself what exactly occurs in the community. Karl Popper (1963:46) argued that all observations are theory soaked, that is, as individuals we do not observe situations without preconceived ideas, and that these ideas distort what we see. Facts, as Popper argues, are not easily discovered, and represent only approximations of the truth. Though this tended to make me despondent of ever reaching some of the truths, I found it nevertheless important to recognise that the task of interpreting what is fact was as important as discovering them. I outline in the next section how I developed an appropriate framework for this study. Information concerning my research methods can be found in Appendix One.

The period of time taken to prepare and develop a research framework was of particular value in establishing a clear focus for this enquiry. It allowed space to formulate and re-formulate ideas. I adopted an approach to this study that used my knowledge and understanding of the people of Ruatoria. I drew heavily upon my own personal experience of being Ngati Porou, doing things I knew to be appropriate in working with the people. Interviews and discussions sometimes began in Maori; however, English was more often the medium of communication. The topic of drinking was not introduced into conversations as a specific issue but rather brief comments were made about it and it was then left to informants to take the initiative to volunteer what information they thought appropriate.

An assumption made throughout this time was that people had the ability to make judgements and take responsibility for their actions. It was important that they should feel that their contributions would be respected: that their ideas, questions and concerns would be aired in confidence. In so doing it was possible to select information to use in generalised form as the basis for this study.

As a preliminary fieldwork exercise ten people in Ruatoria were sort to be questioned; six men and four women. They were selected to test my fieldwork questions. These people were representative of broad categories. Two men and two women were aged between 40-60 years of age. One was a retired teacher, one a farmer, one a house wife and the other a grandmother. The other six were young people aged between 20-30 years. Three had full time work while the other three worked on PEP schemes. After the completion of this exercise the fieldwork phase began.

Fieldwork interviews and discussions comprised of recording the responses of 103 people, 62 (60%) interviewed were men and 41 (40%) were women. Due to the fact that men were always the majority seen drinking in pubs, on maraes and at parties they drank significantly more. Drinking as observed is much more a part of male leisure and friendship activities than for women. Thus in looking at drinking practices, I was directed to a consideration of male culture. The under representation of women was to some extent resolved by being more aware that their views as a minority had to be accounted for. Throughout the study I tried to remain sensitive to women's issues as best I could. However, I was aware that women often seemed like

strangers in most drinking situations. Seldom as I observed did they walk into pubs alone or if they did, often men looked surprised. This study may have been more sensitive to these concerns if a different approach or methodology was used. I recognised also that being male, myself, had its obvious biases in attempting to represent the views of women.

This study has an emphasis on the younger 18-35 drinker than the 36-80 age group. Sixty seven (65%) of those interviewed were young people. This was to allow more opportunity for them to express their opinions about issues that had some interest for them. I adopted the same principle in respect to emphasising their views as I did for women. That is, I was aware I needed to bring out their views as they represented a significant majority who had little status in the community. In gaining their interest this study examined the difference in attitudes between the generations of Ruatoria's older parents and grandparents and that of their young. In this research, however, all participants were found to be valuable information sources. I spoke with school students, unemployed people, parents, grandparents, business people, labourers and professional people all representative of the different age groups, gender and classes in the community.

Of the 103 people I spoke to, 22 were those who gave interviews, that is, where considerable time was spent talking to people. These interviews took from between one to two hours. The remaining 81 people were those I had general types of discussions with. Some of these same people I spoke to on more than one occasion. While having these talks

I noted people's names, occupations, ages and sex. I also recorded the names of others who participated in our discussions.

The brief informal talks I had provided general insights into how people felt about drinking. My selection of material in this study is based on what information would provide the best description of how different groups of people saw drinking. My observations were in many ways substantiated by the information I obtained from the people. Initially I had three broad questions to ask people: "What are your general impressions of Ruatoria and its people?", "What future do you envisage for Ruatoria?" and, "How important are maraes to people?" These questions were to gain a response of how people viewed their community. I also asked general questions related to drinking, "How do you perceive drinking in Ruatoria?", "What do you consider normal drinking?" and, "What do you consider the importance of drinking on maraes?" These questions were used to organise my enquiry and served as the guidelines for interviews and discussions throughout the fieldwork phase (An outline of these and other questions is in Appendix One, note that they are guidelines).

It was necessary to identify some of the fieldwork difficulties encountered early on and to attempt to resolve them as quickly and as sensitively as possible. The obvious problem was in seeking sound working relationships while dealing with the sensitivity of drinking. Another was that I was young and professionally trained in a pakeha sense. To deal with this I needed to reassure people that I was competent and firm in my convictions to conduct the study sensitively. To achieve this, it was necessary to explain the objectives of the

research to them.

It was also essential to seek the support of kaumatua (elders) as they held status positions in the community. The research proposal was presented in an open manner thus allowing initiatives to come from them. The purpose of this was to provide the opportunity for kaumatua to participate in the direction of the study. Some were supportive and interested in what the end results would be. Some were, however, critical and suggested I change my topic or that I do not undertake the study at all. A reason for this was a desire for local concerns, like drinking on maraes, not to be made public to outsiders, especially pakehas who knew little of the marae itself.

The same opportunity to comment on the study was given to community groups, Maori Affairs, the Police, the Waiapu Hospital Board and Primary and Secondary school staff. Their responses were supportive as they recognised the need to address alcohol particularly as it affected family life and community health. I was asked by some within these institutions to ensure I did not put people's feelings at risk, that is, I did not distort the the community image by telling too much of the truth. Some people in the community took the opportunity to comment on the study, however, the majority did not. It was important to recognise that not everyone would participate to the same extent nor at the same level. Yet, by using whanaunga ties (family, relatives and friends), and listening to all the community news the research became an important part of community conversations.

Interviews, discussions and observations were done openly and in a

manner appropriate to the people. Time was not set aside for interviewing but rather they were undertaken as people continued with their daily activities. I talked to people in their homes; in pubs; at rugby matches; in shops; in the street and on maraes. Sometimes, interested bystanders would listen in to conversations between myself and informants and participate as they felt they had something important to contribute. Most conversations were recorded by pen and paper where often few opportunities existed to use a tape recorder.

Fieldwork did not get fully underway until I was well established back into the community. This process took time and though I was subject to some ridicule about the study I was open-minded about the whole thing. I was confident that people would in time not see me as just another researcher 'researching them'. I continued to promote my position as one of value to the community and to Ngati Porou in general.

Interpreting drinking behaviour in Ruatoria was based on the premise that I should "explore drinking as it is", therefore to dismiss contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences was contrary to my study objectives. Drinking needed to be shown in the context in which people themselves perceived it to be. That is, observed as a rationalised experience existing in normal everyday life (Park 1985:16).

I tried throughout to 'present' things important to the people of Ruatoria. A constant issue raised for me was the need to represent the interests of all sectors of the community and to reflect their concerns. In maintaining my aim to reflect how the majority of people

saw drinking I did encounter some concern from the more influential leaders in the community. "Would he tell the truth?", "What if he writes about things we don't want to hear about?", "What if he finds out things we don't know ourselves?", "I don't trust him", "Why study drinking on maraes?". Suspicion, caution and concern came out as strong feelings. It was necessary to explain to people while at the same time maintaining my objective to "tell it like it is".

My own personal experience as a local of Ruatoria, its maraes and its people helped me view the world in a particular way. Being humble and modest is to show respect and people should always be respected, especially those older than oneself. Kaumaturua taught me to respect the marae and to speak only when being spoken to. These were things that other Ngati Porou also regarded as important values. Throughout my years of growing up I was constantly reminded never to focus inwards but to look outward and focus on things outside the East Coast and my hometown of Ruatoria. That is, I was told never to question what kaumatua said and that to be successful in life one had to leave to get a job. It was not considered right to return when one was young. I could not however see the logic behind this. This is perhaps the essence of why I have returned home to make this study. I had little difficulty in dealing with values and accepted that its conflicts were a part of the processes of learning.

However my research training taught me to be skeptical and critical of things people did. I was especially critical of pakeha involvement on the East Coast. My interest in history Maori/pakeha race relations in New Zealand and in the sociology of underdevelopment

regions was a basis from which I was able to understand pakeha methods of colonial development and the exploitation of Maori people.

Because of my experiences it is necessary to acknowledge my Ngati Porou identity. I acknowledge that understanding whakapapa (genealogy), or at least having access to it, is important as it legitimates my claim to conduct this study. This I felt justified in doing, however, I was not entirely satisfied with the attitude of some of my kaumatua. Pakeha researchers have little difficulty in gaining support from them to do their studies on histories and traditions. For Maori researchers the task is more daunting as they have to prove to their people that they are capable and skilled in their capacity to do research and have a competent understanding of tribal knowledge. However, I did not regard my knowledge of Ngati Poroutanga as anything that could be called competent.

Being a Maori, for me, is essentially a tribal expression, that is, the extent to which I knew I was a part of a tribe. Ngati Porou is, for me, the basis from which I draw in order to strengthen my ideas. Freire (1977:63-64) summed this up by appropriately saying:

"To know, which is always a process, implies a dialogical situation. There is not strictly speaking, "I think" but "we think". It is not "I think" which constitutes "we think", but, on the contrary, it is "we think" that makes it possible for me to think".

This paralleled the research procedures I used and tied in with the concept used by Ngati Porou people of "tatau tatau" (what's yours is mine, and what's mine is yours).

NGATI POROUTANGA: ITS MEANING TO THE PEOPLE

As we see today, features of Maori culture are commonly shared by people of all tribes. For example, organisational procedures; reciprocal hospitality; the basic elements of language; methods of communication and the way in which death is dealt with. For most pakeha New Zealanders with little or no understanding of things Maori these are categories within which a culture that remains unfamiliar to them can be understood. The promotion of Maoritanga in predominantly pakeha institutions will inevitably lead to further modification of the nature of Maoritanga and its significance to Maori and pakeha people. Further its promotion as a unified, standardised base of knowledge will result in the loss of tribal variations. We must acknowledge that the retention of Ngati Porou idiosyncrasies is the basis of Ngati Porou "iwi" centricism. If they are not continued the integrity of Ngati Porou would be undermined and ultimately the understanding how its people live, relate and behave in the world would not be properly appreciated.

Ngati Porou customs and traditions make them distinct from all other tribes. Their turangawaewae (spiritual, geographical locality) also, as the place to which they belong gives them genealogical identity. For the people of Ruatoria being Maori is 'what they are' and it had no meaning for them to acknowledge this within the community, as they see themselves as nothing else. Culture is hard to

define as one lives it because it is what one can call life's familiarity as I have explained earlier. The security of being comforted in identity means it seldom is given any second thought. This was important to acknowledge in this study as the people I lived with and studied experienced their Maoriness in what they and saw as "normal ways of doing things". Questioning "What being Maori meant?" was thought, meaningless, often creating confusion for people.

In the introductory chapter to Te Ao Hurihuri, Michael King (1981:15), described Maoritanga as 'a loosely defined expression of a feeling of Maori identity'. This needs more clarity given its obvious vagueness. According to people in Ruatoria, identity is rooted in one's tribe. As one person commented: "When a Maori asks me if I'm a Maori, I usually say, No! Ngati Porou, If a pakeha asks me, I'd probably say Yes!". This suggests identity is expressed in opposition to what one knows one is not. Maori identity exists if perceived by the people as linking back to a tribe. In my case, back to Ngati Porou.

To ask what culture meant was irrelevant and unimportant. For some this question may have resulted in perhaps feeling of inadequacy where explaining culture in a manner expected would be of embarrassment as little may be known. Some likened it to asking them to taking their clothes off. It was to reveal what they did not know. Understanding Maori and having knowledge of tribal histories and tradition is important but not the focus of this study. What I knew gave me insight as a local community member and gave me access to people and information. Though, in this study, I argue for a Maori perspective

and the necessity of the Maori worldview I am concerned that the nature of politics associated with culture is very complex indeed and in some cases contradictory. To appreciate the Maori perspective more I have included as Appendix Two a section relating to Maori cosmology. This outlines some of the things important to Maori society. Local people see their Maoriness as something they have always had and this was well supported by their views: "Maori is what we are, we don't have to prove this to anyone". Sadly, however, language and tradition are used by Maori leaders to protect and maintain their political interests at the expense of depriving young people of understanding their culture. In preserving power, status is synonymous with knowing ones language and traditions. This does seem to suggest, in a crude sort of way, that a distinction is drawn between those who know their culture, and those who do not; those who know their Maori side are Maori and those who know little or nothing are not. This presumption leaves out the majority. Among Ngati Porou they are the young people. There are some older people who also do not know their Maori side, however, they are a few in number. Young people see themselves as Maori and have little inclination in pursuing their knowledge and understanding of Ngati Poroutanga (traditions of Ngati Porou) because jobs, wages and living come first.

Despite some Ngati Porou not knowing their culture they are just as strongly tribalcentric ("iwi" centric as termed by one informant) as others sometimes without realising it. It is common for them to express qualities about their tribe which make them stand out, in their own mind, above those of others. They feel staunch about being Ngati Porou even though some are not sure what this means. I define

tribalcentrism as the sense of pride Ngati Porou people like to hold over others tribes. The basis of pride stems from the whanau. Understanding identity, belongingness, security and sharing derive from family ties. This is very much shown in economic support among the whanau and in support for their maraes. Being aware of such connections was important as part of my understanding of the people.

Culture exists in the form of values, beliefs and ideas which help people define the world around them. It is like a perceptual filter or screen in which reality is viewed [4]. A definition which I can best use to describe how the people of Ngati Porou view culture is provided by Bourdieu (1971:192):

"Culture is not merely a common code or even a common catalogue of answers to recurring problems; it is a common set of previously assimilated master patterns from which, by an 'art of invention' similar to that involved in the writing of music, an infinite number of individual patterns directly applicable to specific situations are generated."

Defining 'Maori' in the text

'Maori', in this study is used to depict people of Ruatoria having connections to tribal tipuna (forebears) and ancestral lands. Being a Maori in Ruatoria is to belong to the majority group and therefore the need to clarify this in terms of how people feel is not important. However, I need to make some qualifying points. There are Maori people of other tribes living in Ruatoria who have status as tangata whenua (local people). They are of Ngapuhi, Tuhoe, Kahungunu and Waikato descents. Through inter-marriage, work, or long term residency they

are seen by Ngati Porou as "one of their own". Sometimes they are ridiculed because of their links to their own tribes. This is shown in many ways, for example, they are reminded when doing something different or something wrong that they might have learnt that from whence they came. Often one hears: "That's their Ngati Kahungunu, or Tuhoe, way of doing things, they often think like that". The same sort of ridicule also applies to pakehas, where the expression "That's their typical pakeha side coming out", is used. Ridicule of this sort, in such cases, is usually touched with envy [5].

APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY IN RUATORIA

The vagueness of the term 'community' has long been criticised by sociologists. Hillery (1963:779) refused to use the term because it represented what he called "a motley assortment of concepts and qualitatively different phenomena". That is, it is expressed differently by many disciplines including geography, biology, sociology and anthropology.

Social relationships are the basis of community where the quality of relationships is not what I am concerned with. That is, social relationships are important, not the measure to which they indicate healthy community living. Theorists, particularly Pahl (1966) and Martindale (1964) point out that sociology is concerned with the nature of social relationships which should not have attached assumptions about how people should live.

Stacey (1969) continues on with this point arguing that the consideration of geographical settings is not fundamental to sociology. She points out that discovering how people interact is what is important. Stating geographical details, as she puts it, is only helpful in its initial form. Ruatoria also has a role to play in wider social, political and economic spheres. On this point I wish to address a contradiction manifesting itself in Stacey's definition. That is, she assumes simple geographic definitions of community ignores the basis of other associations, such as, levels of spiritual, meta-physical and emotional ties to the land. The significance of Ngati Porou being tangata whenua is the ground from which people draw their energy and land ownership is a right for them to claim membership to their tribal hapu. Stacey's argument (supported by Pahl) is also in contradiction to the belief that Ngati Porou are the tangata whenua; a view that people do not own the land but that the land owns the people:

"Ko Hikurangi taku maunga

Ko Waiapu taku awa

Ko Ngati Porou taku iwi"

"Hikurangi is my mountain

Waiapu is my river

Ngati Porou is my tribe"

Such references made to the prominent tribal landmarks like mountains, rivers and pa sites are important in linking people to their

past, the present and future, and to their identity as Ngati Porou. One informant summed up his own feelings about this, in the words of his grandfather: "The pakeha lives under his hat, wherever he hangs it that becomes his own". The suggestion is that pakeha people have little spiritual link to the land their forebears confiscated. Also that they had different views of land, the pakeha view being basically, economic. This is a point I tend to agree with, particularly with regard to how much Maori people have suffered from the effects of being alienated from their lands. The effects manifest themselves today in many forms; unemployment, crime, mental illness, poor housing and lack of appropriate education. There is an obvious connection between how Maori people suffered as a result of the loss of their land.

The term kainga (home) depicts what Ruatoria as a community means to the people. It means "always having someone around to turn to when having problems" and "having the whanau". For people who come back home for the holidays it means "a chance to re-charge batteries", for other residents, "not having to bother about what's happening out in the world"; "being able to have breakfast at one place, lunch at another and tea at home", something one cannot really do in the city. It also means for some, having an interest in knowing local gossip and putting down the people involved. Identity can therefore be based on of geographical locality.

The descriptions I have outlined above do not necessarily mean people perceived Ruatoria as being without conflict. There were differing views about what were thought to be the problems of living in the area. Young people said that they thought the place was "slack";

"a dump"; "had nothing to offer them"; "boring"; "backward" and "too far away from everything". Older people had much more appreciation of the town and were more critical of recent events, like the Rastafarians and the possibility of the Forestry Service closing down. The kaumatua have active interests in preserving how they like to see things and as I discuss in Chapters Three, Four and Five this comes out strongly as a generational issue. There exists a wide and interesting range of views also about alcohol between the young and the old. Though I have highlighted in this section that people have their obvious dislikes about Ruatoria there is always an overwhelming tendency for many to have strong connections to it.

People living in communities make distinctions among themselves. There is a tendency to label others, to distinguish between those living on "that end of town" and those living "on the other side". Other distinctions include, who is Maori and who is pakeha. Maori people will identify certain ideas, practices and even mistakes as being 'typically pakeha' and pakeha people also consider sets of values to be 'typically Maori'.

Maori people have strong ties to their maraes and just as strong ties to their local rugby teams. For generations family names have been associated with such clubs. Based on these links people automatically assume which marae rugby clubs will hold their social gatherings at and this also suggests who is likely to attend.

In Ruatoria seldom are maraes used by pakeha people to conduct meetings. It is also uncommon for them to be involved in marae

activities. Similarly, few Maori women are involved in organisations with strong pakeha membership, like, the CWI. They formed their own netball team during the 1986 season and competed in local tournaments which consisted of mainly Maori teams. Maori and pakeha men, as do the women, interact at social levels, like in the pubs and at social gatherings. Men have their own clubs like Lions and Buffalos where Maori and pakeha membership are about the same. Apart from the CWI and the MWL few opportunities exist for Maori women and pakeha women to meet as a group.

Although local people make distinctions among themselves, Ruatoria is geographically isolated and this tends to also bring people together. They drink at the same pubs, buy their groceries at the same store and use the same public services. Children attend the same schools, live in the same streets, play the same sports and share common social activities. These levels of interaction help categorise Ruatoria as a rurally distinct East Coast town.

THE EFFECTS OF CHANGE

The discussion that follows seeks to examine the position of Maori people in Ruatoria with regard to wider issues. I explain these further in Chapter Two. Here, I briefly consider the political economy of Ruatoria and the extent to which pakeha government has continued to guide the direction of Maori people.

A local social system definition [6] locates Ruatoria as a rural East Coast community having social links with the rest of New Zealand. This definition accounts for the institutions that influence people's lives: family, religion, health, welfare, employment, law and order, sports and leisure.

In Ruatoria, wage earning comes from different occupations including forestry, farming and rural services. Compared to other regions rural depression has always been a problem on the Coast. Business and job opportunities often fluctuate depending on economic circumstances beyond the control of local people. These have obvious implications for health, education and welfare services.

To take the view that 'change' leads a community to a 'state of equilibrium', suggests people will one day reach "one-in-harmony" with their environment. However, this is based entirely on idealistic principles. People can only achieve as best they can given the situations they are in. One need only be aware of the poverty and social depression on the Coast to realise that change has an opposite effect, often bringing crises into the lives of those less able to afford the price of change. Gluckman (1963:38-40) argued that communities are continually in a state of change and he challenged Malinowski's anthropological assumption that, far from being dysfunctional to development, conflict was essential to change which takes place [7].

The rate of change in Ruatoria has created a number of major concerns for the people. Changing lifestyles have brought with them

changing values. To some this means having to deal with daily uncertainties. Urban migration in the pursuit of wage-earning and education has caused shifts away from the community. Change has also affected maraes and has helped weaken the adherence to traditional values. Also, it has diminished the leadership roles of the kaumatua. Young people are less inclined to learn their heritage and kaumatua seem less inclined to teach it. Indeed, as shall be explained in later Chapters, kaumatua are faced with dilemmas as their traditional authority are challenged by the young.

Conflicts arise when people become coerced into making decisions they have no choice in making, for example, moving away to find work; having to attend school; buying consumer goods like, food, machinery clothes and alcohol at inflated prices and having to pay high prices for freight and passenger services. People in Ruatoria have to adjust because they have no choice. They have little say in where they can live and how they will live because they have no economic and political clout. The point is that people are constrained by structures of society and the policies of the State.

The notion of 'Maori ethnicity' is an example where pakeha government has lumped all tribal groups together as one autonomous Maori group. This happens to other minority cultural groups including Pacific Islanders and Asian people. Being subject to institutional processes, ethnicity often has the effect of turning things important to Maori people into something of less value. Government shows its interest in preserving the concept of ethnicity because it erodes potential conflicts. What we need to establish is the extent to which

ethnicity is a creation of pakeha ideology [8]. This has a direct link to this research on alcohol as we are dealing with people and aspects of their lives as being affected by social and political influences of the State. This study addresses some of the key issues regarding the State's involvement in fostering drinking attitudes. However, my concern at present is examining the State's view of ethnicity.

Maori people have had to conform to being the "brown-skinned pakehas" in order to survive and to gain acceptance in a pakeha world. Racist connotations will always persist as present institutions fail to give equal status to things Maori. It is not surprising, in a wider context that terms such as, 'ethnic relations', 'Maoridom' and 'cultural development' for Maori people are not specific enough. 'Tu tangata', 'Matua Whangai' and 'Maori Economic Development' schemes lean heavily to institutionalised processes of government, and therefore must meet funding requirements set down by government. It is my belief that one cannot take practices which happen today among Ngati Porou whanau like for example, matua whangai, and assume that Maori Affairs are able to do a better job [9]. A government's undertaking of this sort is in many ways assures its control over Maori development. Accountability thus becomes nothing more than maintaining subordination. Pakeha government has no basis for allowing Ngati Porou people, or in fact any Maori, power to control resources. What government is saying is that equal status does not mean equal access to resources. Today an increasing number of Maori people are challenging the pakeha system as it contravenes the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Considering the lower standard of social, economic and political life Maori people can no longer afford to be oppressed. (Greenland, 1984, Awatere,

1984).

In areas of health, education and justice Maori people make up the largest percentage of the disadvantaged. This is part of the general reality which reflects a failing in society. It is, as argued by Maori academics, the foreground of consciousness: activism among Maori people. A phrase 'the politics of being Maori', is appropriate to use as it suggests Maori people need to take an active role in determining their future as Maori people. There is much to suggest that this causes concern for government.

What gives us reason to address pakeha government as stated earlier is its lack of commitment to the concerns expressed by the East Coast people. They have little say in how economic and social policies affect the area. People are recipients of decisions others think best. Take, for example, forestry. This is one of the Coast's primary employment and income sources yet little return actually goes back to the people in the form of profit. To top this off, the guarantee of jobs in the next two years is uncertain as the Forestry Service begins to review its East Coast operations. A scaling down of forestry planting would obviously weaken the already depressed local economy. The region's status as part of the capitalist framework of New Zealand can best be described as a peripheral 'third world'. A stagnant economy gives it little governmental priority, consequently, people move in order to find jobs. High unemployment, poor housing and limited social services are many of the social realities people of Ngati Porou face.

Much of what has happened in recent years with regards to race relations has transgressed since colonial can only be described as poor. Today's emphasis on multi-culturalism disregards the fact that little bi-cultural understanding has yet been achieved. Ngati Porou live a bi-cultural existence and it seems ironic that they are hounded with the importance of being so. Fundamentally government has failed to realise that its task must be in understanding the indigenous culture and values of New Zealand before attempting to understand people whose cultures originate elsewhere in the world. Bi-culturalism should not be that which is based on Maori and pakeha values, but on Maori and non-Maori values. It is unacceptable to assume that all other Polynesian people fall under a Maori or pakeha banner. Multi-culturalism is a view that pakeha New Zealanders are appreciative of all cultures. Yet the "we are all one people" created by such a view is heard more as an excuse in defense of a lack of understanding. This is the 'white-wash' of cultural sensitivity.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical and methodological considerations to this study. Furthermore I have discussed some of the necessary background facts that will help us understand alcohol use in Ruatoria. It is important to establish the links the people have to the social structures of New Zealand society. In doing so, I have tried to reflect some of the issues that underpin Ngati Porou development as a people. The point this raises in respect to alcohol

is that consideration must be given to structural concerns when policies are considered that relate to Maori people and to Maori drinking.

The purpose of this study is to discover and interpret how the people of Ruatoria view alcohol consumption in their community and in particular on maraes. Such views are guided by the extent to which social structures influence attitudes as also the extent to which people themselves determine what is important. It is clear to some, that drinking on maraes is a bad thing and the suggestion is not that it defies tapu [10], but rather that it presents itself as sometimes socially undesirable, meaning its abuse is not tolerated. Drinking on maraes is not the image that older people like to see presented especially to the eyes of outsiders; the pakeha with little or no knowledge of things Maori. For drinking to be seen in this way harms the reputation of people and their maraes. This is a common concern as older people, especially the kaumatua who have reputations to uphold. Of equal importance drinking is appreciated as an important part in providing hospitality; a part of the festivities at marae gatherings. It attracts and thus ensures the marae's use. To date, little has been written on how Maori people perceive alcohol consumption in their own communities [11]. In many respects this is a first and I hope that this study contributes to future research in this area.

Footnotes:

[1] Throughout this study I have decided to use the word 'maraes' as plural for marae. This is in keeping with how the majority of local people use the term.

[2] Throughout the fieldwork I was very much aware of the formality of the term 'interview'. I attempted to avoid its use during the fieldwork, though I have used it here. Some interviews were informal, casual talks where the aim was not to seek specific outcomes but to allow people the opportunity to freely express themselves.

[3] Webster has taken Levi-Strauss's concept of the 'conscious model' and referred to this as a 'participant model'. 'Norms' are what a society seek to justify its social phenomena by. Levi-Strauss stresses that these are not to be confused with unconscious norms which are more complex. He suggests that conscious norms do have a drawback in that they prevent us from understanding its true meaning.

[4] These beliefs and ideas relating to Maori people are described in Appendix Two. One might also be interested in reading Bullivant (1981:2).

[5] Normally, resentment manifests itself in local humour. Often expressed are comments such as "you're no better than me" to discredit one's achievements. Achieving high academic standards or gaining representative sports status or business success is subject to criticism. To accuse such people of "forgetting they're roots" or of "trying to be somebody they're not" is to remind them of their humble beginnings. Sometimes this is said in the form of them being "stuck up", "snobby", "pakehified" or "having city ways". People who have been away from the area commonly come up against this. It is common in pubs and on maraes to hear these things.

[6] Stacey defines a 'local social system' as interrelating activities that occur within a specified locality. See Stacey (1969:134-147)

[7] See also Firth (1964:17-26) in which he gives an account of social change and the importance of conflict. Change in Ruatoria is often of a dramatic nature as people are usually not aware of things until they happen. There is usually a period of uncertainty followed by disillusionment and anger. People, in order to make some sense of their lives adjust to take some control. Firth calls such a process 'a basic assumption of homeostasis' in which conflict is a functional component of change. See Beattie (1964:224) also, who argues that this is reached when social institutions are able to maintain the status quo.

[8] See Smith (1981:55). He questions whether there is such a thing as a 'true collective identity', arguing that they are historical rather than natural formations; they are products of historical events and forces.

[9] Represented symbols of Maoridom authorities like the Department of Maori Affairs, New Zealand Maori Council and parliamentary seats in the house are seen by government as the representative voice of Maoridom. They are arguably said to know what is best for Maori people. See Spoonley (1983:5), Cox (1943:455-456) in which they discuss aspects of leadership and the State's role in ethnicity. Government also has an interest in securing elitist groups among its ranks of ethnic leaders to maintain its power.

[10] 'Tapu' is a concept that has both spiritual and 'legal' sanctions applied to it. See Appendix Two, it gives an account of Maori cosmology and the significance of tapu.

[11] A recent social and historical study of Maori drinking has been written by Donna Awatere et al (1984). The article includes national figure of Maori/non Maori drinking patterns and an interesting section on the views of drinking by urban Maori people. In comparison one may be interested in reading Marshall (1981) which is a discussion paper on the effects of drinking on Papua New Guinean people.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEMPORARY AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DRINKING

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first is a description of Ruatoria as a community. Using Stacey's concept of local social system it is possible to discuss social service provision including education, health and welfare in the area and give an overview of the current economic situation. I examine also, social change in Ruatoria, unemployment, income and wealth distribution and economic inequalities. I have included also a section on social problems in Ruatoria. The recent unrest in the community and uncertainty about the future of forestry and farming has caused considerable despair.

The second part of this chapter deals with drinking on the East Coast from the early 1800s until the Second World War. Discussed are major legislative drinking controls that were imposed on Maori people that were subsequently rejected as discriminatory. One of the aims of this section is to account for the extent legislation affected Maori drinking in terms of its effect as a deterrent. Prior to the 1890s the issue for Maori drinkers was one of access to liquor. After the first

national poll on prohibition in 1894 the issue then became one of legislative control. Women began to take a greater role in political affairs as they gained the right to vote in the same year. The history and implementation of prohibition up until the 1920s is also discussed. For almost 10 years from 1911 to 1920, the East Coast area had experienced prohibition. A. T. Ngata was a strong advocate of 'no licensing' in Maori areas and succeeded in getting it introduced into his own East Coast electorate, only to be ridiculed for his actions. I discuss the effects of the Second World War as many young Ngati Porou went away to war. The social structure of Ngati Porou changed greatly as a result. Throughout this second section I have attempted to trace the history of drinking among Ngati Porou people, in order to gain greater understanding of drinking today.

THE CONTEMPORARY SETTING

Ruatoria as a community

With a population of 1,012 inhabitants [1], Ruatoria is the largest township on the East Coast. It grew out of the demise of the coastal shipping port of Tuparoa in the early 1900s. This township was resited inland as roads were built in from the coast. Situated in the heart of the Waiapu Valley, Ruatoria rests in the shadow of Hikurangi, the sacred mountain of the Ngati Porou people. This mountain is reputed to be the first place to greet the dawn of the new day, hence

the district's name, Tairāwhiti.

Ruatoria is situated 120 kilometres north-east of Gisborne. Its rural service facilities cater for much of the area. The multi-complex Government Department Office houses the departments of Maori Affairs and Labour, the social benefits office, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Forestry Service. Currently the town has only one grocery store. Eighteen months ago three grocery stores existed but the current economic downturn brought about the closure of the other two, Williams and Kettles and Dalgety Crown (now Wrightson Dalgety).

Ruatoria has a local pub, the Manutahi Hotel, locally referred to as "the corner house". It is commonly the most frequented building on Friday and Saturday nights. The town has a garage and service station, a butchery, a branch of the Westpac bank and a post office, a drapery store, electrical appliance store, taxi service, an accountant's office and two takeaway businesses; Paul Sollet's Place, which also has an attached bakery, and the "Kai Kart", ever popular with local pub patrons.

Ruatoria has a police station with an establishment of three police officers, a voluntary fire brigade, an active Saint John's service, a resident public health nurse and a hospital out-patient clinic. The local Ngata Memorial College draws its students from Tikitiki-Rangitukia in the north to Te Puia and Waipiro Bay in the south. There are also three local primary schools, Hiruharama, which has a bilingual emphasis, Makarika and Manutahi primary schools which has strong taha Maori teachings. There are three Kohanga Reo in the

district, two in Ruatoria itself, at Mangahanea marae, Uepohatu hall and one at Hiruharama.

Recreational activities

People of Ruatoria take part in sport and leisure activities with great enthusiasm. This is, however, limited by the small range of sports facilities available in the community.

During winter months, the two major sporting events in the area are rugby and netball. It is at these times that people come together in larger than normal numbers. Netball courts are packed on Saturday mornings and in the afternoons locals support the rugby games. During winter months one also sees an increase in people drinking at both pubs and clubrooms, especially on Saturday nights.

Ruatoria has three rugby clubs all having affiliated netball teams and supporters clubs. All three clubs, Hikurangi, Ruatoria City and Ruatoria United, have a total membership including its netballers and supporters, in excess of 350 people. Ruatoria has over a dozen netball teams and as well as playing in district competitions they travel out of the area to play in larger regional tournaments.

During 1985, a fourth rugby team was launched but after a short period it found difficulty in getting players. The club was formed by members of the Rastafarians who used the name Nga Tama Toa. The name represents the fighting warriors and is taken from the whare kai (dining hall) at the Hiruharama marae.

The local Bowling Club has a large membership and attracts large spectator crowds. Basketball and swimming are two other sports activities though swimming is regarded more as a leisure activity. Other recreational activities include pig hunting and diving for kai moana (seafood). Pig hunting is a common activity among some men and they hunt all year round. They sometimes stay in the bush for weeks. Most who go diving for kai moana do so during weekends, depending on sea and weather conditions.

The economy of the East Coast

The basis of the East Coast economy lies largely in its land-based activities. High country farming has been a way of life for well over 100 years. Much of the farm land is Maori freehold owned by Maori people. The past 20 years has seen the advent of forestry. It has generated over this time employment for East Coast people and economic prosperity for local businesses. Currently there are one hundred eleven (111) people employed on the Ruatoria State Forestry, half this number live in Ruatoria.

In recent years forestry has gradually declined as a result of less available land. Many Coast families fear that one day the forestry will cease altogether and result in further social and economic decline. It has been suggested that if forestry were to cease its East Coast operations, 51% of the male workforce would be out of work [2]. With plans underway to corporatise the forestry industry (to take effect April 1987) efficiency and profit orientations come before people. The results effectively mean job losses.

Ruatoria has a small number of professional and business people mostly involved in the service sector. Professionals include those in government jobs, such as teaching, health and welfare and in the professional advisory services, like accountancy, farm, land and forestry management and animal husbandry. Business owners include farmers, forestry contractors, cartage contractors, builders, and retailers. Most local businesses employ mostly local labourers.

The largest number of those employed in the community are in manual, skilled, and semi-skilled work such as forestry, shearing, fencing, scrub-cutting and work schemes. For most manual workers incomes are relatively low. Census figures (1981) showed that on the East Coast 14% of those over 15 had no incomes, 60% of income earners received under \$10,000 and 18% of the workforce earned between \$10,000 and \$15,999. Six percent earned between \$16,000 and \$24,999 and 2% earned over \$25,000. Gisborne, the closet city, where people may go to find work, is also economically depressed. Its figures showed that 7% of those over 15 had no incomes, 62% of the Workforce earned under \$10,000 and 22% earned between \$10,000 and \$15,999. Seven percent earned between \$16,000 and \$24,999 and 2% earned over \$25,000. Comparisons between Gisborne and the East Coast employment figures show that among those at the top end of the scale numbers are the same. However, a significant difference exist at the bottom end with the Coast having twice the number of unemployed. As we see both regions have high numbers of wage earners who earn under \$10,000. In comparison to Gisborne's figures the East Coast is shown to be more adversely affected by economic change. The general low wage people receive suggests little discretionary incomes for them to spend.

National census figures comparing Maori and non-Maori unemployment and income levels states factual evidence that the Maori are generally more socio-economically disadvantaged [3].

For some, maintaining the family budget can be a difficult task. Sending children to school is expensive and this is compounded more when two or more children are attending. Most families seem to cope, however. This is probably due to the strength of family ties. For some establishing family trust accounts to which they contribute monthly is an answer to financial difficulties. Such accounts assist family members to make large purchases or to provide a future funding from which to draw for the purposes of sending children to boarding schools. A majority of families in Ruatoria, however, do not have money to put into trust and rely on immediate family support. Helping kin has always been a common practice for people. It can come in the form of financial, moral or practical assistance. Often it is simply a case of, "just being there". Looking after kids, staying with family members helping pay overdue bills or maybe giving words of advice, help people cope with emotional difficulties.

Few people in Ruatoria can be considered affluent. There are families one could perhaps term middle class. I use this term to account for those in Ruatoria who possess more wealth and property than others. They are those that are able to afford to send their children to private schools; to afford new cars every year and own nice houses. As many Maori families fit this category as pakeha. The majority are business owners and farmers. Wealth has been the result of long years of work. For some farmers wealth may have been inherited as in the

case of well established, 'well-to-do' pakeha families.

Problems in Ruatoria

Unemployment on the East Coast has always been significantly high. The September 1986 figures for the the Waiapu County District (Potaka, north of Hicks Bay to Tolaga Bay in the south) indicated that 580 people, that is, 18% of the total workforce were registered as unemployed [4]. Of this total 150 (26%) were on temporary employment schemes. This figure shows unemployment to be well above the national average which was in September 1986 at around 11%. There were logistical difficulties in getting unemployment figures for East Coast towns because Labour Department did not keep details. It was necessary, therefore, to make estimates based on those statistical figures I was given by the department. Calculated unemployment in Ruatoria was around 20%, that is, about 100-120 registered unemployed in the Waiapu district. This figure also includes those on PEP work schemes. Realistically, if one were to compare numbers of unemployed to the largest single employer, the Forestry, it is clearly evident that a large proportion of Ruatoria's income source and in fact the East Coast's income is the unemployment benefit.

Over the past two years Ruatoria's "sleepy little town" image has changed greatly. Its serenity as a close-knit community has been shattered by recent events involving the Rastafarians. In two years, beginning 1985, over thirty suspicious fires have been lit, many of which were claimed by Rastafarians. The others leave little doubt among people that the "Rastas" were also involved. A wave of horse

stealing, fence cutting, thefts and threats to people have also been blamed on Rastafarians. Residents in Ruatoria have been angered and left in total despair by this sequence of events and many are naturally apprehensive about what might happen next.

A Community Surveillance Group was set up over Christmas 1985-86 in an attempt to tackle the problem. However, in many respects it has had difficulties in defining its own objectives. Some members felt it necessary to take the law into their own hands believing literally that "fire should be fought with fire". A court case in September 1986 acquitted a surveillance member of torching a house in February in which a Rastaman, his wife and baby had been sleeping. During the same September month two fires destroyed the Ruatoria Motors Garage and the local bookshop. Both were suspicious and shocked the town. Many business people were left considering their own fate. In November, while in the process of writing this thesis a three classroom block at the school I attended as a child was also destroyed. In this same month a homestead belonging to the Williams family was gutted and two weeks later on 12 December the fire station and Reneti church at Mangahanea marae were both destroyed. In March 1987, prior to completing this thesis two churches, Mikaere at Hiruharama and Te Aranga at Ngati Porou marae were also destroyed.

One outcome of the formation of such a concerned community group has been the actual realisation that deeper social problems exist within the township. It is a volatile situation in which solutions do not come cheaply. For older people, especially, some of the deep-seated problems are beyond their comprehension where indeed their

powerlessness as individuals is reflected in their interactions with their younger generations. Young people are also upset about what has happened but find that their position as youth in Ruatoria often puts them off-side with older people. The young have always been accused of deviant acts within the community, such as vandalism, stealing and fighting. This is not uncommon to any rural or urban area. It is wrong, however, to assume all young people are to blame. It is these accusations that some young people object to, often making them supportive of what has been happening. Local people have found the problems even more difficult to resolve because government services have been found inadequate. So far they have failed to respond to some of the fundamental concerns expressed by the people.

SUMMARY

The East Coast region in general and Ruatoria in particular, is an area, socially and economically depressed. Thus change has historically given people minimal benefits. Unemployment is high, social services are minimal and farming has declined as the area's 'backbone' industry. Forestation has helped restore some sense of economic stability but this looks about to change for the worse. The economic strains placed on people have obviously affected their future hopes and aspirations. The wave of recent social unrest, particularly with regards to the Rastafarians, has not helped the community regain self-respect and decency. For the people of Ruatoria the situation has created suffering, degradation and despair. For some, their mana as Ngati Porou has been greatly harmed. The causes may well be internally-based, but some responsibility has to be placed directly at

government's feet.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DRINKING:

THE EARLY YEARS OF DRINKING AMONG THE NGATI POROU

The following section is a history of drinking among the people of Ngati Porou. This will help us understand the significance of drinking today. In this section I have only briefly referred to the social conditions and concentrated more on legislative aspects.

Early access to liquor: 1830s-1870s

With the establishment of colonial settlement in New Zealand and the Christian church came strong temperance convictions. The Womens' Christian Alliance was formed in the late 1840s and at this time Missionaries and Maori chiefs were showing concern at the extent to which Maori people were drinking. As Christianity grew among Maori people so to did their views towards temperance. The first piece of significant legislation to prohibit Maori people from drinking was introduced by Governor Grey in the 1840s. This was partly in response to the humanitarian pleas among concerned white settlers and Maori chiefs and to maintain order.

Governor Grey imposed a 'Sales of Spirits Ordinance' to increase social control over Maori people and to prevent conflict between the Maori and settlers. The ordinance was enforced in 1847 and implemented throughout tribal districts under the supervision of magistrates with chiefs as chosen court assessors. Grey believed there was a strong case to be made for preventing Maori people from obtaining liquor. The Ordinance he proposed thus applied to Maori only. This act was considered discriminatory and widely resented by Maori people [5]. As suggested by Ward (1973:144) neither government officials nor settlers understood why Maori people were so resentful of pakeha things on the one hand, and tolerated them on the other. They could not perceive that the Maori were skilful at compromising pakeha ways. Wardell commented in 1855: "The [Ngati Porou] people did not recognise the authority of the law, and yielded obedience or refused it as it suited their purposes" (Oliver:1971). An example was that, Maori people could not accept that chiefs should be jailed for their drunkenness. They believed that they should be excused as were English gentry who did the same thing.

Much later, prohibition became a voting issue in 1894 and in the early 1900s it became a strong political issue. For some Maori, however, prohibition meant nothing more than an impracticable piece of legislation because it would not stop drinking. Most Ngati Porou chiefs were themselves concerned about the affects of liquor as it was beginning to undermine their own authority as leaders. Some chiefs, however, took a more personal interest in the liquor trade as they saw profit in it.

The manner in which Maori people were introduced to liquor in the early 1800s showed their tolerance with the growing enjoyment of drinking [6] and the profit of trading it. It became fashionable to have liquor supplied at marae gatherings. Its effects, however, proved devastating on the mortality rate among Maori people (Sinclair, 1973; Ward, 1973). Excessive drinking along with poor standards of living and sickness brought about a major decline in Maori population [7].

During the 1860s alcohol consumption came to be identified by some chiefs and pakeha settlers alike as a major social problem. Court records from 1872-79 showed that, 106 Ngati Porou tribal members had been before the courts for criminal offences. Of this 106, 78 (73%) were convicted, 40 (51%) were for drunkenness (Oliver, *ibid*:157). It became apparent to tribal chiefs and government officials, that Ngati Porou men were quickly gaining a reputation for drunkenness. Colonial legislation was deliberately designed to prevent Maori access to liquor.

During the 1870s attitudes towards drinking were as diverse among the Maori of then as among those of today. In 1870 neither Raniera Kawhia, a chief in the Waiapu area, nor Mokena Kohere [8] would commit themselves to helping J H Campbell, resident magistrate, take action against the liquor trade. Campbell's primary concern was the need to correct the improper behaviour among Maori people, especially among the chiefs who had reputations as heavy drinkers. They were reluctant to assist the magistrate as they saw the profit that could be generated in supplying liquor. Furthermore, they did not want to jeopardise their own positions of leadership. To assist in controlling drinking would

have been to be at odds with a number of tribal members. Oliver (1971:54) stated: "...Maori enterprise in selling spirits shows that this was an influence which could be manipulated as well as suffered from...". Kawhia was reputed to have said that if liquor was not to be provided then no guests would come to maraes. Oliver (1971:171) wrote that Kawhia then used his own wife's tangi (funeral) to prove this point.

The diaries of Reverend Charles Baker, visiting missionary to the Waiapu district during the 1840-50s also indicate the enterprise of the local Maori in taking advantage of the growing liquor trade. In one particular entry, 30 October 1854, he stated:

"Came to Reporua where I spent some hours. There I took class of communicants and afterwards a class of candidates for baptism. Was much distressed both here and at the Horo [near Port Awanui, locally known as Te Horo] at hearing that the natives had purchased spirits from the traders wholesale and been retailing it to the worst Europeans at a pound per bottle. I warned the natives and one of the English traders that unless this abominable traffic be abandoned I should complain to the authorities. Reached Tuparoa in the evening" [9].

The trafficking and consumption of liquor was not stopped at Te Horo. It was obvious to missionaries that drinking meant a lot to some men.

In 1872, Donald McLean, Chief Land Purchase Commissioner and Native Secretary, drafted an amended Native Council Bill proposing that tribal councils, under a Maori president, should pass and enforce appropriate by-laws regulating problems of adultery (puremu),

sanitation, trespassing and drunkenness. In 1873 the Bill was withdrawn as a result of its ineffective results. McLean urged Campbell to establish an experimental council among the Ngati Porou people. In dealing with civil matters some saw their positions as enforcers of colonial law. Councils were to meet twice monthly to address colonial concerns including liquor licensing. Maori participation on the licensing bench was McLean's solution to the liquor question. It was clear that the enforcement of the 1847 Sales of Spirits Ordinance was impracticable as was highlighted by many Maori people not taking any notice of it. They also rejected it because it was directed at Maori only and thus discriminatory. McLean resolved this dilemma by ensuring Maori people had a say in the matter. The alternative was to legalise drinking, or to enforce prohibition, on both settlers and Maori people. The passing of the Outlying District Sales of Spirits Act in 1870 provided that, in districts of at least two-thirds Maori population, applications for liquor licenses were to be obtained through the consent of chief assessors. On the East Coast the two most influential were Raniera Kawhia and Mokena Kohere.

This Act required that the consent of all native assessors in a district would be required in writing, before a license to sell liquor would be granted. In 1873 it was amended giving Maori assessors increased powers. These amendments gave leading assessors power to veto new licenses or the renewal of existing ones. Eight assessors were appointed in the Waiapu Licensing district, under the authority of J.H. Campbell. Two cases of applications for liquor licenses were documented:

When Michael Mulloony applied for a license for his Sea View Hotel at Tolaga Bay in 1873, a letter in opposition was signed by only two of the eight Assessors. The Licensing Bench held that this was insufficient as the six other names appeared in support of the application. The license was subsequently granted. In 1872, James Peachey's store at Hicks Bay was boycotted by Maori residents as he refused to sell liquor to Maori people. Two assessors were sent to resolve the matter and promptly ordered him to pay a four pound fine in beer and spirits (Oliver, 1971).

A result of the 1870 Act was an increase in requests by Maori people, including the assessors, to take out licenses themselves. The Native Office, as recorded by W. Williams to the Civil Commissioner in 1864, had succumbed to an argument given by M P Kawhiti, a Northland Chief, that, "We drink for the profit of the pakeha, why should not the Maoris too make some money by the sale?" (Oliver, *ibid*)

It was the resident magistrate's prime responsibility to exercise a good sense of judgement and a firmness in decisions on licensing issues. In some areas Maori people were taking out 'bush licenses' as a result of not being able to get legal licenses. Some assessors manipulated their positions by ignoring legal duties and took a more active role in licensing purchases themselves. This meant that in some areas magistrates became more reluctant to approve Maori licenses. Magisterial officials, such as Woon in the Wanganui district, White and Kelly at Mangonui and Brabant in the Bay of Plenty all gave clear indication that they would not grant licenses to Maori people. Campbell, in the Waiapu district, however, was more lenient. He

allowed 14 licenses and 48 unlicensed Maori 'grog-houses' to be established. This concerned McLean, who expressed to him that he was being manipulated and that the Ngati Porou people were establishing a reputation for drunkenness [10].

The Outlying District Sales of Spirits Act did not prevent drunkenness in the slightest. Drinking escalated in areas where hapu groups had money to spend after their land sales. One account, documented by Oliver (1961:171), told of a hapu near Whareponga spending a considerable amount of its 12,000 pounds acquired through land sales on liquor.

Prohibition: Legislative action and controls on drinking

Before the 1890s the issue for Maori people was access to liquor. Attempts were made by Grey and district magistrates to restrict Maori people from drinking. This was done by legislating against access to liquor supplies. During the 1880s it was apparent that this action was not effective. Time passed and in the 1890s the government emphasis changed from one of limiting access to one of lawful prohibition. It became an issue for Maori people as more and more women took active roles in petitioning for prohibition. Not surprisingly Maori women also sided with their pakeha counterparts on this issue.

On national election day 1894 all voters were given the opportunity to decide whether liquor was to be sold in their electoral districts. Under the Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Act of 1893 every electoral district was constituted as a licensing district and electors

in these areas were also electors under the Licensing Act (NZOYB, 1895:246). This also included the East Coast area. The 1894 vote was not successful as inaccurate count was taken. Many voters had been struck off previous 1893 electoral roles for various reasons. The choice of preference on liquor set the precedence for future liquor voting. Voters are requested to select one of three choices, first, that state continuance remains; second, that there be a reduction in sales, and third, that prohibition be implemented. The voting conditions in 1894 ruled that if the three fifths of all voters in a district opted for a 'no licensing' law, then the district had prohibition introduced. This period was important in prohibition history as it marked the beginnings of a 30 year political debate. In 1908, 12 of the 76 districts in New Zealand went 'dry' [11]. If the numbers of people in support of prohibition were to have been carried out on simple majority basis ("most votes win" system) then prohibition would surely have been nationally imposed in 1904, 1905 and 1908.

In areas where it was not possible to determine a clear outcome in either rejecting or supporting prohibition it was decided that on the basis of a petition to government an outcome would be determined on a majority vote. In 1909 legislation was passed which ultimately changed the status of areas like the East Coast. It being an area where no clear issue either way could be determined. The three-fifths majority to swing the issue either way could not be gained. Legislation (1909) stated prompted the change:

"Prior to 1904, when upon appeal, a poll was declared void in any district, the then existing conditions as to licenses remained undisturbed until the next ensuing general election. As a result of this the carrying of "no license" in a district was generally followed by petitioning. In the above year provision was made that, in case of such an event, a fresh election should at once follow, so that now, unless the majority of either is an extremely narrow one, and likely to be reversed by the rejection or inclusion of doubtful votes, or by an error in count, the advantage of upsetting a poll is problematical" [12].

It was Apirana Ngata who supported prohibition in respect to imposing it on Maori people. In a speech addressed to Parliament in 1910, he reaffirmed his position stating that under the Maori Council Act 1900:

"Power is given to the Governor on the recommendation of a Maori Council to proclaim that in any of these districts a poll shall be taken. The issue put to the Maori electors is to be whether liquor shall be supplied to Maoris within that district or not, and if a bare majority carry the proposal, then, in addition to the restrictive provisions contained in the Bill before the House the supply of liquor from any licensed premises for any purposes except those stated in the amendment would be absolutely prohibited on pain of a penalty not exceeding 100 pounds" [13].

Ngata broadly proposed that Maori people residing in dry areas would be prohibited from entering into, or purchasing liquor from, any licensed premises. In support of the 1910 Licensing Amendment Bill, Ngata hoped that this would further discourage liquor abuse by Maori people, particularly among men. As a sponsor Ngata was ridiculed by some of his own people, yet he was supported by the Temperance Movement [14]. With women gaining the vote in 1893 they became an active political force in fighting for prohibition. Ngata's success in persuading the women of Ngati Porou to petition for prohibition was a

move to undermine the drinking among the men. The concerns that Ngata expressed were stressed at the effect drinking was having on Ngati Porou families and standards of living. Heavy drinking was leading to domestic problems and affected the household budget of many families. Housing mortgages and loan repayments for dairy cows were not being paid off. With prohibition enforced access to liquor was not however entirely restricted, what effect it did have was to make men think about their family lives. In Ann Salmond's book, Amiria, Amiria Stirling, a well known Ngati Porou chieftness, gives an account of Ngata's insistence that prohibition would be a good thing for the people of Ngati Porou, in suggesting that it was the best move women had made. Had they not petitioned for prohibition, the area would have been in a much worse state, socially and economically (Salmond, 1976:23-26).

Ngata, himself, was a strong advocate of Maori people integrating into the pakeha world but he was never entirely of the opinion that they should not lose sight of their tribal identities and integrity as a people. He advocated that values should be compromised but not to the extent that they would be based totally on pakeha lifestyles. This was a concern and a major reason he was so intent on curbing the drinking habits among men.

Politically, Ngata's campaigning for prohibition was effective in that women took the initiative, however, realistically it did not do much to change attitudes of men. According to Salmond,(1976:25) in 1911 Ngata had persuaded the Horouta Maori Council to hold a poll on prohibition. Thanks to the women prohibition was favoured literally

causing the area to go dry over night. The next poll was due to be held after a three year period. In 1914, however, government decided not hold any other poll, consequently prohibition stood for almost ten years [15]. This is not disputable, however, there is little proof that the Ngati Porou men believed the area was actually dry. Evidence suggests that the men ignored prohibition and continued to drink.

Petitioning as we have seen was all that was needed to keep prohibition enforced. The persistence among women ensured that it would remain as long as they continued to vote. Although concern and frustration were felt among Ngati Porou men they did little to change the fact that the area had prohibition. They vented their frustration directly at their women which was perhaps their only outlet. At times they had the opportunity to express their objections at Ngata when he travelled home to the Coast. It is unclear why the men tolerated the prohibition ban for so long. One possible reason for their lack of action was they perceived prohibition as bringing some good to the area. On the other hand, perhaps they did not have the opportunity to protest directly to Ngata as his visits back were so infrequent. One fact was certain however and that was many men still continued to drink. Certainly the length of time prohibition remained proved ineffective in deterring this.

One of the most vocal opponents of prohibition in the Ngati Porou was none other than Apirana's uncle, Tamiti Kaiwai. Some local residents vividly recalled the day he and fellow men did a haka in front of Mangahanea marae at a powhiri (welcome) given to Ngata. To highlight their frustration many of the men performing the haka would

indeed have been drunk. The haka was appropriately called Poropeihana (Prohibition) and was a stinging attack on Ngata's political stand as to where his priorities lay. He was seen to uphold pakeha laws which the men did not agree to. The haka was originally composed in the 1920s:

POROPEIHANA

Kaea: Kia whakanga hoki au i a au
 Katoa: Hi aue hi!
 Kaea: Ara ko nga iwi katoa ra
 O te tai whakarunga
 O te tai whakararo
 E kanga mai nei
 Katoa: Taku Upoko
 Kaea: Upoko Tapu
 Katoa: Taku Upoko
 Kaea: No Tu-ainuku
 Katoa: Taku Upoko
 Kaea: No Tu-airangi
 Katoa: Taku Upoko
 Kaea: I ahaha!
 Katoa: He koia he koia he koia ra
 Hei kai mahau te whetu
 Hei kai mahau te marama
 Piki tonu heke tonu te ika ki te Reinga
 Hi aue hi
 Kaea: I ahaha!

Katoa: Ka tu te ihiihi ka tu te wanawana
 Ki runga i te rangi e tu iho mai
 Tu iho nei - hi aue hi!

Kaea: Torona titaha

Katoa: Ksssss

Kaea: Ko Ta Apirana Ngata ra te tangata
 E taka rure mai nei ture o Poneke

Katoa: Iahaha!

Horohia mai o ture ki ahau
 Horohia mai o ture ki ahau
 Tu ana te minita ki waenganui
 Tu ana te minita ki waenganui
 O ture patua ki runga i te tekoteko
 O te whare e tu mai nei na
 Kss Ti!

Kaea: Mahi hamupaka koianaka

Katoa Kss Ti!

Kaea: Ture kaunihera koianaka

Katoa: Kss Ti!

Kaea: Poropeihana koianaka

Katoa: Kss Ti!

Ka minamina au ki te waipiro
 Ka hokona i te po
 Kss aue Kss aue - Iahaha

Katoa: Homai o ture kia wetaweta

Kss aue Kss aue Kss aue Hei!

THE PROHIBITION HAKA [16]

Leader: I shall lay down and rest

All: Hi aue hi!

Leader: All the tribes from

The North

and South

are cursing

All: Upon my head

Leader: Sacred head

All: Upon my head

Leader: It is Tu-ainuku

All: Upon my head

Leader: It is Tu-airangi

All: Upon my head

Leader: I ahaha!

All: You can have

the stars

and the moon

the fish travels up, then down, then to Reinga

Hi aue! I ahaha!

Standing above

Standing above

Leader: Seeking forth

All: Kss

Leader: Apirana Ngata is the person

formulating the laws in Wellington

All: I ahaha!

Expose your laws to us

Expose your laws to us

You stand between us

You stand between us

Your laws will be placed upon the carved figure
of the meeting house standing there [Mangahanea]

Leader: Humbug is what they are

All: Kss Ti

Leader: The Council laws are what they are

All: Kss Ti

Leader: Prohibition! that's what it is

All: Kss Ti

I thirst for liquor

and so I will obtain it by illegal means at night

Expose your laws to us

Give us these laws so we can rip them apart

Kss aue Kss aue Kss aue Hei!

Prohibition and the wartime period (1900-1945)

The licensing question vexed all successive governments. In 1909, Massey could no longer ignore the National Efficiency Board's recommendation that "a referendum be taken as soon as possible to ascertain the people's will with regard to prohibition". The Board itself was strongly in support of prohibition and the advent of both the Boer War and World War I, pressured government to heed their advice. The Board argued that "it would be beneficial to the nation and conducive to the wellbeing of the people that the importation,

manufacture and sale of wine, beer and spirituous liquors (including medicinal preparations containing alcohol) should be prohibited" (Keith, 1984:172). They proposed that a referendum be carried out in 1910.

During the same year a prohibition bill was introduced to Parliament to establish a national poll in line with the already existing regional polls. In 1911 this Bill was passed. The same year the East Coast had prohibition introduced. A 60% majority was required to carry national prohibition and, in the event of it being carried, a four year period had to elapse before becoming effective. This ensured that adjustments could be managed. It appeared too, that this was sufficient time for no licensing policies to sink in. At the election, 55.8% majority favoured prohibition, a figure that almost saw national prohibition become a reality.

In 1916 new legislation was passed because of the impending War. Called the anti-treating law it was passed under the War Regulations Act. Its objective was to promote moderate drinking in public places. Under its umbrella, commonly referred to as the "anti-shouting" regulation, treating was an offence. These were defined as:

- (a) Paying or offering to pay for drinks,
- (b) Giving or lending money to others to buy liquor, and
- (c) Buying liquor for others to consume either on or off

licensed premises, and any other act seen as a "shout".

The intention of this Act was to permit persons to enter a hotel and to pay for and consume their liquor and to leave without being expected to accept or return a drink from others. For Maori people in dry areas this had little effect other than to restrict already restricted access to drink.

In 1918 a petition, signed by an estimated 242,000 had asked government to introduce national prohibition. A referendum was held on 10 April 1919 [17]. Whatever the prospects for either side, one important yet unknown fact still had to be realised. An estimated 40,000 soldiers were stationed overseas. For this reason the 1917 licensing poll was postponed. The poll in 1919, however, still went ahead with added provisions made to record the votes of soldiers. This did not affect Maori people as wartime conscription excluded Maori men. During World War II, however this changed. The Maori Battalion was formed and went on to become perhaps the most feared army units to fight during the war.

Results given out on the night of 10 April showed that a majority of more than 13,000 were in favour of prohibition. But as the soldier votes were being counted it was still not clear which way the vote would swing. A few days later the majority vote had dwindled. On the final count a majority vote of 10,000 favoured of national continuance. This in simple terms meant soldiers had rejected prohibition. Burdon (1965) argued that this attitude was largely attributable to indignation soldiers felt: they resented that the poll was held in their absence. Burdon also argued that their inalienable right to remain enfranchised had received some recognition but that they had

been denied the opportunity to exercise any personal influence in their electorate whereas those at home were able to.

The soldiers who remained overseas were, as Burdon (1965:21) argued, "condemned to remain distant spectators of a pre-election campaign". In response to this, William Perry, a government official, argued that soldiers should have the right to vote. He remarked that the "urgent representations [by prohibitionist to parliament] were responsible for the referendum being held at so early a date and who in any case, had not been unduly anxious to allow the soldier a voice in the matter" [18]. Obviously too, attitudes were directly affected by the war situation. The physical hardships and the emotional strain of war must have had an affect on their views of those at home in New Zealand.

As prohibition gained political momentum its spirit was not deterred by stiff opposition. This spirit increased as the war years profoundly effected people's need to seek faith. Christianity was for some, especially families with men at war, a source of comfort. Burdon (1965:11) stated the "zest with which many people pursued their normal pleasures in time of war had its counterpoise in an emotional impulse towards austerity that won proselytes and inspired fresh ardor for the cause of prohibition". Despite the strongest of campaigns in April 1919 prohibition was rejected. This signalled the tide of a new wave of public opinion and though prohibition was still an issue of contention it never regained the enthusiasm it did in the past.

Prohibition over the 15 years (1920-1935) and leading up to the Second World War did not appear to curb drinking to any great extent. Ngati Porou men were still not prepared to give up and neither were they prepared to listen to their women. Some men, particularly leaders, argued prohibition was an imposition of a pakeha law that was not in itself respected by pakeha people. It convinced many that the pakeha government was discriminating against them. This was very much the same argument as that made by their ancestors during the early colonial period of the 1800s.

The advent of the Second World War and loss of many young Ngati Porou men had a great effect on their families. A young male workforce was depleted and much of the burden was placed on the existing hapu members. There were sufficient numbers of older men to work and young women had to share in the work normally assigned to younger men. Some women I talked remembered taking on responsibilities that they would not have done otherwise.

Throughout, families were informed of those killed in action and the return of soldiers after the war brought mixed feelings amongst the people: relief and happiness for those returning and sadness and mourning for those killed. A powhiri was given at maraes for returned soldiers and at some, drink was supplied. According to informants, drinking was allowed because it was felt that the returning soldiers deserved it. Prior to such times there was evidence to show that drinking was based on the decisions of the chiefs who also drank. It was used to celebrate large gatherings. After World War II Ngata himself, tolerated drinking on maraes.

SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter has been to set drinking practices in Ruatoria in a social and historical context. In the first section of this chapter I have discussed Ruatoria as a community. It was important to this study on drinking to examine social and economic structures and to highlight some of the social problems and concerns affecting the people of Ruatoria today.

In the second section I concentrated largely on discussing the historical and legislative aspects of drinking to give some idea of the extent to which Maori people, in particular, Ngati Porou reacted to controls on drinking. We see that prohibition became an important historical event during the early 1900s; previous to this, the issue for Ngati Porou was access to liquor.

Throughout this discussion, it is clear that drinking was by no means new to Ngati Porou but that it was incorporated very early into community life. By the late 1870s it had become a status symbol among chiefs. Many were clever enough to manipulate licensing regulations to seek their own financial gains. Recorded evidence suggested that drinking was common at social gatherings held on maraes during this time. Certainly this still persists today as drinking is a part of the social way of life. What we can establish from this is that attitudes have not significantly changed and that drinking is still viewed as a

symbol of status. Importantly drinking is part of the social activity that is enjoyed. Evidence shows that Ngati Porou men regarded their drinking as acceptable. It was, however, not welcomed by everyone. Some chiefs were aware that social order was being disrupted and that their authority was being undermined. In the early 1900s the move made by Ngata and Ngati Porou women to petition for the introduction of prohibition was a positive response to addressing the seriousness of their concerns. In Chapter Four and Chapter Five I discuss the extent to which drinking has defied pakeha legislation with the view to explaining its acceptance on maraes today. In the next chapter, I discuss the social context surrounding drinking in Ruatoria today.

Footnotes:

[1] Figures obtained from the 1981 Census: Waiapu regional figures.

[2] This figure was estimated by Api Mahuika, Chairperson of Te Runanga o Ngati Porou at an executive meeting 17 September 1986.

[3] See 1981 Census. At the time of writing this thesis the 1985/1986 census figures were unavailable. The 1981 figures in the NZOYB (1986/87:356) show that median incomes, that is, the point at which half of the incomes are lower and half which are higher, was \$9,936 for Maori men (\$11,975 for non-Maori men). Similarly the median was lower for Maori women (\$6,837) compared to non-Maori women (\$7,762). While income differentials can be partly explained in terms of the younger age structure of the Maori workforce, it also results from factors such as lower educational attainment and hence under-representation of Maori people in higher-paid occupations (NZOYB 1986/87:356).

[4] The September 1986 unemployment figure was obtained from Mr M. Ransley, Labour Department officer for the East Coast region October

1986. I wish to point out that it was not possible to get any unemployment figure for Ruatoria as the Gisborne Labour Department did not hold such figures for East Coast townships. The 1981 Census figures showed that the unemployed represented 14.1% of the Maori workforce compared with 3.7% of the non-Maori workforce. Maori people, in fact, made up almost a quarter (24.2%) of the unemployed. Almost half of the unemployed Maori population were aged between 15-19 years of age, while a further 21.6% were aged 20-24 years (NZOYB 1986/87:328).

[5] Awatere et al (1984). See her section: 'On the earlier frontier'. pp1-13. She makes the point that Maori people were very much aware of the discriminatory nature of colonial drinking regulations.

[6] See Awatere op cit. It has been widely published by many authors that during the early 1800s Maori people were known to have acquired a liking for liquor.

[7] Maori population figures from 1830-1860 are rather fragmentary, however, it is probable that the population was in a state of decline, see Sutch (1969), Oliver (1968). On the East Coast figures calculated by missionaries during this time estimated the population from Mahia to East Cape to be 20,000. This figure, however, appears to be exaggerated as four years later Henry Wardell, Poverty Bay's first magistrate, estimated somewhere around 6,800. Neither estimate was considered accurate.

[8] See Mackay (1972:174). He gives a biographical background of Mokena Kohere, a well known Ngati Porou chief and magisterial assessor. See Salmond (1976: ibid) for biographical information on Raniera Kawhia.

[9] cited in Eastcott, 1982:37

[10] Campbell to McLean, 30 June 1872, AJHR.

[11] The term 'dry' refers to a 'no licensing district'. An electoral area which has voted in favour of prohibition.

[12] cited in the NZOYB 1909.

[13] Hansard Volume 153, 25 October - 5 December 1910.

[14] In his most active years as political leader during the early 1900s, Apirana Ngata was often accused by his own people of Ngati Porou for being too much on the pakeha side. He was criticised many times for failing to accommodate their own needs in relation to land and finance, also in respect to his stand on the prohibition issue. Ngata's view was that prohibition should be introduced separately for Maori people. The temperance movement considered this to be necessary.

[15] Salmond (1976) quoted her source of information on the introduction of prohibition to the East Coast as Graeme Butterworth. She points out, however, that this is only one version.

[16] This haka has many translated versions. This one, though not as eloquently expressed, was found written in collection of Ngati Porou waiata. It was checked for translations by some of my informants.

[17] In 1918 the Licensing Amendment Act provided for the holding of a referendum, abolishing the four year period of grace in favour of immediate enforcement, but, with the added clause of compensatory payments made to the liquor industry. In place of the 60% vote, a majority vote was substituted. If national prohibition was not carried at any referendum then triennial polls would be resumed with the three issues of choice similar to the choices given at regional polls. An absolute majority was needed to carry either of the last two options, they being, state purchase and control, and national prohibition.

[18] William Perry at the Auckland Town Hall accused prohibitionists of trying to avoid having soldiers votes taken. "In support of this statement Mr Perry quoted the resolution of the New Zealand Alliance, asking for the referendum, in which, he said, no reference was made to the soldiers." New Zealand Herald, 15 December, 1919. Cited in Burdon 1965:21.

CHAPTER THREE

DRINKING IN RUATORIA

This chapter describes and accounts for the form in which drinking takes place in Ruatoria. In order to gain a greater appreciation of the extent to which people are influenced by alcohol I examine the effects of advertising through the media. Secondly, I look at how government has traditionally responded to the question of alcohol use and abuse. I follow on from this to look at the physical effects of alcohol on individuals; how people respond differently to alcohol and I explore the different locations people drink at in Ruatoria. This gives us an idea of the extent to which drinking is done. By examining people's views towards normal and excessive forms of drinking I establish how drinking behaviours are perceived. To further define drinking in Ruatoria I discuss the meaning of the shout as a common drinking gesture and discuss views of older people in Ruatoria towards younger drinkers. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of some of the drinking problems observed in Ruatoria.

LIQUOR ADVERTISING AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

To understand the significance of drinking it is necessary to know something of the effects of liquor advertising on people. In order to look at this issue we need to examine the workings of the media. Most people have radios and televisions and read daily newspapers. This influences affects their lives and how they see the world. With regards to government involvement, they, along with liquor companies, do not appear interested in telling the public how to curb their drinking. A resulting effect is that we accept drinking as normal. As such drinking problems appear to be expected. We could, perhaps, say therefore that government condones drinking driving, domestic violence and other serious crimes attributable to alcohol abuse [1]. As people are prompted drink more, a corollary is for drinking problems to increase. Liquor companies do not accept any blame for this. Yet, as shall be discussed, they proprot the drinking myth: that drinking is socially accepted as a good thing and that its abuse is not that much of a concern. We therefore need to know something of how advertising works, that is, how it encourages people to drink.

Marketing strategies are the key to the success of any form of advertising. Getting people to buy products is what advertising aims to achieve. Liquor is advantaged in that it is in readily available form and there is easy access to it. People are able to buy alcohol at any number of outlets including, hotels, licensed restaurants, cut-price liquor stores and social clubs. Moves have been suggested by the large liquor companies to introduce alcohol into supermarkets and

chemist stores; a move which would see access increased.

Liquor manufacturers argue that their advertisements are not responsible for making people increase their drinking. Yet this contradicts their aims of attracting as many people to drink alcohol. It does this by targeting the widest markets it possibly can. The most attracted being the young; the 18-25 year age group, that which consistently has the highest drunk driving fatality rate on New Zealand roads [2].

The large financial reserves held by liquor companies are used to promote products. Sporting and cultural events such as rugby and music are the most common mediums used by liquor companies to advertise products. Lion Breweries and its Steinlager promotion, is a key sponsoring body in New Zealand's 1986 America's Cup challenge as seen on television; its Rheineck beer promotion sponsors radio station music shows and has helped rock bands produce and sell records. This link between the liquor companies and the leisure activities of many New Zealander is to highlight the significance of alcohol as a fun and enjoyable thing to do. New Zealand's two largest breweries, Lion and Dominion, compete for major sponsorship roles and spend a great deal of money trying to compete each other.

Liquor advertising has the capacity to present drink in a fashionable way. Emphasised most is its palatability and thirst quenching qualities. Open daily newspapers and people find cut price and discount advertising. In some magazines, alcohol advertisements appeal to the more sophisticated drinker.

When perusing through such articles the reader is led to believe that alcohol brings desirable qualities. Some of these include, self assurance; joviality and friendship and improved sexual performance. These often appear over-exaggerated. It encourages young men to think that drinking is a pre-requisite of manhood; the importance of being "macho"; of being able to their alcohol. We see advertisements depicting masculine men consuming alcohol after a vigorous game of rugby, or a hard day's work. These images give the appearance of acceptability to drink. We see little of the disturbing consequences drink can cause in these situations.

Television undoubtedly has a big impact on people's lives. While most news and current affairs programmes address themselves to problems of alcohol, the rest seem to promote and encourage drinking. Naturally, liquor companies enjoy the high exposure of alcohol. Television characters portray drinking images that are suppose to reflect normal drinking attitudes. Soap operas and family movies show frequent scenes where drinking takes centre stage. This is intended to make scenes more realistic but in fact it over generalise and falsely present alcohol. For example, where television heroes are portrayed as men who have a capacity to fight, shoot straight, drive a fast car, make love and make life-saving decisions in the perils of certain death, all while unhindered by their drinking. Movie-makers, in their ideas of 'what is real', perpetuate the image that only 'real men' drink. In such movies male non-drinkers are shown often as coward and feminine. In such movies only women of disrepute are ever portrayed as heavy uncontrolled drinkers.

As part of a drinking ideology these images are reflected in general attitudes people hold. They impress upon them that to socialise one needs to drink. My observations suggest that alcohol seen on television in this context, grossly misrepresents what it does in reality. It is not always something good or to be proud of. Though I do not argue that alcohol can often generate better communication among people; help make new friends and make one more sociable, it does have detrimental effects on behaviour. Being human, we tend to believe what we are told to believe and that drinking is a good thing.

Drinking will always be advertised as a good thing because large financial interests are at stake for both government and the liquor industry. It is acknowledged by poets and novelists and epitomised by cinema and other cultural media. It is used as an excuse in courts of law and is strongly upheld as the right of the individual. In New Zealand drinking is a major concern. Government recognises its responsibility to address problems of abuse but also sees the need to maintain revenue received from liquor taxes. A review of New Zealand liquor licensing laws conducted throughout 1986 [3] sees the issue of social costs of drinking being weighed up against economic costs. One would not be surprised if economic concerns were to be the priority of such a review committee. There are strong suggestions that the report recommendations will free up the liquor trade and allow for better 'social' rather than 'economic' accountability in dealing with alcohol-related problems.

The argument used by the liquor industry that restricting liquor sales to people will contravene individual rights is itself manifestly

untrue. Rights have already been successfully violated with regard to drugs such as cannabis, heroin, sedatives and more recently with glue. The fact that the alcohol industry has a lot of money tied up in advertising and promotion makes the issue an economic one.

I have discussed in this section the contradictory nature of alcohol advertising in New Zealand. The ideology that it persists as a good thing and the social reality of what it means to people reaches the living rooms of everyone. In newspaper, on television, in magazines and on the radio, to drink is the norm. Drinking is not a choice people make freely, they are influenced by what they are told. Drinking is a social norm partly made responsible by government's economic interests in maintaining it as such.

THE EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL

Studies of the effects of alcohol on individual behaviours show that individuals are affected in different ways. That is, behaviour when drunk is partly dependent on personality traits. As well, the situational influences are important. Alcohol is a stimulant depressant which when consumed releases tensions, anxieties and inhibitions to be released. For some this means being happy and in a relaxed frame of mind. It may even mean being less inhibited in socialising with others. For others it means violent and aggressive behaviour results.

Alcohol effects are also related to how much one drinks. I observed many social gatherings where shy young people approach those they find attractive to ask for dances or to have conversations with. I also observed some normally quiet people become abusive and violent when drunk. Stimulant depressants suppress central nervous activity thereby distorting perception and judgement. As well as its effects on the central nervous system, alcohol, when consumed over long periods of time affects other body functions and organs including the liver, heart, intestines, reproductive systems and blood circulation. In Appendix Three I have given a detailed outline of some of the more complex physiological affects of drinking. Alcohol is an addictive drug which means that people who have been drinking heavily over many years develop both physical and psychological dependency. After a period of abstinence these drinkers suffer chronic alcohol withdrawal symptoms.

DRINKING LOCATIONS

Ruatoria's rural isolation means that people come together on different occasion to drink; both young and old, men and women, pakeha and Maori. They drink at the same pubs, attend the same social functions and go to the same parties. There are few occasions where one does not see all these groups in evidence. It is interesting though not unpredictable to note that few pakeha people ever go to maraes to drink. This is soley the drinking domain of local Maori people.

In Ruatoria there are a number of places where people can obtain alcohol; the hotel, the bowling club and the RSA have licenses to sell. A license was also granted to the City Rugby Club in 1985. Presently, they are the only rugby club in Ruatoria with such a liquor license. The other rugby clubs are still in the process of obtaining licenses. However, in spite of not having one they serve alcohol on their premises. Over the last 20 years rugby clubs have moved their functions away from the pubs and maraes and now centre them at their clubrooms. For larger functions, however, like cabarets, maraes are frequently still used.

The Manutahi pub is the most common drinking place in Ruatoria. Commonly referred to as "the corner house", "the local watering hole" and the "boozer" it attracts large numbers of people usually on Friday and Saturday nights. During winter months its patronage increases on during weekends as rugby and netball teams drink there after clubrooms close. Patronage during the winter weekdays is, however very low. Few local people venture out to the pub when it is cold and wet. Few local men are attracted as they have commitments to rugby training. These low numbers were of some concern to the local pub owner as he was not making any profit. He notified patrons that from 31st May to 1st October 1986, he would be closing the pub at 8pm on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. This was renegotiable for those people who wished use the pub for private functions. After the 1st October the pub would resume its normal drinking hours. It seems likely this will be a standard practice in the future.

The pub does not have much competition with other rival outlets in Ruatoria as basically there is no others, apart from a wine shop owned by a local business owner. Local people will travel to pubs in Tikitiki or Te Puia to drink. Others find it cheaper to go to Gisborne to buy alcohol in bulk. This is because of dissatisfaction with the prices at the local pub. Some buy it for their own home consumption while others hosting gatherings find it more convenient to buy it from Gisborne at reduced cost.

An interesting conversation point to come out of talks with the people was that many viewed maraes with being similar to pubs. People were not meaning to be disrespectful but were making the point that both were places where locals knew everybody else and, of course, it was a place where people socialised and enjoyed themselves:

"It's where we go to have a good time, talk the local gossip and to get pissed. You see this happening on maraes" (Man:drinker:40).

"The pub is a marae, look around you, everybody's here enjoying themselves" (Man:drinker:30).

"One day we might have to shift our marae huis down to the pub because that's where everyone seems to be" (Woman:non-drinker:45).

"If you want to know anything that's happening in Ruatoria just go down to the pub and ask" (Woman:drinker:23).

The local RSA building and the bowling Club both have frequently patronised facilities. The RSA is open to its members on Friday nights

and its facilities are used by local community groups, such as the Lions Club, when holding club meetings. The RSA also hires out its facilities to individuals and families wishing to host a gathering. It is also used for cabarets and larger gatherings of this nature. The bowling club also allows its premises to be used for such occasions, however, being small in comparison to other venues it is not suited to large gatherings. The club has allowed the Ruatoria Tennis Club access to its bar facilities and during the tennis season many players frequent the bowling club for drinks.

In Ruatoria, homes are also common drinking locations. After pubs close people get together for a party. Usually someone in the group agrees to having it at their home. They, however, restrict activities to their garages or sheds in case people fight or damage is caused to their property. In Ruatoria only a small number of people prefer to drink at home rather than at the pubs as they enjoy drinking in the comfort of their own homes. Most are moderately drinkers who may occasionally go to the pub for a drink though some are known to be 'closet' heavy drinkers.

Drinking has commonly been associated with sporting and leisure activities. Given the number for sporting facilities in Ruatoria it is not surprising that a lot of drinking is done. At the end of rugby matches or bowling matches drinking is a part of the social activities; in effect it is the social part of the game. Often in these drinking situations games are relived and discussed with greater enthusiasm; people enjoy talking about particular incidents over drinks. As such part of the enjoyment of any sport is in the drinking.

Leisure activities such as going to the beach, relaxing at home or playing cards also involve drinking. People find it difficult to conduct their sporting and leisure pastimes without alcohol. As I have discussed, this is largely tied into the drinking character of New Zealand society.

MODERATE AND EXCESSIVE DRINKING IN RUATORIA.

People in Ruatoria see little distinction between moderate and excessive forms of drinking. To drink is to do what the majority do and what the majority do is never defined as excessive. People drink because they enjoy it and it helps them relax. Eighty two (80%) people I spoke to considered themselves sociable drinkers that is, they did not drink too much. This suggested that their overall drinking behaviour was moderate and normal. They had little reason to question their own drinking as it was common to what everyone else did. Many did find it difficult, however, to distinguish between moderate and excessive drinking. One person commented that: "the difference between heavy drinking, and what I do, is that I get on the piss alright, but I don't get pissed all the time". The point made was that to get drunk everyday was abnormal which suggested that one is a heavy drinker.

Normal drinkers see themselves as normal because of two reasons. First, that they do not consider themselves to make a habit of getting drunk, and second, that if they wanted to they could control how much

they drink. For them it was a matter of choice. It was pressure from friends also, but this could be controlled.

One observed feature of drinking among men was the importance they placed on being as "good a drinker as anybody"; that to be a better than one's mate was to be admired. Some men took great pride in this and enjoyed their local reputations as able to handle their drink. I found they were invariably the most ardent of all drinkers to deny that they were in no way problem drinkers. They saw no connection between themselves and problems surrounding heavy drinking.

Most people are faced with financial difficulties even in the best of times, yet a number of those who spend a great deal of time and money in the pub are those least able to afford it. Despite their financial situation they did not seem to restrict their spending. A number of large spenders are on the dole or work on PEP schemes often having families to support. Money was not a restriction in their drinking, they would borrow or in some cases write out dishonoured cheques if they had none.

The local drinker considered to be heavy drinkers were usually those that everybody knew to be a "piss-head". Local comments suggested that they were depicted as individuals with no other interest other than drinking and seemed to drink everyday at all hours of the day. Appearances suggested that alcohol came before self-respect. The distinction that "being drunk once in a while" was alright, but "being drunk all the time" was according to most people the key between normal drinking and heavy drinking. A few locals even said that the overall

local drinking was itself heavy and considered this normal. This was disputed by others who felt that it was not true because there were certainly other areas elsewhere in the country that had much heavier drinking.

There are in Ruatoria more men who drink at pubs on a regular basis than women. This is not to suggest that more men in fact drink. There are some women who drink as regularly as some men. They are a minority in comparison and are considered less of a problem. In some cases, however, they can be just as violent and aggressive and become difficult for people to deal with.

The heaviest drinkers in Ruatoria were people who were easily identifiable because of their local reputations. Though relatively few in number they consistently frequent pubs and other drinking premises. Described as people who: "drank every day in pubs" and had "nothing better to do" their drinking was often tolerated. Some commented that they "spend all their money in the pub boozing", "drinks more than everyone else", and "always drunk and wanting to fight". One person described them as "reliable town clocks" as their drinking patterns and frequent trips to the pub could be relied upon if one wished to know the time of day.

Throughout my observations I came to a conclusion that people rationalised their drinking by reference to others, usually those sharing similar drinking patterns or in contrast to the heavy drinkers. A comment often associated with making such a distinction is that: "My drinking is not as bad as other people's drinking". Of all those I

interviewed and talked with none considered themselves a heavy drinker. The views given that they were in no way 'problem drinkers' suggested that problem drinking only affected the few very chronic alcohol drinkers. Rationalising was also a way, however the heavy drinkers attempted to moderate his/her own drinking patterns. They often said that their drinking was no different to others they knew of.

The overall picture was that to get drunk perhaps once a week was not drinking heavily as this was as what most drinkers did. The unacceptable level of drinking in the community was that which was of concern to normal drinking; drinking by a person who makes it a habit is to get drunk everyday and do unsightly things in public, like pissing in the pub, spewing in the carpark or sleeping on the footpath during daytime when this sort of activity is not often seen.

THE SHOUT: A DEFINITION

A shout can be given at the pub or at homes and is usually a feature of most drinking occasions. It has been around for a long time and as explained in Chapter Two, during the first World War, shouting was a criminal offence. Shouting is a general term used to mean buying drinks for oneself and friends. This originated from drinking sessions in pubs where people took turns at buying rounds of drinks. Today, common signals are used for one to buy the next round of drinks. These are well known in drinking circles; the sitting positions people are in can indicate who shouts next, empty bottles stacked next to a person

or a verbal hint, "Whose shout?" may be used. When people meet it is common for them to shout each other. Often locals shout visitors as a gesture of hospitality. Some locals even take "bets" among themselves where winners are shouted.

Shouting also takes place on maraes and it is an extension of what happens in pubs. In Chapter Five I discuss this, however, it is important to state facts surrounding of the shout as they relate to maraes also. As a way of thanking guests who have attended a gathering a shout can be offered in place of providing large amounts of alcohol. It can also be for thanking workers. Shouting has similarities to the koha in that it is seen as a gift. However, as people quickly point out, a shout is a term only used when referring to drinking. A koha has a more important meaning as it refers to something of more traditional significance to maraes.

Today the shout is a common feature to maraes. It is far more likely that one would see this happening than the provision of large amounts of alcohol. Whereas in the past feelings of shame and embarrassment were often associated with families not being able to supply alcohol this has changed. People have become a lot more budget orientated when it comes to spending money on alcohol for large gatherings and as a result shouting is less expensive.

VIEWS OF OLDER PEOPLE TOWARDS YOUNG DRINKERS:

Views of men

Most older men (36-80) in Ruatoria drink and many had firm ideas about drinking among younger people. Ruatoria has a large youth population aged between 15-25 and most of them drink (including a number under the legal drinking age) also. Among older men there is a tolerance to younger drinkers but there is also a reluctance to drink with them. This reluctance is tied to the fact that older people drink as part of a group and similarly younger people drink as part of their own group. Older men, however, show less tolerance towards younger drinkers, usually young men when they get abusive and get into fights. They are considered not being able to handle their drinking. One older man commented "They shouldn't drink if they don't know how to handle it". With this view being generally the case it was quite common for older men to assume all young people have not learnt to drink properly. As commented:

"What some young buggers needs when they're drunk is bloody good hidings" (Man:drinker:30).

"That woman is always at the pub getting pissed and she leaves the kids at home by themselves" (Grandfather:non drinker:58).

"Some young fellas are hard-core piss-heads. They drink too much" (Man:drinker:40).

Many older men were consciously aware that young people also smoked cannabis and this had an effect on how they viewed them in

general. They could not accept the fact that young people believed cannabis smoking to be a drug the same as alcohol. Their prejudice was based on the grounds that cannabis was illegal. In Appendix Six I have included an interesting section on the views of older people to the smoking of cannabis. One of the important findings to come out of study is that for young people drinking and cannabis smoking were inseparable. That is, usually when they drank cannabis was also smoked by.

Views of women

The views of women (36-70) towards young drinkers, were generally a lot more sympathetic than the views of men. However, there was obvious concern shown. Older women were mostly concerned that younger people had little else to do but drink. They were concerned that there were no jobs around for them and that there was little the town could offer them. Many were harshly critical of older men who drank heavily, believing that they were setting bad examples for younger people to follow. They saw this as undignified and harmful to the reputation of older people deserving respect. This was summed up in the words of one woman: "The worst offenders of drinking around town and on our maraes are some of our old people". She went on to say:

"Our young people are involved in all sorts of things, getting drunk, smoking that stuff [cannabis] and doing all sorts of bad things. I mean look at what's happened the past few months, stealing horses, cutting fences, assaulting and threatening people and all sorts of other things, but you know, they can't be blamed for all this, something's wrong no jobs, no money and no one to help them out. It's sad" (Woman:non drinker:76)

Some older women, such as this women, remembered the years when prohibition introduced to the Coast. Few of these women drink and this is probably connected to the influences of their mothers and grandmothers during prohibition times.

SOME DRINKING PROBLEMS IN RUATORIA

Alcohol abuse has always existed as a reality for drinking societies. Its effects are far reaching and cause considerable pain and suffering for families and communities. It has been a cause broken homes, domestic violence, problems at work, loss of social status, financial strife and death [4]. It is a concern for most people. Alcohol related are problems exist in Ruatoria and it is commonly known that some people have had to give up drinking because of illness; that husbands beat their wives and that people are in financial crisis. These were important areas that I could not spend much time on as they required more indepth study. However, such a study in the future would be of great value for other researchers to undertake.

One particular problem are stemming from alcohol abuse widely that I observed while conducting my fieldwork was the incidence of drink driving. I attended one near fatal accident that almost claimed the lives of two local women returning home after a netball meeting. They collided head-on with a drunk driver returning home after the pub.

Even on the East Coast some drinkers consider themselves to be as good a driver when drunk. It sometimes seems like a miracle that some people are able to drive drunk and still reach their destination without incident. Ministry of Transport convictions in the area resulting from drunk driving were unattainable as there has not been a stationed traffic officer since the end of 1985. Police figures, however, for October 1985 to October 1986 showed six people were arrested on various drunken charges [5]. No known arrests were for drunk driving. This unknown figure does not, however reflect the a true indication of the extent of the problem. Many people do in fact drive while drunk and this I observed. Many vehicles left pubs, maraes, clubrooms and homes while drivers were intoxicated. I suspect that not having a traffic officer has made it easier for people to become complacent about the law, especially during Friday and Saturday nights when pubs are social functions are well patronised. Over a period from March 1985 to September 1986 there were two fatal accident in the vicinity of Ruatoria. Both involved a drunk person being killed. Reports of non-fatal accidents involving alcohol, however, are impossible to gauge as many go undetected.

SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed some of the important influences on alcohol including how the media, sport and recreation and peer pressure affects people attitudes to drink. Understanding this has helped clarify the social context in which drinking is seen. From this we gain a better appreciation of how maraes have been affected by drinking. We can see the extent to which drinking fits into social occasions. I have shown that people of Ruatoria are able to make some distinction between what they consider excessive drinking and what they consider normal, however, as stated also, drinking is what the majority do and what the majority do is not considered excessive. We see that the number of drinking locations in Ruatoria is on the increase and this provides more opportunity for people to drink. Discussed in some detail is the relationship between young drinkers and older drinkers and this highlights one of the major areas of conflict in the community. I concluded this chapter with a discussion of some of the major social problems especially drink driving caused by excessive drinking. Such problems are common in other communities and my aim has been to show that Ruatoria and the East Coast can no different to other areas in terms of drinking.

Footnotes:

[1] See Bradbury, Jane (1982) and Casswell, Sally (1980). Both reports are written about New Zealand drinking attitudes. See also Casswell (1986a) and (1986b pp:7-10).

[2] The most recent New Zealand report on road deaths was conducted the 1984. Of the total of 668 killed on roads 287 (43%) were young people aged between 15-25. Of the same total 146 (22%) were recorded where alcohol was considered a key factor. See the Ministry of Transport report on motor accidents in New Zealand 1986. Also Stacey, B. 1981: A report on youth and alcohol in New Zealand.

[3] See The Sales of liquor in New Zealand report, prepared by the Working Party on Liquor in October 1986. Department of Justice, Wellington.

[4] See Bradbury 1982, op cit.

[5] These figures were provided by the Ruatoria Police. No other source could be located during the course of my fieldwork. The Ministry of Transport in Gisborne was not able to provide any information to support the Police findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MARAE

This chapter gives a general description of maraes and how people make use of them. Examined is the extent to which planning and organisation is undertaken and the extent to which marae social organisation has changed. This includes work roles and preparations for the hakari. A primary issue dealt with in this Chapter is the meaning people attach to marae protocol. I examine some of the difficulties associated with how it is viewed; its contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences. I describe protocol as something that was in the past, commonsense and describe the tangi to give an idea of protocol's relative complexity. Also discussed is leadership, particularly the roles of both the kaumatua and Maori wardens.

A description of the marae

The marae is the grassed area in front of a meeting house; the courtyard of the speakers, the sacred zone on which the kai korero (speakers) deliver speeches and orations of welcome, farewell, pleasure and anger, of fact and fiction. The marae is considered by people to be tapu. It once existed as an institution on which all social

activities took place. Firth (1959:96) defined it as:

"The marae of the village was bound up with all the most vital social happenings, with warm and kindly hospitality, with stately and dignified ceremonial, with the groupings of hosts and visitors in position determined by etiquette and traditional procedure. This helps account for the fact that to the native it was more than a simple open space in the village or a convenient assembly ground, and bore a distinct social importance."

However, in reality one can observe at common gatherings, children run all over it without restraint, people cross it regularly while speeches are going on, and cars, buses and sometimes trucks drive across it. According to common useage , the marae is not only the grassed area but the whole complex including the dining hall, cook house, church and public conveniences as well. This complex incorporates a number of innovations now regarded as basic amenities; electricity, hot and cold running water and shower facilities.

Maraes around Ruatoria

There are 16 maraes still in active use around Ruatoria today [1]. Of these, three are regularly used for large functions. They are, Hiruharama, south along the main road to Gisborne; Mangahanea, situated on the Tuparoa road and Porourangi, 20 kilometres along the Waiomatatini road towards Port Awanui. Uepohatu Memorial Hall, adjacent to the Whakarua park domain in Ruatoria, is referred to as a "community" marae, though strictly speaking it is a community hall. Over recent months Uepohatu, Hiruharama and Mangahanea have undergone extensive renovations, thus closing them for public use. Other maraes

were also under renovation.

PLANNING AND ORGANISING FOR THE USE OF A MARAE

Work involved in organising a gathering is simplified because it does not vary greatly from one gathering to the next. The variables include the numbers of guests likely to attend and those likely to help out as workers. Little is needed in the way of specialised training for work as locals learn by experience at an early age. Thus their work experience is a marae's greatest asset. Those in charge, the kai whakahaere (organisers), are not responsible for doing the bulk of the work but rather they oversee that essentials are taken care of. This includes sorting out food supplies; checking tasks have been done; looking after workers and generally making sure things runs smoothly. My observations of marae workers shows that making decisions is the responsibility of everyone and they is often left up to those who happen to be there. Decisions are commonly based on the experiences of having done similar work before.

Planning for gatherings like birthdays and weddings, take months of preparation. The activities begin with families sorting out their catering and financial matters. Some family members provide meat, potatoes, kumaras and vegetables from their own gardens while others help with providing extra cutlery and cooking utensils. Such preparations normally take place before a marae has been hired for the event. This is essentially to ensure that sleeping arrangements can be

made for visitors. Normally, included in hiring procedures is the application of a liquor permit, that is, if a decision is made to have alcohol available. This is done to ensure at least some control is taken over drinking.

Because it is possible to forecast and plan such gatherings, including the cabaret, there is more chance that they will be of a large and lavish scale. Arranging them, however, is based primarily on the economic circumstances, that is, how much hosts can afford. Often timing will coincide with favourable conditions. Preference is made for the summer months, avoiding winter when kai is in short supply and harsh weather prevails. It is common for birthdays or unveilings to be held earlier or later than one would normally expect. Long weekends such as Queen's Birthday, Labour weekend or Easter provide appropriate times. Weddings are commonly planned around these dates so large numbers are able to attend. Occasionally, two or more events are celebrated at the same marae. A birthday and a wedding for example, or a wedding and an unveiling or a birthday and an unveiling. These occasions, however, would only involve members of the same family.

There is always a possibility that a celebration might have to be relocated or postponed because of a tangi. Often tentative plans are made in case this happens. A tangi is considered to have precedence over most other functions on maraes. It always brings large visiting groups wishing to pay respects and often this means a family has to an appropriate marae to accommodate everyone.

Work and co-operation on the marae

The work at any marae is always mutually dependent. That is, everyone works together as a team. There is a spoken whakatauki (proverb) in Ngati Porou that is symbolic of work and the importance of everyone's help: "Ma nga raho, ka tu te ure", meaning co-operation is vital for good working relations. Those, behind the scenes, in the kauta (cookhouse) are as important as the kaumatua who stand to speak on behalf of the marae and its people. No particular group, therefore has complete authority over marae matters. This sometimes makes for conflict between different people with different roles. It is not uncommon that this results as conflict is an essential part of marae politics. Discipline sometimes becomes a problem and marae protocol is one way of resolving this.

Kaumatua are necessary to bring mahana (warmth) to a marae. As figure-heads their leadership also extends into the community. They are seen as experts in most things Maori and people expect them to be responsible custodians of tribal lore. They are also considered the teachers and mentors of younger generations. A sad fact, however, is that this is often not the case. It is apparent that their role as teachers of traditions has lost its meaning especially for the young generation.

The hakari: feast

A hakari is a banquet climaxing the end of marae celebrations. It usually takes place at the conclusion of all gatherings, though at times, for convenience sake, it may be held earlier. The success of any marae gathering is dependent largely on the extent to which a hakari has been judged successful by visiting groups and visiting locals. The most important criteria are the quantity and quality of food and drink provided. Guests express gratitude to the cooks ringawera [2] who prepared the hakari in speeches made during the feasting. To thank and praise them is a general sign of courtesy. "Pai nga mahi o nga ringawera, reka tonu kai", "Thank you to the cooks, the meal was very nice", is often heard over the clatter of knives and forks and the laughter of people enjoying themselves.

A lack of satisfaction experienced by guests can mean that cooks are subject to humorous forms of insult. Not having supplied enough kai or alcohol may offend some. This is an embarrassment to the people of a marae and something they do not forget easily. Often though, it is widely acknowledged that finances and costs are usually the cause of maraes limiting food and drink. People also recognise that not everyone can be pleased.

At the hakari praise is something local people like. The atmosphere surrounding the event is one of relaxation and enjoyment with a lot of eating and drinking going on. Cooks sometimes perform action songs and encourage visitors to join in. At the conclusion of a hakari, people, including guests, help to clean up, stacking chairs,

washing dishes and sweeping floors.

When hosting a hakari it is important that the best can be provided. This has always been how visiting guests have been honoured. Even among friends at informal meetings a kai is important. There is much to be gained from providing a large and satisfying feast. In the past a hakari was very much a hapu responsibility. Every marae had its system of workers involved in the harvesting, hunting and gathering food. The sharing of responsibility ensured that supply would be maintained. The planting of kumara was supplemented by the hunting of both native and exotic animals, including pigeon, wild pig and the native rat. Before colonisation human flesh was also considered part of the staple diet. The forest also provided rich sources of food, fruits and berries.

As well as being hunters Ngati Porou people fished. Kai moana was often gathered for the hakari. This food consisted of fish, crayfish, kina, paua, paringo and other sea dwellers. Today, people still gathering the same sorts of food, however, it is no longer necessary for them to hunt or gather all supplies as essentials can easily be bought at local grocery stores. Many still enjoy diving or pighunting for special occasions. The delicacies most people look forward to at a hakari is always the kai moana.

MARAЕ PROTOCOL

The powhiri: welcoming of visitors

The powhiri (welcome procedure) signals the commencement of all activities on the marae. The karakia (prayer) is significant to the powhiri as it addresses the spiritual importance of any occasion. All maraes around Ruatoria have strong religious ties though there are people of different maraes who belong to different church denominations [3]. The karakia is carried out in accordance with protocol. As manuhiri (visitors), approach a marae its members are considered by tangata whenua to be tapu, that is, they are viewed with caution and respect. This remains so until the formal greetings end with the hongiri (pressing of noses) and ruru (shaking of hands).

To ensure all this runs smoothly, marae protocol is a guide to what people do. Observed during the speeches between manuhiri and tangata whenua are the formalities of such protocol. Methods of speaking commonly used are tau utuutu, in which tangata whenua and manuhiri alternate their speakers, and paeke, the speaking procedure of Ngati Porou. This is where speakers from both sides speak in blocks, the tangata whenua always having first speaking rights. It is important that a manuhiri know these procedures as it shows respect. Tangata whenua determine protocol and manuhiri need to acknowledge this [4].

Manuhiri should also know at least something of the people and the marae they have come to visit. However, this is not always the case.

For obvious reasons when some people visit a marae for the first time they do not know how to act. Solidarity as a group is important among manuhiri as it has obvious comforting interests. It is common for the manuhiri to work out strategies in terms of who will speak, what topic each will speak on and what waiata will be sung by the group. All this goes on before entering a marae, often while still sitting in vehicles. This procedure also happens among tangata whenua. People pick out those they know in a visiting group and then pass this information to their kai korero (speakers). It is necessary to know who is who. Finding this out before the powhiri is important. At such times kaumatua from both sides may yell to each other to sort out matters. The object is to establish links. Making these connections is the role of the kaumatua where knowing people is significant to their importance as leaders.

The whaikorero: speaking on the marae

The whaikorero (speech) represents a status symbol where a speaker establishes authority over those present. A speech contains knowledge and understanding of whakapapa (genealogy) which is important to people. Speakers must know the exact links between themselves and their visitors. A waiata complements a speech and this is important as a group activity on both sides. It is common and considered appropriate, however, for a speaker to sing without the group's backing.

The whaikorero is seldom sanctioned as speakers have a right to speak freely. They have the the opportunity to refute any claims made

against them when it is their turn to speak. In this respect a battle of honour is waged between speakers. Speeches can be lengthy and involve the use of profound language as speakers try to impress others in what they say. Sometimes they appear a little inconsiderate, however, this is tolerated as their right to do so. Most Ngati Porou people regard a good speaker as one able to speak precisely and converse in both English and Maori. Those who speak too fast or in a complicated manner are either ignored or sneered at. At times people lose patience and talk over a speaker, or go to sleep.

On Ngati Porou maraes the status of Ngati Porou men as speakers is matched by their women. For this reason Ngati Porou make little distinction between men and women as kaumatua. Women who are privileged to speak exercise their rights with great vigour. Indeed, as part of Ngati Porou history, many have reigned superior over their male counterparts. Noble chieftenesses such as Iri-te-kura, Hine Tapora, Hine Rupe, and in more recent times leaders like Materoa Reedy, Amiria Sterling, Ngoi Pewhairangi and Whaia McClutchie, have all earned rightful respect from their people.

The Tangi: a view of protocol

For reasons of inconvenience to functions already being held on a marae a tangi is taken to another marae to await the marae becoming vacant. Given the number of maraes in the area this is possible. Sometimes the tangi does commence there and then later is taken to the marae. A tangi is always a sad and meaningful occasion for people. It is a time when memories of all loved ones are remembered. The grief

experienced by the whanau pani (bereaved family) is shared by those arriving to pay their respects.

As a whanau pani mourn the death of their own loved one they do not have the time nor the energy to prepare their marae. It is for this reason that others take control. A tangi is usually over three days and in this time people have to be fed and accommodated. Everything must be done to help the whanau pani. Their job is to remain with their mate (deceased). Workers must be efficient in coping with the constant workload, day and night, and in feeding anything up to 100 or so manuhiri a day. It is common at some tangi for young men of the family to spend most of their time helping out in the kauta. They prefer to do this rather than sit with their family. Some drink with the workers. As responsibilities of the whanau pani are restricted they have little authority over activities including whether drink is to be available. If they wish no drinking to take place this has to be conveyed to the kaumatua.

A tangi can never be planned, that is, it is not right to assume someone is dead before they actually die. When one does pass away, however, people can always be counted on help with the work and in comforting the family. A well-respected person who dies is likely to attract guests from all over the country. The family, therefore needs help from all local the people to organise and prepare the marae.

Decisions concerning where the mate will be buried rests entirely with the family. This is decided upon by the surviving spouse or the eldest children. Their decisions can however be influenced to some

extent by distant whanaunga (relatives) or the kaumatua. If circumstances inhibit a family burying their mate in their own urupa (cemetery), for example, access to it being blocked by an impassable road or strong family objections, the next best option is to bury the mate in an appropriate nearby urupa. The kawe mate (spirit of the deceased) is taken back to their marae if it is a death outside the area. At one particular tangi a marae was still under renovation and though the tangi was held there the hakari was served at another marae not too far away. The mate was buried alongside his ancestors at an urupa some distance away. People of the marae could not persuade the family to bury him in the urupa next to his marae.

Sometimes the decision is made to delay taking a mate back to their marae. In most cases a family will not normally go immediately to the marae. When taking the mate back it is common to stop at maraes en route to their destination especially those having close connections with the family. Besides being respectful it serves as a convenience in allowing time for people to prepare their own marae.

Often tangi procedures are changed or compromised because of unexpected things. The late arrival of family members; a problem with hot weather affecting the mate or perhaps that people are intending to leave early. In these cases burial would be arranged earlier than expected. Speaking protocol can also be overlooked. A compromise is made if a manuhiri have less than the required numbers of necessary speakers. A tangi has somewhat adapted old ways to suit situations that frequently occur today, however, it still remains the most significant occasion in which protocol is strongly observed.

Politics and protocol: status and leadership

Marae protocol is defined as a procedure set down as formal rules governing how people should behave on maraes. Over time these rules have changed, reflecting a culture that is dynamic and which adjusts to present day demands.

Traditions are what Ngati Porou people know belong to them and they serve a purpose in expressing Ngati Porou identity. Those who know marae protocol, usually older marae people, like kaumatua, possess power to manipulate protocol as they see fit. Interpreting protocol is their prerogative and one which gives them status. However, implementing protocol is laden with contradictions and ambiguities that one easily observes. It can be changed half-way through like at a powhiri or it can in some cases be ignored altogether.

Seeing it practiced in this way has led us to query why preserving protocol is so important; what relevance has it? Perhaps the strongest argument is that there seems to be a need among Ngati Porou to preserve tradition in one form or another. There is a sense of protecting something of value; maraes and cultural values which are vulnerable to the outside. Also there is, I suspect, a strong feeling of distrust: that if pakeha people saw how maraes really worked Maori people would be criticised for not being able to control their own place of cultural importance. It is this that has developed as a concern to this study as alcohol consumption is seen as an observable fact. I found locals aware of the views among some outsiders,

especially pakeha people. For such reasons the drinking that is done on maraes is not often talked about openly. It had no relationship to marae protocol because it was foreign. Changing protocol was always considered an internal matter and it could easily be justified, however, outsiders would not necessarily understand why it can change. Drinking was, however, not outside the realm of marae political debate. It has been an issue argued about for many generations. In sections to follow I give reasons for why this is so and reflect upon the politics associated with marae protocol. The complex nature of protocol itself has remained outside the scope of this study, however, I do make some remarks concerning this.

A meaning of protocol can perhaps best be understood if we consider that in the past it was the one-time commonsense moral order of Ngati Porou. A commonsense that was probably as contradictory and ambivalent as what it is today. Despite this, people accepted it as the truth. Commonsense was the fundamental knowledge of survival. People learned through commonsense how to deal with life. Back then, commonsense represented social control; the sanctions of a culture necessary to maintain social order. The welcoming and entertaining guests; procedures relating to death and warfare and ways of determining who has power and status all formed part of this commonsense activity. Today this order is practiced symbolically as it is brought to life in protocol. People see, however, other things as more important and relevant life. Learning to do things safely and properly ensures one lives a sensible existence. In years to come, who knows, commonsense may be totally irrelevant to what people do in the future. Commonsense is a body of shared contemporary beliefs of ways

in which people do things; commonsense tells us to do things certain ways.

What was commonsense to marae practices in the past has definitely been affected by change. For example, before late 1800s it was common for a tangi to last over seven days. It gave the bereaving family more time to farewell their mate and gave enough time for visitors from long distances to pay their respects. Pakeha health regulations imposed a three day limit on the tangi in order to maintain hygiene regulations. In this respect pakeha culture had a lot to do with changing marae practices. Today, the three day tangi is very much regarded as tradition. The washing of hands is also tradition and is commonsense as water washes away any residual germs which may be present after touching a mate.

Protocol can generally be defined as that which people determine it to be; the expected way people do expected things. Most locals generally know what is expected and are aware that protocol exists in one form or another. They find difficulty, however, in trying to explain its meaning. I was aware that for some difficulty was in trying to explain something normally taken for granted, as well as, attempting to explain variations they see in marae protocol.

Who has status and power?

Protocol is preserved by those who possess mana and power on the marae. They are the elders and kaumatua. One concern these people deal with constantly is the effect modern time are having on their traditional roles. Traditional leadership is problematic because it is often assumed to applied to social responsibilities unfamiliar to older leaders. For example, many do not understand the youth problem in the community but make decisions that affect their futures. Many young people cannot not speak Maori and even greater numbers are not familiar with their history and traditions. This is often held against them. This knowledge is power and reflects the relative powerless young people have as I have explained in earlier chapters. This reflects the obvious conflict between young and old. Knowledge is often jealously guarded and both the written and oral histories on Ngati Porou remain with only a few older people.

Status and prestige is a privilege of elders who possess knowledge; knowledge defined as history and traditions of the past. It is important for them as it maintains their authority as leaders. Those denied access to this knowledge are generally those who are denied access to a lot of other things, including some of the economic benefits like jobs, wealth and access to resources. Those in this predicament are predominantly the younger 18-25 age group.

To stand on maraes and to speak is viewed as the platform from which status is achieved. Striving for this is the life-time ambition of those who believe this to be so. Status is earned and it is this

process which has caused a weakening the bond of understanding between the young people and older generations in Ruatoria. Apart from the social factors which also cause these rifts, attitudes also play a significant part. Generally among the old efforts to preserve barriers between themselves and young people are maintained. Part of the reason lies in the fact that some older people do not wish to give up power. They also fear the experiences of young people, for example, their cannabis use, Rastafarianism or unemployment will threaten them.

Leaders seek two main goals, first to maintain the cohesion of their followers and second, to maintain progress towards their own objectives. A leader will pursue goals that maintain his/her leadership interests, while people not particularly concerned with who actually leads them, preserve their own. This can and often does cause a weakening of leadership and disrupts unity causing some concern among the ranks. Leaders who lose credibility seldom go without being ridiculed [5]. It is part of the local democratic processes which occurs on maraes. It is something people do all the time. Often it is looked upon as healthy and necessary in order to get some effective leadership. People in Ruatoria are by no means passive observers as they recognise bad leadership when they see it. As one man stated:

"Ngati Porou people are probably the biggest bunch of back-stabbers around. We tend to do it more frequently amongst ourselves, however, it's quite healthy in the sense that it's a way of letting our own people know they are no better than anyone else".

Younger people view leadership differently. They see it more as a domain of older people. They see leaders as "hypocritical" in their

thinking because they say one thing and often do the opposite. My discussions show young people believe there are two sets of rules which apply. One, restrictive rules, which they say are always imposed on them. The other, are the lenient rules which are for older people; basically, they can do as they please because they are old and should be respected. Young people expressed things like: "It's alright for them to do it because they're older". Such respect is seldom reciprocated from old to young. Some young people resented this: "They drink and smoke but tell us not to"; "They say we should know things about our maraes and that we should respect them, but what do we know?" "They reckon they know what it's like, but they don't know what it's like being young today".

My own reaction to this issue is one of sympathy with young people. However, I acknowledge the difficulty for older people to change their ways of thinking, particularly in regard to who should be given respect. But this has to change because the manner in which young people are generally treated today will have grave consequences for the future of Ngati Poroutanga.

THE ROLE OF THE MAORI WARDENS

As part of their work Maori wardens attend large gatherings where they assist with general duties such as directing traffic, ensuring children are supervised and preventing disorderly behaviour. Usually they are seen at public celebrations, cultural festivals and sometimes at community functions. In addition they make their services available

to any local group on request.

On the marae, Maori Wardens have law enforcement powers. Under the Maori Welfare Act 1962 they were given more power to authorize summary proceedings against any Maori who commits an offence. Under the Maori Community Development Amendment Act 1981, they have the power to enter licensed premises and to warn bartenders not to sell alcohol to a Maori who they consider as too drunk or disorderly. In Appendix Four I have outlined a description of this Act which also includes the duties of the Maori wardens [6].

In Ruatoria every marae has its own marae committee and each may elect Maori wardens at any specified time. In Ruatoria itself there are about six wardens all of whom work on a voluntary basis. Their services largely depend on the financial state of each marae committee as they receive little government assistance. Maori wardens are funded from fund-raising exercises, donations and the fines received from penalty payments. Government offers a dollar for dollar subsidy on the fine money that is raised for welfare purposes. Each marae committee must contribute to a fund which finances the Tairawhiti district council and the NZMC.

In Ruatoria it is easy to see how limited resources and lack of governmental support affects the Warden's roles. Their services have been largely undermined. This is particularly noted in the fact that many find it difficult to travel long distances because of costs. This limits their attendance at functions, like cabarets, where drinking and problems with drunkenness are evident. Most people in Ruatoria respect

wardens because they represent the law and they know 'who is who' and to which family one belongs. They know the people and how to effectively deal with them.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the extent to which maraes have changed. As we have seen traditions and culture among Ngati Porou are a part of people's ordinary lives. Getting a job, being able to afford things and living a decent life, however, comes first. No matter how hard marae people have tried to make maraes more of a place for people it takes second place in people's daily lives. As such protocol does not account for daily life activities and this means when practiced protocol is compromised between the old and the new. Ngati Porou leaders prefer to see protocol as their prerogative, that is, that they should define what it should be. Their actions are, however, show they protect their interests. However, marae protocol is negotiable and this is partly why it still survives.

If attempts were made to revitalise the protocol observed 200 years ago we would see it rejected by people. What was commonsense then would not so be the case today. As argued commonsense of the past is formalised into what can be called protocol today. I point out that protocol is contradictory and ambivalent and that people will say one thing and do something different. This is the way protocol exists and it allows people to cope with change. They are the formal side of

marae activities. Kaumatua have a difficult task as they are expected to set examples. On the one hand they strive to maintain status and on the other try to maintain unity among an already divided community. As such, for them, life is full of contradiction and all they can do is deal with it as best they can. It is evident that kaumatua are losing authority as decision makers. This is apparent in what happens on maraes. A sense of reluctance to change old ways is brought about by a fear of responding to change. Change and compromise are made to traditional practices so that maraes still retain importance and significance to the people.

Footnotes:

[1] See Appendix One 'Methodology Section', which gives brief details of maraes around Ruatoria.

[2] 'Cooks' are referred to the ringawera which literally means 'hot hands'. It is symbolic of the work around the stove in the kauta (cookhouse) and the hangi. For the purposes of this study I have used, cooks.

[3] Religion is today a fundamental part of the marae. It has a significant part to play at the commencement of all formalities at a gathering. Christianity has been a part of the lives of most people at one time. Today the Anglican, Catholic and Mormon churches have large congregations. There is also a strong Ringa-Tu membership. Mormons and the Jehovah's witnesses prohibit the use of any consumption alcohol amongst their congregation. The Anglican church, however, is more lenient towards this. Most local people are Anglican and see other churches that prohibit drink as reason to ridicule them.

[4] See Tauroa (1986). Written as a beginners guide to the marae this book explains what marae protocol is, and gives the protocol of

differing tribal areas including Ngati Porou.

[5] A "pecking-order" among people is seen as a way of showing no one is better than anyone else. It suggests that those having less power, like young people, are not worthy of participating in decision-making. Young people who strive to learn the of knowledge Ngati Poroutanga are, however, exceptions because older people look up to them as better than those with no inclination to learn.

[6] See also Casswell (1986a) pp15-16 which is a discussion of the role of Maori Wardens in the control of drinking on licensed premises.

CHAPTER FIVE

DRINKING ON THE MARAE

In this chapter drinking is described as I observed it during marae gatherings. In earlier chapters drinking has been shown to be common to most social activities in the community. The marae is a centre of many of these activities. Various aspects of drinking are explained in the following discussion; how drinking is rationalised and the economic costs of providing alcohol; what rules govern drinking and how drink relates to people and their work on maraes and fighting and arguing in drinking situations. Case studies of specific events have also been documented. Each section contains interpretations of and comment on events made by the researcher. I also make comments about the politics involved in drinking on maraes, in particular a discussion on the role of marae leaders as they are faced with the issue of drinking.

First, before I begin, I would like to make a number of important summary points. Those who drink on maraes are adult members of the community, with the largest group being the 18-25. Older people

(35-80) do drink on maraes but not as frequently as young people. This is primarily because most drinking functions on maraes cater for younger drinkers. Young children [1] sometimes drink but do so without being caught. The consequences of being seen is usually a hiding from parents.

For many people drinking on maraes is no different from drinking anywhere else. Alcohol becomes a necessary component of weddings, birthday celebrations, tangi and cabarets [2]. People have become accustomed to seeing and expecting alcohol on maraes. It is very much a central part of enjoyment and as one person commented: "One can't really socialise without having drink around". Older marae people, like the kaumatua, tolerate alcohol, however, it is often rejected as a part of marae protocol because drinking has no formal ties with the generations of descendants before colonisation. A statement made by one kaumatua summed up a point that alcohol is an integral part of many marae occasions, yet distanced to what protocol means: "If you don't have booze, then people won't come, maraes are for us and we decide what's important". This tells us that drinking may not in fact be a bad thing and that maraes have practical uses in bringing people together.

Drinking is reluctantly accepted by most older people because it is often abused. The damage caused to marae property is to say the least disheartening and expensive. It is often the marae committees themselves who have to pay for costs of repairs. People of this generation also say that drunkenness, particularly among the young, does not look nice, especially to manuhiri, therefore, it is considered it

unwise to make it publically known outside the area that drinking occurs. For this reason drinking is less talked about as an open issue. During my fieldwork I was aware of the objections against drinking that members of marae committees had expressed at committee meetings. Their objections were, however, overruled by majority of committee votes in support of alcohol being permitted on maraes. Arguments in support of alcohol were made primarily on the basis that drinking was necessary to bring local people to maraes. The concerns expressed by those against alcohol had much to do with drinking behaviour harming the maraes and people's reputations. With drinking, there is always the possibility that drunk people will get into fights and disrupt the enjoyment of others. It is for obvious reasons that sanctioning is dealt with as an internal marae problem as usually it is up to older marae people to act responsibly in order to maintain control. Especially if it observed by visiting groups to a marae. In this way older people, including committee members seek to protect themselves and their maraes.

Given the concerns people express drinking is acceptable as long as people behave and show some respect. The realisation, however, that little can be done to stop anti-social behaviour associated with drunkenness is treated as though it were an expectation. Leaders like the kaumatua, marae trustees and Maori wardens all do their best to control drinking but as many argue it is virtually impossible to deal with something as so entrenched as drinking behaviour. Of considerable concern to these leaders is that drinking influences people and as such affects their authority over people.

THE ECONOMICS OF DRINKING ON MARAES

Drinking on maraes is as much determined by cost factors as it is considered a social expectation to provide. Like drinking in the community, buying alcohol is limited by the amount of money people can afford. A common drinking folklore is the expectations that hosts will provide drinks even if they are unable to afford it. In these circumstances people make some least an effort to provide such that their costs and expectations are compromised. Increasingly, however, there is much concern that costs have little to do with maraes making any kind of profit especially since alcohol can be sold and consumed on marae premises. It has always been known that the marae is a social venue and therefore functions are held in the same way as those held in community halls in the town. Marae trustees are able to do little about maraes not benefitting, economically, but make the point that people must always support and contribute to the development of maraes. Marae committee receive little remuneration for hosting functions other than a payment of a hire fee or in cases payment for damage to property.

Older marae people tend to assume complete control over maraes acting as the only governing group. Some do not accept that maraes should be making money from the sale of alcohol. They believe maraes should not be developed by accepting money earned in this way. Some called it profiteering from "booze money" giving the impression that maraes condoned the use of alcohol. Other people objected to this idea because clubs and organisations hosting a function would lose profits.

They organise such functions to earn money for their own benefit.

A "shout" at the marae [3]

It is common to expect that hosts provide some alcohol as a shout. It is a sign of generosity and hospitality shown to guests. As part of the drinking tradition it is also considered customary. Shouting done at weddings and birthdays has been the case now for a number of years. As some people say, "It has been that way for years". At a birthday I attended alcohol was provided at the reception. However, this provision was made off marae premises. The mother and grandmother of the birthday host decided that because of the expense, to limit their supply of alcohol. They suggested everyone go to the pub where they would provide a shout. This was their way of allowing those wanting to drink the opportunity to do so. Elsewhere in the community, as I explained in earlier chapters, shouting is how most people provide for their guests. Rather than having to pay large sums of money, as may be the case, it is appropriate to make only the place available for people to drink, commonly this is the pub. If they wish to drink more than what is being provided for they are able to do so at their own expense. In this way families have less to worry about. The shout at a pub takes some of the responsibility of ensuring people behave away from the family as drinking rules are set by pub rules. On the marae these rules are set by whoever is present. Guests have little say in the matter of whether the pub should remain open or not. If drinking was done on the marae people would have probably drunk till the early hours of the morning and the costs of family members supplying the drink would certainly have increased. Also the responsibility of controlling

those who misbehave is that of family members.

During the drinking celebration at the pub the family placed a (\$100) shout on the bar. No obligation it seemed was put on them to add more to this. When it appeared as though it was getting low guests themselves replenished it. This continued until closing time.

The reception at the marae had finished at about 2:00pm. At 3:00pm about 50 people had arrived at the pub for drinks. By 10:00pm this number of people had increased. Some guests were not present at the birthday, however, decided to attend the drinks after. Some, however, were local people who 'gate crashed' [4]. During the night's activities many guests got drunk and enjoyed themselves. At closing time there was a suggestion by family members that everyone should go back to the marae for a party. This pleased most and more money was added to that which was used for the shout. This money was used to buy more alcohol to take with them. About half the number of people at the pub went back to the marae, the others decided to go home.

Based on observations shouting of this sort was an advantage to those families less able to provide a large amount of alcohol. Though provision was often considered a symbol of status, commonsense guided how much people would actually buy. People spent only the amount they knew they could afford.

WHERE PEOPLE DO AND DO NOT DRINK: NEGOTIATING RULES

Regulations governing drinking on marae are outlined in the requirements of a liquor permit. These permits can be obtained from the Department of Maori Affairs and are issued on request to hosts wishing to have alcohol available at a gathering. All application forms must have the signatures of at least two marae trustees and the local police sergeant. One copy is kept by the police, one by Maori Affairs and the third by the hosts of the gathering. This copy must be displayed to the public throughout the duration of a gathering and is normally found pinned to a wall in the dining hall. The permit can be applied for at any time provided of course, there is sufficient time to process it.

At times trustees give their consent for a marae to be used for drinking purposes knowing that a permit has not been obtained. I was aware on occasions, similar to events I discussed above, where trustees invited people from the pub back to a marae for a party. Trustees use the argument that they do not need permits because they have rights to allowed this to happen.

Applying for a permit is a simple task. Applicants are required to state the conditions of the gathering and follow the permit's legal requirements. Applicants need to state the quantity of alcohol they will be providing; where drinking will take place; who will be in charge; the hours drink will be available and security arrangements. Appendix Five contains the conditions laid down. People, however,

seldom follow regulations with any care. One rule often overlooked is that which relates to responsibility for controlling drunken behaviour:

'No person of the gathering shall be permitted to consume such a quantity of liquor as to render him intoxicated or noisy or quarrelsome, or if he will be driving a motor vehicle after leaving the gathering, as to render him unfit or unable to drive the vehicle safely'.

Some locals argue that overall control should be in the hands of the police and Maori wardens: "It is their job to see that people behave themselves when drunk at a gathering". These same people also know that hosts have a responsibility but what is required by the permit has little effect. Hosts, having got their permit, assume they have fulfilled their duties and do little to control drinking. Some argue, "What use are liquor permits on maraes if people drink uncontrolled elsewhere."

Because maraes are so important to hosting functions it is part of the social context of drinking, hence drinking behaviour on maraes is seen as little different from drinking elsewhere. Statements made by people support this claim:

"The marae belongs to us and we have a right to do as we want, that means drink" (Man, drinker:19).

"Everyone drinks on the maraes around here and if you try to stop it people will tell you to go away" (Woman, drinker:30).

"Maraes belong to the people and we have to look after them for the next generations to come...it's wrong to drink, people know that, but there's nothing much we can do, we're sort of stuck in the middle" (Man, drinker:45).

"If people want to drink on maraes, that's bad" (Woman, non-drinker:70).

These statements indicate a concern about the consequences of drinking on maraes. These views suggest maraes are caught between 'old tradition' and 'contemporary use'. Maraes are social places that belong to people who have an interest in seeing it is preserved and at the same time also be a place where they can enjoy themselves.

Arguments and fights are common on maraes and these are not prevented by any regulation within a permit. Neither too, are the extents to which other drinking offences such as drunk driving reduced. At a cabaret I attended I witnessed one car accident, at least two fights and reckless driving by individuals around the meeting house. Because these behaviours are so common to most drinking situations there is little people can do.

As well as legal regulations governing drinking on the maraes, there are also customary rules. Generally these rules of custom are in no need of explanation to local people as they are commonly known. People know that they should not be drunk when working on maraes. Intolerance is shown by others to those who do such things. Marae workers normally restrict their drinking, when they do drink, to the kauta. Being built in such a position so as to hide working activities away from the meeting house, drinking is done discretely. Locals also know that it is wrong to drink anywhere near a meeting house. Those

who venture out in front with a drink would most certainly be reprimanded, not only from other workers but from friends, relations and the kaumatua. It is in a family's general interest to keep their drunk members away from activities in or around the meeting house. Every member has a responsibility to ensure it does not happen. As one local person put it: "It's them which get it in the neck if one of their own plays up". The shame expressed by observers to this behaviour is directed at family members; grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters. It is certain that almost all would be embarrassed by the behaviour of their own.

Despite customary rules to every marae they are occasionally broken. It is common for people to get drunk at celebrations and as such get out of control. Some make scenes like fighting, screaming, swearing and arguing. Often it causes others to take action with a firm warning of "Behave or else". There are commonly two sorts of response to such 'rule breakers', either they are admonished, sometimes being growled at or given a hiding, or they are ignored. In this case those angered by drunken behaviour show restraint. I discuss below some of the situations I observed in which drinking is acceptable on maraes. I also discuss situations where it was not considered acceptable, but was tolerated.

Drinking among marae workers: end of a working day

Commonly drinking in the kauta (cookhouse) is done after the work is finished. It is turned into a drinking venue partly to avoid disturbing those sleeping in the meeting house and partly to drink where it is nice and cosy. Its open fire provides warmth and a pleasant atmosphere in which workers relax and enjoy themselves. Often they are joined by other locals and guests. It is when putting one's feet up and having a good time is in order. Being an informal occasion sometimes the drinking can turn into a party. Plenty to drink is essential. During this time, like most drinking situations, people "pull in" to buy more alcohol. A hat is usually passed around. Sometimes more than one collection would be made. Like most drinking situations there are those, however, who like to avoid contributing usually because they have no money to give. Locals refer to them, as in other drinking situations, as the "bludgers" and "greasers". Sometimes they take their own beer but drink everyone else's also. They are often young men with no jobs and sometimes the odd older local man known for being 'boozers'. Men of such character usually have reputations for being at parties whether on maraes or at people's homes. A more sophisticated 'avoider' in contributing to the fund is the person who hides away and comes out when money has been collected. The observant person usually makes some sort of remark to embarrass the person who does this sort of thing. Something to the effect of: "You can come out of the toilet now, they've already gone to get the beer".

Most people are usually generous in giving money knowing they have a legitimate right to drink. Those who contribute are also

non-drinkers and light drinkers. The money they give is often used to buy lemonade or coke. It is for them and for mixing spirits. As much alcohol is brought with the money provided. This suggests people are encouraged to get drunk. Enjoyment is a part of being drunk and to get drunk is normal. Some who fall asleep are taken home or put to bed in the meeting house. Others are left to sleep where they lie. The older drinker at these occasions, not normally known for their presence as workers on maraes, have the view that workers should always be shouted. They say this because they have an interest in seeing others drink. This seems to allow them to legitimate their drinking on maraes. Often this is contrary to what workers themselves say. Some get quite angered by the fact that these people never help with the work: "We go there to do our job, it doesn't worry us if there's no beer around", "I'll drink after all the work's done, not before", "those who do the most moaning do the least work". Generally people who normally work drink minimally and only do so when work is finished. Some even prefer to go to the pub to drink.

Marae workers seldom demand a drink because they have an interest in maintaining their reputation as good workers; 'they who do their job and think about satisfying guests before themselves'. Demands for alcohol by workers were only intended to suggest that they need some praise for the work that they were doing. This praise is commonly acknowledged by giving them the shout they deserved. Crates of beer and bottles of wine are bought for the hakari. "Hot-stuff" like gin, rum and whiskey is bought, however, this is for the workers as their shout. Some preferred to drink beer. A request by workers for a shout is more an expression of a desire to have a drink rather than a threat

of action to drink. Their wish to drink is understandable given the amount of work they do. Shouts do much to create a better working atmosphere and makes the tediousness and strain of long hours of work more appreciable. In cases where shouts have not been given some workers will take along a few drinks themselves to see them through the day. The men working on the hangi sometimes make arrangements for beer to be supplied. This is not treated as anything extraordinary but is accepted as long as they drink out the back.

It is a common folklore among local people that workers, especially those cooking the hangi have to be shouted by hosts of a gathering. This is tied in with a custom of workers needing the incentive to work. It is said that if these men do not get a shout there is a likely chance that a hangi will not be properly cooked. There is some truth in this if we consider that it is sensible to ensure the interests of the worker are maintained. The shout does have an effect in improving work relations. The suggestion is that efficient work should be induced in some way. There is another point also, most people helping with the work do so for no monetary gain. Some have had to give up their own wage-earning in order to provide their services on the marae. By providing a shout it makes up some compensation for their lost wage. As one women worker commented: "Giving the men out the back a shout stops them bugging off down to the pub".

If workers were to abuse their drinking they are most certainly admonished. If considered serious enough they may be asked to leave the marae which means they lose credibility and standing among their

work friends. Though they would probably be working on the marae at some future date they are usually reminded not to get drunk again. Most workers know they should be doing their jobs and only rarely that one is asked to leave because of behaviour. Those who get drunk and behave in an unacceptable manner are usually the young worker with little work experience.

Some older people, including kaumatua, believe that drinking on maraes to encourage people to work is the wrong way to entice workers. As one kaumatua commented: "It's not right that people go to work on maraes and drink at the same time. That's being disrespectful to the place". The reality, however, is that many people accept workers drinking provided their work always comes first. Most workers are concerned about their work rather than with drinking. It is not until after work is finished that they drink.

I found drinking in and around the meeting house, especially when visiting groups were present, to be an ambivalent issue. To be seen drunk is considered an offence more so tolerated by locals than to be seen actually drinking. One was left asking why this was so? Though both situations warrant concern there is unacceptance to one physically consuming alcohol in the presence of visitors on maraes. It is alright to be drunk, but to be seen drinking is embarrassing for the local people. The offence is to reveal the fact that drinking is allowed.

Local people also tolerate drunk people entering a meeting house yet to carry drink of any sort into the house is prohibited. This acceptance reveals that people tend to tolerate 'the drunk', and less

the 'the drink'. A drunk person might at times conceal their state making their drunkenness less obvious to others. This happens in many drinking situations. One is often judged too drunk by the way in which one behaves.

Most people who go to marae functions do not drink to show disrespect to a marae. One informant commented that though misbehaviour has to be accepted it is a common happening:

"Ask most people they'll tell you it's bad, but it's grown over the years into something common. Now, some are rightfully scared it's going to get worse. We can't say that abusing alcohol doesn't exist, it happens all over the place".

Drinking in restricted places: past and present experiences

There are three important areas around the marae which Ngati Porou people consider tapu. They are the urupa (cemetery) the whare tipuna (ancestral house) and the whare karakia (church). As sacred areas people generally do not go there unless they have good reason. On occasions, however, some go into these areas to drink. I talked to a number who either knew of, or participated in, such happenings. All regarded what they had seen or done as respectful. Their explanations suggested that no matter where people drink, whether on or off the marae, it could always be justified; respect is honoured in breach of what one knows to be wrong. Certainly this still continues today.

The urupa is probably the most tapu of all areas on a marae. It is a place people visit only during daytime, a place where one would

not normally drink. Paying respect is considered the only appropriate reasons to enter its boundaries. As explained by one local person: "If anyone pisses on a grave or gets drunk, they'll get zapped". As he explained, "Mate Maori!, it works in these situations. We always respect our urupa and that's why we don't go there to do silly things". Other forbidden acts like eating, sleeping or having sexual intercourse, mowing the grass or taking short-cuts through, an urupa are all considered bad. Children are told when young that they are not to go there without taking necessary precautions. A prayer should be said and hands must always be washed when leaving. Children learn things about maraes and its environs through respect and in learning about its sacredness. This is often presented in a way to allay doubts about what might happen when rules were broken. It is a way to ensure that young people do not lose their respect for maraes. Often, however, young people are in doubt about these things, especially when frequently confronted with older people contradicting themselves about what they say and do as part of their explanations of respect.

Sometimes drinking occurs at an urupa after a person has been buried. Some family members, usually men, stay behind after mourners have left to drink to the memory of the mate. It only happens if there is an older person, usually someone responsible, who has control over those drinking. This drinking is not excessive and not considered inappropriate.

Drinking at the mourning is not peculiar to Ngati Porou people nor to Maori people in general. Indeed, similarities can be made between the practice of the 'Irish Wake' and the equivalent of takahi te whare,

commonly known as 'tramp the ghost'. Drinking is seen as a way of returning life to normal. People get together and talk about the "good things" a person did. At the same time being drunk is thought to be a way of expressing one's grief. Drinking at the urupa is an extension of this idea where those drinking are saddened after the last act of burial.

"Tramping the ghost" is an important event as it is a step in returning life back to normal for the whanau pani. Often the tramp is held at the family's house, or at the request of the family, it may be held at a relation's house, the marae or at the pub. People will always respect any wishes by the family not to allow alcohol and would drink elsewhere so as not to offend.

Drinking at a church service by a young man

I was told of an incident that happened at the family marae of one of my informants. It involved his younger cousin who was considered by my informant as being "a bit of a piss-head". This young man stood in front of the house drinking his beer while waiting for the church service [5] to commence. He had not finished his bottle completely when it did. He entered the meeting house with his bottle in hand. A kuia, his aunty, told him to leave the bottle outside until the service was over. According to my informant, he stood at the doorway and drank what remained. He did this in front of the people present in the house. Because he was drunk scolding him was pointless. It was less trouble for them to accept him than to leave him outside.

Drunkenness by older marae members is less likely to be tolerated. According to other informants it comes down to the issue of: "They should know better than anyone else". Observations suggest however, that this is true for any drinker who is drunk. However, older people are generally thought to earn more respect and therefore should show respect.

DRINKING AND FIGHTING

Fighting is endemic to most drinking situations, usually where drunkenness is apparent. Fighting on the marae is no different from fighting outside the pub where drunkenness is very much a key catalyst. Observers view it as "stupid" and "childish" yet their actions often contradicts their statements. They condone the fighting because they enjoy watching it. It is considered by most people to be worst aspect associated with alcohol.

Some people see fighting as being justified for good reason. Often this reason depends on who is doing the fighting. Fist fights are usually common among men. To "step out" someone is evidence of being a man. Some men, the "heavies" as they like to be known, assume it "macho" to be able to fight. They often think that they should be respected because they can fight. A point raised about fighting is that for some it is an effective in gettings ones point across. However, in order to understand the effects of alcohol in causing fights it is necessary to view fighting in general. Below I have given

situations where fighting appears to be condoned on rugby fields and in domestic situations.

Fighting incidences during local rugby matches are common. Often it is talked about as a feature of the game at after-match functions. The fights can be as brutal but few people think anything of it; it is legitimate in the minds of many. Rugby is a major event among locals and it is not difficult to understand why fighting is condoned on the field. Spectators sometimes refer to "good games" as those which "good scraps" have often taken place. Fights are also common in domestic situations. Local people tend to tolerate men who beat their wives by saying or doing little about it. Generally it is kept as the household secret. Yet my knowledge reveals they are often secrets which most people know about anyway.

Alcohol is largely responsible for the fights occurring in drinking situations. It acts as a catalyst for anger and frustrations. Fights among locals in drinking situations may be sparked off by a wide range of circumstances: an argument over drinks; a girlfriend or a boyfriend; or a land issue; the way in which a person has looked at someone else; a personal dislike or a dispute about someone stealing cannabis. Few words are exchanged after first insults, and particularly among men, it is more to the point to fight first. Men and women, however, use fighting as a solution to problems when they are drunk; something they would not normally do when sober. Two men I talked with who often got into fights when drunk said that drink caused arguments which they could not handle. The impression, however, was that drunkenness was the excuse to punch a person and not be accountable

for what was done. By-standers take an interest in being spectators and usually tolerate what they see, initially happening. Not much concern is shown about people getting hurt as there is little chance of them feeling pain when drunk. However, this is not true in all cases. Fights have been avoided by people being able to resolve their differences. Some women also fight in drinking situations, sometimes with men. When drunk often a few will not back down despite being physically weaker. They are not afraid that they will be hurt. Usually observers watching such fights will step in to stop it before someone, usually the woman, gets hurt. Sometimes they make their intervention too late and a person gets a hiding.

Fights are usually the direct consequence of things people have said or done. Under normal circumstances a person will ignore or pass off rude comments made to them. Most locals say, "Hello", to each other in some derogatory ways, for example, calling them a "pihau" (fart) or "waster", but there is always some common understanding that this is only name-calling in light humour. However, when people are drunk similar name calling can provoke arguments. Everyday language is in itself rude and people usually know when others are deliberately causing an argument. Names like, "bastard", "prick", "arse-hole", "wanker" and "cunt" are not unfamiliar in the vocabularies of local people. People who use them when drunk seldom if ever joke about it, especially when directing them at someone they dislike. Names like, "bitch", "slut", "cunt-face" or "cock-teaser" are insulting and derogatory names applied to women. However, they, like other rude words, are common in everyday speech. Everybody knows them and of course most use them. The point made is people can deliberately

provoke fights with rude language and use drunkenness is an excuse. A fight is how some people handle their personal differences, usually those less able to handle situations in other ways.

Fights on maraes are generally viewed by older observers with shamefulness. Not only can it cause physical injury to innocent by-standers, it also causes property damage to buildings (smashed windows, kicked in doors and broken chairs) and sometimes to vehicles. Damage to carvings and tukutuku panels in dining halls are also a sad result of fighting. Such acts are considered disrespectful to a marae.

Case: A family dispute at a 21st birthday

At a 21st birthday I observed a sister (Kate) and her brother (Rihana) arguing over whether or not some of his friends should be invited to the party after the reception. Both had been drinking when the argument occurred. It was well known that they had grudges against each other. Rihana took offence at Kate's attitude towards his mates. She refused them entry into the dining hall. Though Rihana had been drinking during his work in the kauta, he did not appear drunk. Kate, however, did. She was generally known to "have a bit of a mean streak in her," which showed up when she got drunk. While those in the hall were drinking, she stood on the verandah telling the unwanted guests to "piss-off", adding that she did not want "wasters hanging around, wanting free beer". Rihana spoke to Kate saying she had no right to talk to people like that. The two argued while everyone watched. For Rihana's friends this was the appropriate time to invite themselves in. As the arguing continued, family members inside the hall soon realised

the situation had to be defused. Some attempted to separate the two while others could not be bothered, saying: "They'll sort themselves out". At this time Rihana's friends went around the back to drink in the kauta. Some decided it was time to leave. As the argument became more heated, by-standers and family intervened. This happened after some punches had been thrown. The verbal abuse still continued. Kate kept calling Rihana names which made matters worse. At this stage others, including his own friends, intervened to stop the arguing and to avoid Kate getting hurt. After an hour of constant arguing the fighting was stopped. By this stage the issue became a non-issue as many of Rihana's friends were watching from inside the dining hall. Some even tried to intervene, saying that they should go as they did not want to cause the family trouble. When fighting broke out it was in everyone's interest to stop it. The fact that Rihana's friends were not invited guests was nothing personal as far as Kate was concerned. She did not want his friends to attend her family gathering because they were from a rugby team she did not like. She also said that she did not want cannabis smokers around. She claimed they had no right being there and that they only came for the beer and the party. While Rihana tried to explain to Kate that they would behave she refused to listen. Rihana was also trying to explain to her that some of his friends were close relatives and should have been invited. The situation was finally resolved when Kate was taken home by her husband.

Both brother and sister expressed anger with little interference from those present. As observers, locals allowed this to go on without actually getting involved until physical blows were exchanged. Being irrational and uncompromising when fighting is not uncommon as was in

this case. It is known locally that some family members will fight about family issues. Verbal anger is more noticeable between men and women. However, local women use their verbal skills more articulately than men. The response of men is to get physical.

Case: An argument concerning the right to drink

At a cabaret I observed and listened to two local men arguing over the right to keep a bar facility open. Both men were related and were known to frequently argue about drinking. As it happened Hemi, the younger nephew, attempted to override his uncle's decision to close the bar. It was obvious that he, (in his late 30s) knew his uncle (who was in his early 50s) would not tolerate disrespect. The following conversation took place:

Nephew: "Uncle, you're not closing the bar, are you?"
Uncle: "Sorry! but it has to close and I can't change the rules. You know that!"
Nephew: "Come on Uncle! Leave it open till we at least cut out the mini-tanker".
Uncle: "Sorry! you know I can't, anyway everybody wants to go home".
Nephew: "Why don't you leave it open. I'll lock up".
Uncle: "No! I know you, you'll leave the place in a bloody mess".
Nephew: "Well! bugger you then Uncle, you're all shit anyway".
Uncle: "Go home you've had enough".
Nephew: "I'll go when I've finished you old mongrel".

Uncle: "You make me sick"

Nephew: "You make me sick too".

Significantly, fighting and arguing is usually done among family members. Often people intervene but generally let things go until they get out of control. The point of not getting involved is of course largely dependent on whether or not people feel they must help and support those they see as friends or those who are obviously weaker.

Case: "Argy-bargies": Fighting among young men

Throughout the 1985 and 1986 East Coast rugby seasons, a group of 20 young rugby players (aged between 18-28 years) invented a fighting game they called "argy bargy". All played rugby for the Ruatoria City Rugby Club. The name, argy-bargy, was first used during drinking sessions held at their clubrooms. However, they soon spread their activities to other clubrooms and to maraes. Argy-bargies were commonly seen on dance floors at cabarets, usually at rugby aftermatch functions and at parties where City club members would attend. Initially they would start out as mock fights between individuals but would then turn into brawls. Argy-bargy would not commence, however, until everyone was sufficiently stoned. The game involved ramming into each other often with one of two members being continuously picked on. This was what was referred to as "giving him heaps" or "going down". Sometimes four or five members of the group would charge at each other collide in the middle of the dance floor. Losers were those who were

knocked down. With small groups doing their own thing it was hardly surprising that others not involved in the activities preferred to move away from the dance floor. It was inevitable also that property damage and physical injury would occur. It had a disturbing impact on those wishing to enjoy themselves in quieter ways. Many saw argy-bargies as "childish" and "stupid"; in the same sort of manner as other forms of fighting.

In the event of being attacked, group members would counter-attack by charging into the middle of larger groups, hoping to knock someone else down. This always looked brutal. Sometimes wives and girlfriends would get involved but the young men tended not to become too aggressive towards them. They were picked on but never head butted or kicked.

Argy-bargy had only one basic rule and that was to show no pain when kicked or beaten to the floor. Once on the ground one had to fight back to regain status among the group. The fighting was treated largely as enjoyment even though some obviously got hurt. No punching or kicking to vulnerable parts of the body, like the genitals or the head, were allowed though often it was impossible for this not to happen. To disguise all the brutality, laughing and joking was always a large part of the group's activity.

On two separate occasions I observed extremes to which argy-bargy could go. One incident occurred at a cabaret at one of the larger maraes organised by the City netball team. As a result of the fighting, one young man had to be taken to hospital with injuries, a

dislocated shoulder and torn ligaments in his upper arm. Besides these more serious injuries, he also had cuts to his face and a bruised eye. It was only after he collapsed outside the hall that the ambulance was called. He was still playing argy-bargies when this happened. The following day he was praised among his mates for "sticking it out". I asked him why he did it. He replied, "Had to show them I was a man and that I could take it". If I had've left knowing I was going down I would have got wasted". He was looking forward to when his injuries healed so he could get back into it. He was off work for two weeks and out of rugby for a month as a result of the injuries he sustained.

The other incident I observed happened at the Waiapu Rugby clubrooms. Argy-bargy caused property damage to a vehicle and damage to clubroom property. City supporters were upset by the fighting and apologised on behalf of their players. Waiapu club players and supporters did not know how to react, and as I observed, were left trying to work out whether they should have done something about it, or should have maintained their hospitality to the City club. Some Waiapu players commented: "It's unreal man", "it's a mean sport" and "it's a pity they didn't play as hard what they're doing now, you fellows might have won the game".

My observations at the City clubrooms showed that argy-bargy on what was regarded as 'their territory' was even worse. The fighting caused a lot of damage to the clubrooms and made ex-club members more reluctant to return. These same people were often abused by the younger club members. If they did not like what was happening they were either told that they were "squares", or, to "go and piss on your

heads". Argy-bargy, however, was always described by group members as "having a good time".

Younger club members drank alot of steinlager beer and smoked a lot of cannabis. These and argy-bargy were often associated with young people generally, but particularly with those of the City club. This was something other members were not proud of. Drinking was excessive and after one club function I estimated that over 400 cans of Steinlager were drunk. There were at least 60 people there, 25 of them involved in argy-bargy and who had been drinking. Steinlager was considered by the group to be the only "decent beer around" because it had a high alcohol content. This was why many drank it. Added to their drinking, smoking cannabis "the shot-gun" style [6], were said by group members to "give more of a buzz". While it was not possible to make any accurate assessment of how much each drank and smoked, my estimates indicated that on average they consumed about a dozen to twenty cans of beer each and smoked between four to six "joints" during one club night. The young women associated with the club drank and smoked less. Overall, however, consumption among the group suggested "getting wasted" was a general aim.

Argy-bargy was considered by some group members to be "sociable" act because it was something they expressed themselves and something they all shared in common. Many of the young men were themselves single. Some had jobs on temporary work projects, others worked on the forestry. For most the weekly benefit or wage was spent largely on beer and having a good time.

Local concern in Ruatoria grew after argy-bargy sessions got worse, especially at cabarets on maraes. In September 1985 the City Club held a meeting to address the argy-bargy situation. It was felt among executive committee members that the issue was narrowed down to one of young club members smoking cannabis and not being able to handle their drink. Concern was expressed also at the number of under age drinkers who were involved in fighting and drinking in the clubrooms. As a result the club enforced age restrictions, banned argy-bargy and prohibited the use of cannabis in the clubrooms. It was moved that these rules be enforced over the 1986 rugby season also. However, over the 1986 season these measures were ineffective; argy-bargy continued despite warnings.

SUMMARY

This chapter revolved around the complexity of drinking on maraes. The aim was to "tell it like it is" and in doing so examine drinking practices and perceptions. It was also important to examine social and economic issues which also affect alcohol on maraes.

Considering banning alcohol altogether is not seen as practicable to the majority of people. The issue is one of being realistic in terms of drinking that is done elsewhere; it is a social requirement of having a good time. Alcohol is linked with enjoyment and hospitality. In this light drinking has positive aspects as it brings people closer together on their maraes.

Maraes are not governed by any anyone in particular, even marae trustees and kaumatua have to accept what people do may be contrary to their own goals. Though leaders dictate what protocol is, they cannot change people's minds. The marae is shared by all its members and in the final analysis it is they who decide what can be done. Drinking by its very nature is a social activity and becomes part of the social scene on maraes. As this chapter has pointed out supplying alcohol is as much a social expectation as it is an economic concern for the people.

We see drinking as having an effect on how kaumatua maintain leadership. This leads us to question how they are seen by the people. They tend to avoid criticising drinking too much because it tests their authority. Such is the case that they cannot perceive banning alcohol under any set of circumstances. Being respected for who they are as kaumatua means that they have to maintain credibility as objective, open-minded leaders. In so doing they have to accept the reality of what people practice on maraes. To preserve political interests kaumatua, at times pay lip service to things they are unsure of, or that they do not necessarily agree with.

Local people give consideration to authority only when it is of some personal interest to them. People drink because it is what they want to do; it is the norm despite a preference by some leaders to think otherwise. This was summed up by the comments of the Chairperson to the Waiapu District Maori Council:

"It's a case really of having to turn a blind eye to these things, even though we know that it's bad. For people to support our maraes we need them there...If it wasn't for alcohol I doubt that many would bother coming. I'm afraid that's really the truth of the whole matter".

There was concern expressed among marae kaumatua that outsiders see maraes being used for drinking. As a kaumatua commented: "We don't really want other people, especially pakehas, to know what happens on our maraes". The apprehension that people have about maraes being vulnerable is very real. The issue is that drinking happens and it is socially important to see it is not tied to protocol.

The importance people attach to alcohol highlights enjoyment, security, warmth, friendship and sharing. These qualities are the essence of what maraes mean to people. One could view drink as a way of enhancing this. Having presented this evidence, a general conclusion that can be drawn which is that people see drinking as important in local social relations. It has been found that the acceptance of alcohol is as part of hospitality. For many alcohol is a sensitive issue which often means it is contentiously debated on both its good points and its bad points. Neither argument really wins. One thing is for sure and that is people will always consider that they have a right to drink on maraes because they see maraes as always belonging to them.

Footnotes:

[1] Alcohol is not commonly given to children though occasionally they are growled at for taking "sneaking drinks". Sometimes they are permitted by their parents to have a little, as one parent commented: "It's harmless, they don't know what it means".

[2] Cabarets are fund-raising socials usually organised by local rugby or netball clubs. Organisers try to ensure as many local people will turn up as possible. The biggest enticements are kai moana for supper, a good band and alcohol. Entry to the function is usually by ticket, some are held and sold at the door. Usually a ticket entitles people to eat and drink as much as they like. This has been the way people have hosted cabarets for years though changes are taking place. Costs have increased, especially the price of alcohol. BYO (bring your own) cabarets are now increasingly frequent and so are cabarets where people have to pay for their drinks. By these means the prices of tickets are kept down to encourage more people to attend.

For most people a cabaret is judged in much the same way as a hakari, that is, the quality of what is provided, especially the drink. Food, music and company are important but it is drink that people primarily focus on. Young people make up the largest number of those who attend. Loud music and plenty of alcohol are the norm. Without these young people generally call a cabaret "slack" or "useless". The return to the marae for hosting such an event is small, the hiring fee ranges anything from \$50-\$100 per night. The hirer buys everything, including the food and drink. The marae receives no revenue from this, apart from the hiring fee. The marae can claim damages from the organisers if property is lost, stolen or damaged as a result of the function. This raises a questions in the minds of many local people about the marae providing bar facilities and catering services for local clubs and organisations which wish host gatherings. Such arrangements will increase the revenue to maraes. Locals argue that this is "booze money" and it should not be used for the purposes of restoration and development of maraes. Some argue that there is nothing wrong with doing this because it is "booze money" that they allow to be raised. Accepting this would not reduce the integrity and respect locals have for their maraes. On the contrary, it would increase the economic potential of maraes and their capacity to control drink. What people often dispute is, who decides if drinking should be permitted or not?

[3] The section on 'The Shout' in Chapter Three provides details of how shouting originated.

[4] 'Gate crashing' refers to uninvited or unwanted guests who turn up to functions, gatherings and parties and usually have no intention of leaving.

[5] A church service is usually held in conjunction with the cleaning and tidying up of a marae. Often while this is going on cooks continue drinking in the kauta.

[6] A popular technique used in smoking cannabis is referred to as the "shot-gun". This involves one person reversing the "joint" (the cigarette) in his/her mouth and exhaling the smoke into the mouth or nose of another person as they inhale. It commonly gives a faster effect because of the higher content of smoke entering the body. As some have commented it makes it easier to "get smashed" or "wasted". See Appendix Six also, which is a section on cannabis smoking among young people.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In our society alcohol consumption is an act common to almost every social occasion. It is the accepted norm, nevertheless it is considered among most people a contentious issue as so often it is open to abuse. However, appropriate drinking behaviour is to be drunk but not abusive in any way. Drinking on maraes is to some extent tolerated in this way. The local people did make distinctions between what is marae protocol and what are social norms. The latter are of course determined by what they know and what they accept as being appropriate everyday activities. Drinking is not seen as breaking marae protocol because it is not considered a part of formalities associated with traditional protocol. Marae protocol is formal and ritualistic as is observed at the powhiri to manuhiri. Protocol is best in action at the tangi. The norms of acceptable social behaviour are standards people uphold every day based on what they think is right. In saying this, drunkenness is also a part of accepted behaviour and therefore it is expected that some people will cause problems.

In this study I addressed the contradictions associated with drinking. In order to understand attitudes and behaviour associated

with alcohol consumption it is important to examine social conditions impinging upon people's lives in Ruatoria; their life experiences and rationalised perceptions of the world around them. Defining the social context of drinking in Ruatoria means ultimately situating this community and the East Coast region within the wider New Zealand social structure. This has not been a central concern of this study; however I have stressed the importance of examining the effects of technological advancements, the influences of the mass media, and the political and economic status of the East Coast.

The East Coast is an underdeveloped economic area, with a high unemployment rate. This results in many people moving out in search of work. For young people, unemployment has made the future an increasingly uncertain one. The present socio-economic situation shows little promise of improvement as the area's largest industries, forestry and farming are threatened by further cut-backs. Families are affected by the demands of capitalist profitability, both in the State and private sectors. Understandably these conditions have generated personal anxiety and depression and for the community threaten its existence.

The past two years of social unrest in Ruatoria has not helped the people cope with harsh economic realities. Indeed, some believe the social unrest to have been largely generated by economic problems. Inherent conflict between the young and old; the Rastafarian activities; high unemployment and a lack of government commitment to the East Coast people have all been identified as local problems and prompted local criticism of government ineffectiveness.

Amidst social change maraes stand as the vital 'lifeblood' of the people. They continue as they have for as long as Ngati Porou generations take pride in their culture, heritage and traditions. Today, maraes are important as they are valued not only for their cultural significance but also because they exist as necessary social institutions. People are aware that changes in their own lives obviously affect their maraes. They are seen as vulnerable to outside influences and as such there is intolerance towards any threat that may take control out of the people's hands. The present unemployment problem is one example of uncertainty that affects people's fears about their future. Social, political and economic constraints often force people to protect their culture from such forces. This is understandable because the culture of the people exists as part of their lifestyle and local people feel that that government does not recognise this. For people, maraes now take a secondary role to other things, like, having jobs and a reasonable standard of living. People see such changes in priorities as a threat to their sense of identity.

In order to understand current drinking practices it is not only necessary to situate them within the wider social context, but it is also important to trace the history of drinking among the Ngati Porou. Since the introduction of liquor in the early 1800s, drinking has been incorporated into the culture. During the 1840s Grey imposed a liquor ordinance aimed at restricting Maori access to liquor. This was rejected because of its discriminatory nature. By the early 1870s drinking became a concern for government officials as well as Maori chiefs as drunken behaviour and convictions in criminal courts increased. On the East Coast drinking was indeed defined by pakeha

authorities and some Maori chiefs a major social problem. During the prime of prohibition during the early 1900s Ngati Porou men continued to drink despite attempts by Ngata to stop this happening. His moves to get Ngati Porou women to petition for prohibition worked only insofar as legislation appeared to solve the problem. Yet drinking continued as it had in past years. It had become a functional part of social activities; a part of hospitality accepted into ceremonial activities. By the turn of the century alcohol was more entrenched into the Maori lifestyles and prohibition was seen as a way of encouraging men to spend less on liquor and concentrate on their families' living standards.

Today 'heavy drinking' in the community is defined by the social and cultural milieu in which people drink, that is, heavy drinking may well be considered normal to the community. We have seen that drinking is very much historically and currently a part of people's lifestyle; most drink on a regular basis and see the drinking of large amounts as normal. It is, therefore, difficult to get people to state how much they drink. This raises questions concerning whether alcohol is a local 'social problem'. As we have seen normal acceptable drinking is defined by what the majority themselves do. However, some drunken behaviour is seen as intolerable, usually when local drinkers fight and cause damage to property. When such situations result observers do not consider the drinker capable of being able to control themselves. Often they intervene to stop this sort of behaviour continuing.

From the evidence presented in this study there appears to be no basis for distinctions between the manner in which drinking takes place

on maraes and the manner in which drinking is done elsewhere in the community. Alcohol is a focus for group activity. The maraes, pubs, people's homes, RSA, bowling club and rugby clubrooms all share this in common. Present attitudes suggest, however, that tolerance brings with it a degree of acceptance. That is, people accept drinking on maraes as fact though some do this reluctantly. In society, the influences of alcohol advertising, the strong links between alcohol and sport and the dominant 'male drinking culture' support the ideology that drinking is a good thing and that the undesirable social consequences of its abuse are accepted realities. For people alcohol is a necessary component to social functions and tied in with ceremonial events such as, birthdays, weddings and the tangi. It is incorporated into the hospitality and spirituality of social events. Alcohol use today is consequently determined by its social significance as well as availability.

Maraes are used for festive social occasions. Alcohol is only part of the reason why people attend as there are other important things such as; friendship, enjoyment, hospitality and the sense of security associated with one's presence on a marae. Drinking is part of what makes people happy, yet to deny its importance is to ignore the point that people enjoy drinking on their maraes. The social value of drinking therefore has importance to the people.

Drinking among workers is common to the work situations on maraes. Hospitality means providing alcohol for workers who cater for guests. Though some kaumatua object to this being the case the reality is that providing shouts has the affect of making people work better. It keeps them happy and helps persuade them not to leave their work. However,

workers do not demand shouts as this affects their reputations as workers.

I found two significant issues relating to costs in providing alcohol at maraes. The first point is that alcohol is as much a social expectation as it is an economic concern. People provide as best they can financially and the 'shout' is a common way costs are cut. The shout as an appropriate means of providing drinks is today a common way in which hosts honour their guests. I observed in some cases, families unable to provide large amounts of alcohol make the opportunity, if not the funds, available for people to drink. Normally shouts take place at the pub. This is accepted as people are aware that financial commitments and limited marae resources restrict the generosity one would like to show.

A second theme arising from the economics associated with drinking is the benefit and costs to maraes themselves. Most social gatherings are for fund-raising purposes and alcohol is the chief source of income. Alcohol can be a source of funds for the development of the marae, but its use raises problems and dilemmas. Marae committees may gain economic advantages from providing alcohol, but may have to bear social costs, and repair damages. Committee members acknowledge that alcohol is central to fund-raising socials but are aware of its potential to be abused.

Over recent years strains on marae resources have become an increasing concern for people, particularly as their living costs also rise. The large number of maraes for such a small population means

that people are constrained by economic commitments and cannot contribute to the upkeep and development of their maraes as they would wish. Often divided by affiliations to different maraes, financial contributions are also divided. Some maraes are more active and better utilised than others because of their larger supporting numbers. However, being well organised does not mean that one's marae should be viewed better than any other. All maraes are of importance to people.

This study has found generational conflict to be a significant factor in understanding drinking in Ruatoria. Attitudes towards drinking on maraes between the young and old were different though on some points there was agreement. The generational attitudes were reflected particularly in views towards who abuses alcohol. Young people are seen by older people to be those more associated with drink problems, mainly because they are generally seen as unable to handle their drink and act in irresponsible ways.

The 18-35 age group in the community did express concern about drinking as did the 36-70 age group. Overall what was reluctantly tolerated by both was the fighting often associated with drinking. Damages to marae property was considered shameful and prompted a view among older people that alcohol should be banned. But young people did not go so far as to say this. Even if they did, they felt their views are not often considered of any importance by the kaumatua.

For kaumatua the issue of alcohol on maraes raises dilemmas which affect their leadership. They, like other people are genuinely concerned about their maraes and the extent of alcohol abuse. However,

kaumatua must reaffirm their status as leaders in order to protect their vested interests. Kaumatua reacted to alcohol as it affected their ability to maintain order. Yet some find they are not in positions to control alcohol consumption as their authority does not necessarily stop the local people from doing what they want. People drink on maraes in spite of rules and in spite of traditional kaumatua authority. However, as leaders, kaumatua hold positions of power and as such are generally respected for who and what they represent. Even if individuals defy rulings about alcohol consumption, they nevertheless acknowledge they have disregarded that traditional authority. Kaumatua authority is gained from their tribal knowledge. But they are particularly reluctant to impart this knowledge of tradition and history especially to their young. As a result young people cannot get access to that knowledge and in turn feel rejected. Having that knowledge entitles kaumatua to be community leaders and divests young people of the opportunity of having a 'say'. The young are as a result in powerless positions.

In addition social changes are taking place, which put the older generation on unfamiliar ground. The social conditions of today are such that many find they are incapable of asserting their control. Their control is diminished because traditional authority has little significance. The lack of understanding between the young and old is compounded even more by this. The question as expressed by the young is, 'how much does the older generation understand about our situation?' Drinking is what young people see older people do and as such their own use of cannabis smoking, as many believe, is no different. Smoking cannabis is largely a youth experience which older

people have no understanding and little tolerance.

Inadequate controls are observed at drinking functions on maraes and this is because concerned marae elders see permits as out-dated and ineffective controls. At cabarets alcohol is often open to abuse. Because more young people attend these functions they are the majority who drink excessively. This behaviour is observed by all, though the tendency is to ignore it. Liquor permits have not in the past been successful and even today little attention is paid to them. They are applied for only, it would seem, to appease licensing laws which state controls must be taken. More meaningful controls are perhaps achievable if marae committees were to work alongside hosting groups in monitoring and controlling alcohol. This may eventually lead to a percentage of the profit given to the marae. It would mean maraes will also be sufficiently looked after. Another possible solution would be to disregard liquor permits altogether in favour of permanent bar licenses for maraes. These suggestions are only effective if there is acceptance and agreement among the people that drinking is a reality on maraes. Maraes do not adapt to change if people themselves are not committed to change. Therefore it is important that open and critical evaluations of the community's position in relation to the outside world are made.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of this research I conclude with the following recommendations. They are intended for two very distinct yet important groups, first the local people of Ruatoria, especially marae committee members and those working in social services and community organisations. The second set of recommendations are aimed at policy makers, in particular government agencies. Specifically they are directed to assist ALAC as the national advisory body undertaking alcohol prevention and research work in New Zealand.

Recommendations to local people:

[1] That marae committees consider being hosting partners with clubs and organisations that hire maraes for fund-raising gatherings. They could therefore generate revenue by taking a percentage of the profits earned.

[2] That marae committees consider possibilities of establishing their own marae bar facilities.

[3] That marae committees and Maori community groups actively lobby government to employ Maori wardens on a part-time basis at a salary rate which adequately reflects their duties and responsibility.

[4] That local government agencies become more community orientated. Also that action be directed at addressing the social and economic living conditions on the East Coast.

[6] That whanau, hapu and iwi development programmes become models for community empowerment with the priority of addressing the current youth problems in Ruatoria.

[7] That liquor permits be reviewed giving attention to their ineffectiveness and irrelevance to marae settings. That effective ways of controlling drinking on maraes be looked at which take into account local Maori suggestions.

[8] That a system of community licensing control take effect with the view to monitoring alcohol outlets in Ruatoria. Marae committees and tribal authorities would take part in monitoring controls.

Recommendations to ALAC

[1] That research funding into Maori drinking be a priority with a view towards the better understanding of Maori alcohol and related problems. Also, that more Maori researchers be sought to undertake research studies into drinking. Currently there are disproportionately few Maori researchers studying alcohol and drug abuse among their own people. It is important also to take into account the needs of different tribal groups.

[2] That ALAC formally collaborate with all Maori tribal authorities including the Maori Womens Welfare League, New Zealand Maori Council and the National Federation of Tribal Authorities and with other Maori community organisations to seek strategies to deal with problems of alcohol abuse among Maori people.

[3] That policies directed at Maori drinking acknowledge the holistic approach of the Maori. That is, wairua, hinengaro and tinana dimensions be incorporated into submission policies in order to understand how Maori people feel and relate to the world. These dimensions must also be used with reference also to the social, political and economic experiences of Maori people. A necessary undertaking would be the inclusion of whanau, hapu and iwi development. These must be addressed in all policy decisions thus giving them a bi-cultural emphasis.

[4] That the findings of this report be sensitively used with care to ensure that the people of Ngati Porou are consulted and that their maraes will be protected.

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APPENDICES SECTION

APPENDIX ONE

METHODOLOGY

This research is a sociological study of alcohol consumption on maraes and alcohol consumption in the East Coast community of Ruatoria. The approach taken gives both a qualitative and interpretive account of drinking patterns. This is achieved by the participant observation approach. It was possible using this technique to gain greater insight into how people of Ruatoria perceived their drinking. My role as the researcher was to be part of yet apart from the interactive processes operating within the community.

Engaging in this research began with exploring channels of communication within the community. A working knowledge of the people and of the Maori language was essential. The assistance of local people to help me in my work was vital also in interpreting information. However, while it was necessary to be accountable to the people it was important to maintain my objective of "telling it like it is".

The aim of this study was to document and record the responses of as many people as possible. A total of 103 people participated. Eighty-one (80%) responses I received were general discussions with people. This approach was of value as it was an informal opportunity to collect information relevant to drinking. In all cases of interviewing I let people dictate conversations by allowing them to contribute what they felt was important. In briefly introducing the topic of drinking and after explaining what I was doing I left the initiative up to them to give information they considered relevant. Sometimes it was necessary to initiate discussions or at times draw attention to something they said earlier. It was also necessary to clarify some points to ensure I got my facts straight. I found it important also to write down facts that were not directly relevant to the topic of drinking as they helped explain wider issues. Also it was important not to leave out information that was of a contradictory, ambiguous or exaggerated nature.

Of the total number, I interviewed 22 people in detail about drinking. Thirteen of these were aged between 20-36; nine were from the 36-70 age group. The range of occupations included forestry workers, teachers, farmers, business owners, government employees and professional people. Also included were those unemployed.

Interviews were conducted in people's homes, however, others were carried out on maraes and in the work place. Some of the more casual conversations took place in pubs, at rugby games, in clubrooms at parties, in the mainstreet, at maraes and at community meetings.

Of the core group of 22, eight were women and 14 were men. Two were local pakeha people. Of the total number of 103 responses, 62 (60%) were male and 41 (40%) were women. Sixty-seven (65%) were aged between 18-35 and 36 (35%) were aged between 36-80 years. Ten (9%) included both pakeha men and women. In Chapter One I make the point about emphasising views of both women and young people as they represent two important groups with less social status. In some parts of this study I have been able to present strong cases to highlight the views of both groups. I am aware, however, that in other parts I have given little attention to them. I recognise that this study could have better addressed the women's viewpoint if I had adopted some other research methodology or approach.

I found it important to establish an informal support group. This I achieved by making contact with friends and people keen to assist with the research. This included contacting members of the Waiapu Hospital Board, Te Runanga o Ngati Porou and teachers at the local schools. I also contacted other people including kaumatua for their ideas and advice.

The 22 interviews were all hand written as many people felt uncomfortable being recorded on tape about their views on alcohol. Where appropriate information was taped during public meetings. Where this was not possible I took notes outside the room. The hand writing of participant responses had to be done sensitively and therefore I had to be articulate in interview situations. It was impolite at times to write while people were talking and it was therefore necessary to write outside interview time. In other situations I involved others in the

room to help clarify points being talked about.

This study was located in Ruatoria and focussed on the maraes situated around the township. There are sixteen maraes still frequently used by the people. The largest of these are Hiruharama, Mangahanea and Porourangi. Because of their facilities people find them more convenient to use. I attended a number of functions at these maraes including cabarets, birthdays, tangi, christenings and unveilings. My observations were, however, not restricted to these alone. My fieldwork took me to other maraes including some of the smaller ones; Te Aowera, Rakai Hoia ("Te Horo"), Te Heapara, Ngati Porou ("Dixie") and Taumata-o-mihi ("Rouru"). I would like to clear up one point, and that is, Ngati Porou and Porourangi are two separate maraes. Porourangi marae is the leading ancestral marae of the Ngati Porou, hence it is this marae that is acknowledged by the people. Ngati Porou is much smaller and regarded as a family marae. Before the commencement of my fieldwork I thought it necessary to pay a visit to each of the 16 marae in the area. I considered this to be a gesture of respect. During the course of fieldwork a number were under renovation and as such were closed for public use. Some were re-opened after a few months after completing restoration work. In Ruatoria, adjacent to the Whakarua park domain, is the Uepohatu memorial hall built during the early part of the 1920-1930s by the late Apirana Ngata. It is regarded as a community marae though over the years has been closed by major building reconstructions. In a strict sense, it is not considered a marae because it does not have the same whanau atmosphere as other maraes have.

The fieldwork phase consisted of having both formal and informal discussions with as many local people as possible. The information collected at this stage was used to conduct a more detailed picture of drinking. Drinking on maraes is the central focus, however, it cannot be separated out from drinking that goes on in a wider context. I have selected out information that gives the clearest picture of drinking patterns and perceptions as I observe and interpret them.

DRINKING ON THE MARAE: QUESTION GUIDELINE

The following questions formed the guideline for fieldwork interviews. Throughout, participants had the opportunity to direct the course of discussions with their own ideas and questioning.

1. What are your general feelings about drinking?
2. Is drinking, in general, a bad thing?
3. Why is drinking tolerated on maraes?
4. Why are people permitted to drink on maraes?
5. Does alcohol fit into marae protocol?
6. Does drinking mean drunkenness is tolerated on maraes as well?

7. What happens when drunk people get violent and abusive?
8. How are they handled when in this state?
9. Who is responsible for allowing drink on maraes?
10. How is drinking controlled on maraes?
11. How would drinking be best controlled?

The information was collected and from these responses generalised conclusions were drawn. Selecting information from all 103 responses was a critical undertaking for this study and involved interpreting accurate accounts of people's views. The age, sex and occupation of all participants had to be included as important sociological information for this study.

APPENDIX TWO

MAORI COSMOLOGY

This appendix is relevant to this study as it outlines in some detail the knowledge that kaumatua have an understanding of. It is in many respects knowledge that few Maori people have access to and knowledge that maintains authority. The importance of cosmology to the people is in its power to uphold social order. Understanding this can tell us something about the difficult dilemmas many kaumatua face in relation to drinking on maraes.

THE MAORI WORLDVIEW

A traditional Maori worldview maintains the world as having three basic dimensions: taha wairua, (the spiritual), taha hinengaro (the emotional) and taha tinana (the physical). Together they represent a total view of human existence. These dimensions are symbolic of who, and what we are as human beings. Interwoven and complementary, when in balance they are said to be in a state of harmony. According to the kaumatua the elements of these dimensions ultimately show what should be real and meaningful to all people. The extent, however, to which this can be perceived as peculiar to Maori people is seen on the marae.

One noted Maori writer has defined the marae as 'that time honoured forum from which statements on all aspects of life emerge' (Durie 1983). This means the essence of the marae is spiritual, mystical and profound.

Taha wairua

The wairua or spiritual side of this traditional_ worldview acknowledges that we as people are subject to the forces and limitations of the environment. The forces of natural (e.g. wind, rain, forests and the sea) all possess power beyond that of man. These forces have spirituality which is the mauri or life force.

Spiritual forces or mana, refers to spiritual authority possessed by people. This authority is said to derive from the Gods. Mana is defined by Marsden (1981;145) as, 'a lawful permission delegated by Gods to their human agents, and is accompanied by the endowment of spiritual power to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will'. The distinction made between 'authority' and 'power' is an important point. It is only spiritual power that can be abused, and if such is the case, some form of retribution is made by the Gods. Authority remains with the Gods. The understanding of mana, means that one possesses charismatic appeal. Traditional Maori beliefs in spiritual communion with nature and in particular people's relationship with whenua is significant. Land is the turangawaewae of people and is significant because of its connection to identity. Not only does it symbolise the continuity of tribal existence it also represents the creation of that existence. The separation of Rangi, the sky father

and Papa, mother earth was the mythical conception of man. There is a whakatauki which ties humankind to the land; men to women, women to men and people to the land:

"Ma te wahine ka tupu te hanga nei te tangata
 Ma te whenua ka whai oranga ai
 Whai hoki ki te tangohia to wahine
 e te tangata ke,
 Ka ngaro to pouri ki roto i a koe
 Na ki te tangohia te whenua e te
 tangata ke
 Ka tapu to pouri ano
 Ko nga putake enei o te whawhai
 Koia i kii au
 He wahine he oneone i ngaro ai te
 tangata"

ENGLISH Translation

"Women alone give birth to mankind
 Land alone gives man his sustenance
 No man will lightly accept the loss
 of his beloved wife, nor that of his
 sacred land
 It is truly said that man's weaknesses
 Are the love of his wife and the love

of the land"

It is within such whakatauki that truths are revealed where poetic symbolisms have a profound sense of meaning.

Death also links people to the spiritual world, and as such, is given utmost priority. The tangi is a marae's most auspicious occasion. People assemble at the marae to pay their last respects to the mate. Death symbolises the strong spiritual presence felt by everyone. Death is continuity of the past, the present and the future. It is heard at a tangi:

"Haere ki te kainga i tauratia mai mo
taua, mo te tangata
Haere ki Paerau, ki te huinga o te Kahurangi
Ka oti atu ai e".

ENGLISH translation

"Go to the home predestined for you and
me, for mankind
Go to Paerau, to the assembly of the
illustrious
And there remain for all times."

This spiritual link with death also stress other important Maori beliefs best summed up in the words of this tauparapara:

"Haere mai te ihi, haere mai te wehi
haere mai te mana, haere mai te tapu".

"Draw near o excellent ones, draw near o awesome ones
draw near of charismatic one, draw near o sacred one".

As well as paying tribute to the dignity and status of manuhiri death shows to all the importance of respect. To exhibit a lack of respect is to fear retribution. It is perhaps this as well as consideration of reprimands from marae leaders that ensures observances to marae protocol are kept. For both guests and hosts these observances ensure that transgressions of what is considered proper behaviour are not crossed. Maraes are places that this must be so.

The term ihi can be defined as a vital force or personal magnetism radiated from within and that elicits in the observer a response of awe and respect. The ihi represents the psyche of an individual. It is the intrinsic quality in human beings; that personal essence. It is a quality that can be developed more highly in some than in others (Marsden 1981:144). The term wehi denotes awesome fear. It is the emotion generated through anxiety and apprehension. In friendly gesture of respect one would make the statement:

"Ka mau to wehi".

"You fill me with your awesome fear".

Wehi can be generated by the presence of the ihi. It can also be generated by the mana and tapu of the Gods. Mana as stated earlier is the spiritual authority given by the Gods. The term tapu however, has attached spiritual and legal elements. It is said, that a person or an object is tapu when cast from the world of the profane into the world of the sacred. It is a state where they are under the patronage of the Gods. The legal aspects of tapu is said to exist as a contractual arrangement between the deity to which one pays homage and the individual. In return for the protection against some malevolent force, tapu is said to permit one to manipulate situations outside one's control.

Taha hinengaro

The emotional dimension of the Maori worldview encompasses the intellectual processes of the mind. Ideas and views in Maoridom are expressions of integrative rather than analytical processes of thinking, that is, Maori people interpret what they see and understand as part of a whole system of knowledge. For example, we can look at the distinctions between Maori and pakeha health perspectives. The MWL's 1984 Health Study on Maori Women [1] addressed itself to the pragmatics of undertaking Maori research within a Maori framework.

This was achieved by working through the traditional systems (ie. whanau, hapu, iwi) and by adopting an approach to the fieldwork appropriate to Maori women. For Maori people health is viewed more as a inter-related rather than intra-personal concept. It is something pakeha health promoters are only just beginning to take note of. Only recently have they come to accept the notions of hinengaro, (thoughts and feelings) and wairua, (spiritual values) as vital to ones physical health. The emphasis on looking at these issues reflect the Maori view of health. A view people have long held for many generations. A fundamental difference between Maori and pakeha thinking on health lies in their emphasis. The pakeha health model concentrates on illness and sickness. The Maori health view as an open approach and looks at health in terms of a person's 'total wellbeing'. If we look at each view separately through a 'systems' model we see clearly a different emphasis. Pakehas tend to divide the 'whole' into its components, so one might gain greater analytical understanding of health. Thus, distinctions are made from a break down of elements to basic properties; this is the scientific approach.

In contrast the Maori view of health does not see basic elements as important. More significant are wider holistic concerns. Health is determined through a synthesis of the 'whole' into a much wider context. This means that making distinctions is less important than establishing links. It is the connections between, rather than the connections within, that is considered relevant to Maori health. The study of alcohol suggests alcohol abuse would be a primary focus. However, within a Maori framework, alcohol abuse is seen as one factor. What I have attempted to do is broaden the scope of this study on

alcohol to wider issues, such as, social and political concerns ethnicity, identity and change.

Taha tinana

All individuals who are said to embrace a spiritual, emotional and physical cognizance demonstrate a level of wellbeing admired within Maoridom. The physical dimension refers to the real bodily and material world; that which is around us. It consists of what we commonly do in our daily lives and includes all the facets of our everyday living. They are the observed; the profanity of our existence. An individual requires not only sustenance in the form of food and drink to sustain life, but also physical abilities to adapt to change.

[1] See Elizabeth Murchie (1984). Rapuora: A report on health and Maori women. Sponsored by the New Zealand Maori Women's Welfare League.

APPENDIX THREE

ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE

The effects of alcoholism and alcohol abuse are recognised as major health and social problems and New Zealand's number one drug problem. Both are multi-dimensional problems with physiological, psychological and socio-cultural aspects. The ingestion of alcohol is a necessary but not sufficient condition to account for the magnitude of this health problem. Drinking as we know it, is a well established, socially accepted behaviour for the majority of New Zealanders. In order to fully understand this phenomenon, one needs to examine the pharmacology, the pharmacokinetics and the effects of alcohol on the various systems, organs and functions of the body.

This appendix is important to this study as physiological affects of drinking have social implications for people; abilities to function normally are impaired. Family relationships, employment productivity, judgement and co-ordination impairments are some of the effects of alcohol abuse. The information contained in the appendix is derived from the St. Dennis Pharmacology Idaho Instructional manual, Bailey et al. A New Zealand edition has been compiled by the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council 1982. (References in this appendix can be found in the ALAC manual). I take responsibility for the necessary editing to sections as many were irrelevant to this study.

THE PHARMACOLOGY OF ALCOHOL

Alcohol is Ethyl Alcohol ($\text{CH}_3 \text{CH}_2 \text{OH}$), a simple molecule made when yeast acts on sugar in the presence of water in a process termed fermentation. This process yields a 15% alcohol content. Fruits, berries, honey and grains are common sugar sources for fermentation. To achieve a higher content, such as that found in scotch, gin or whiskey, distillation is necessary.

In distillation a solution of alcohol is heated, the vapours are collected and then cooled back into liquid form. Since alcohol boils at a lower temperature than water, it is the alcohol vapour which escapes first. Thus, by systematically controlling the temperature and collecting the vapours one can effectively concentrate the alcohol content to a desired percentage.

In New Zealand distilled alcoholic beverages are classified in terms of percent, by volume. Thus a bottle of distilled spirits contains 42.9% ethyl alcohol by volume. That is 42.9% of the liquid in the bottle is ethyl alcohol. Congeners (those chemicals which give the product its particular colour, odour and taste) are also present. Distilled beverages usually range from 30% to 60% alcohol by volume. Fortified wines such as sherry and port are fermented wines to which alcohol has been added to bring their alcohol content up to approximately 18% by volume.

PHARMACOKINETICS

Pharmacokinetics is the term used to describe the ways in which drugs move into, around and out of the body through absorption, distribution and metabolism processes.

— ABSORPTION:

Alcohol is rapidly and completely absorbed across the lining of the stomach (70-80% absorbed) and the small intestine (20-30% absorbed). Peak blood levels following drinking occur within a 30 to 60 minute period. However absorption time may be altered because of a number of different reasons:

1. The concentration of ethanol - the higher the concentration, the faster the rate of absorption.
2. The concentration of congeners - the higher the congener content, the slower the rate of absorption.
3. The rate of ingestion - the faster alcohol is consumed, the faster it is absorbed.
4. The content of the stomach - food, particularly fatty foods, which may absorb and retain alcohol for an extended period, slows the absorption process. Carbonation increases the rate of absorption since

gas given off increases pressure in the stomach and thus accelerates emptying.

5. Pathological conditions (fear, anger, ulcers) can either increase or decrease the absorption rates also.

DISTRIBUTION:

Alcohol is rapidly distributed through the body via the blood system and is not absorbed into fatty tissue. It is this factor which accounts for sex-related differences in peak Blood Alcohol Levels (BAL), obtained after drinking. The female body typically contains a higher percentage of body fat and a lower percentage of water. Therefore, less alcohol produces a higher BAL since there is less water in which to dilute the concentration of alcohol.

METABOLISM:

Alcohol is not stored but metabolized (95%), in one's liver. The balance (5%), is excreted unchanged through one's breath, perspiration and urine.

Energy, in the form of pure calories is the end product of the liver metabolism. Although alcohol is a rich source of energy, it lacks the vitamins, minerals and proteins necessary for proper nutrition. Consequently, frequently found among heavy drinkers are vitamin and nutrition deficiencies.

RATE OF METABOLISM:

Metabolism occurs at a time-limited rate. There is a high variance between individuals. However, as a general rule one can say that one percent of an ounce of (42% alcohol by volume), whiskey will be metabolized per hour.

ALCOHOL AND BODY FUNCTIONS

Drinking produces specific effects upon various system, organs and functions of the body. These include the circulatory system, breathing, the gastrointestinal (GI) tract, the liver, kidneys, muscles, blood components, the reproductive system and the central nervous system.

The effects of drinking are classified as either primary or secondary. Primary effects occur during the distribution of alcohol through the body. Secondary effects are the indirect effects which occur as a result of alcohol coming in contact with other organs, systems and functions of the body.

CIRCULATORY:

The circulatory system is composed of the heart and blood vessels, and it is affected in the following ways:

[1] With low doses, a slight increase in pulse rate and/or blood pressure.

[2] An increase in dosage causes a depression of the vasomotor areas of the brain which in turn causes a decrease in heart rate.

Cell damage to heart sometimes occurs.

[3] Chronic alcohol intake (heavy drinking) acts metabolically to deposit fat in the heart. An increase in levels of blood fat can eventually cause hardening of the arteries.

Drinking causes a dilation of the blood vessels which results in heat loss from the skin causing a warm, flushed feeling. Consequently in cases of cold exposure or shock, alcohol is contraindicated [sic]. Although individuals may feel warmer, their body temperature is being reduced. The end result is a cooling of blood in the trunk area of the body which causes a significant reduction of blood in the extremities.

BREATHING:

The following secondary effect of drinking has been observed:

Dose related depression of the control centre of the brain. That is, as drinking increases the rate of breathing decreases due to the depression of the breathing control centre of the brain, which can cause cessation in breathing.

GASTROINTESTINAL TRACT: This tract is affected in the following ways:

STOMACH: 1) Direct irritation of the stomach's lining

may cause GASTRITIS OR INFLAMMATION OF THE STOMACH.

2) An increase in stomach acid.

3) The combination if 1 and 2 may result in GASTRIC ULCERS.

PANCREAS: Increase secretion of digestive juices may cause PANCREATITIS (Inflammation of the pancrea).

LIVER:

This organ bears the brunt of damage due to chronic alcohol intake. As cited: "This marvellous organ is the energy factory for the body with several thousand major chemical reactions necessary for normal health being catalyzed there. It releases a large share of the body's blood supply and is a multi-lobed structure with a lot of reserve tissue available." (St Dennis 1976:373)

THE LIVER AND ALCOHOL:

HEPATITIS (Inflammation of the Liver) which causes extreme weakness and lethargy.

CIRROHOSIS - Scarring of the lobes of the Liver with subsequent loss of function. This occurs in one out of ten alcoholics, a rate which is ten times the incidence found in the general population.

PORTAL HYPERTENSION - Increased blood pressure within the Liver's major vein interferes with blood flow causing the occurrence of varicosities which are the result of blood backing up into the chest, face and throat. Examples are, large bulbous nose or the rupturing of the small blood vessels in the skin of the nose or face. Skin lesions called 'spider angioas' may appear on the chest and trunk. The vessels in the stomach and/or oesophagus may also be affected, including oesophageal and

gastric varices. Eating or vomiting may rupture these vessels causing severe haemorrhaging, a life endangering condition.

Cessation of the production of albumen (blood protein) causes disastrous effects on body fluid balance. A condition known as ASCITES may develop which is characterized by huge quantities of body fluid accumulating in the space surrounding the internal organs of the gastrointestinal tract (peritoneal cavity)

HEPATIC COMA - The Liver ceases to function. Coma ensues due to the body's accumulation of waste products.

THE KIDNEYS: Diuresis (increased urination) accompanies drinking.

MUSCLES: Wasting of the muscles due to direct damage of muscle cells may occur.

BLOOD COMPONENTS: The following effects may be evident as either a primary or secondary result of drinking.

BLOOD SUGAR: Initial rises in blood sugars (hyperglycemia) occurs followed by a prolonged drop (hypoglycemia) below the baseline. This effect is due to the stimulation of the adrenal gland.

ANAEMIAS: Iron deficiency anaemia among heavy drinkers is common. This is a result of a decrease in the production of red blood cells. The effects are increased susceptibility to infection and a vitamin B deficiency.

BONE MARROW: Direct damage to bone marrow is rare but fatal since bone marrow is the site of production for all blood cells. A decrease in red blood cells causes anaemia (iron deficiency anaemia). A decrease in white blood cells causes increased susceptibility to infection and a decrease in the production of blood platelets interferes with the clotting processes and accounts for a tendency to bruise easily.

REPRODUCTIVE SYSTEMS:

MALES

In males, drinking may cause either impotence (the inability to achieve an erection) or ejaculatory incompetence (the inability to ejaculate after achieving an erection). Impotence may be caused by any of the following:

TESTICULAR ATROPHY: A shrinkage of the testes which causes a decrease in male hormone production with a concomitant reduction in "sexual desire" (Schneider 1975).

DAMAGE TO THE NEUROGENIC REFLEX ARC: A Central Nervous System process which controls erection via the cerebal cortex, the spinal cord and the peripheral nerves that convey sensory and vasomotor impulses to and from the genital organs. (Lemere and Smith 1973).

SECONDARY SEX CHANGES: Changes caused by the liver's inability to effectively detoxify female hormones produced by the adrenal gland. Males therefore have an increase in female hormones and exhibit loss of body hair, breast enlargement, and a decrease in sexual desire.

These conditions can be differentiated by the individuals expressed desire for sexual contact. With 'neurogenic reflex arc dysfunction' sex drive remains - it is the ability to perform that is impaired. Whereas with Testicular Atrophy and Secondary Sex Changes sexual desire is dramatically reduced if not non-existent.

EJACULATORY INCOMPETENCE: Even small amounts of alcohol can cause prostate glands around the bladder to swell (Schneider 1975). This can lead to a condition, even in young adults, called PROSTATIS. This interferes with sexual functioning. During the male orgasm this gland along with the testes and seminal vesicles contract to collect and expel seminal fluid into the entrance of the urethra, the canal leading from the urinary bladder to the opening of the head of the penis (Belliveau and Richter 1976). If the prostate gland is impaired then the expulsion of seminal fluid is impossible.

FEMALE

In females, drinking may cause an increase in vaginal infection, a secondary effect resulting from the decreased production of white blood cells in bone marrow. However the most serious effects of drinking with respect to the female reproductive system can be seen in pregnant

women.

Pregnant women who consume excessive quantities of alcohol may give birth to severely impaired babies. They would exhibit symptoms referred to as the 'fetal alcohol syndrome'. It is ranked third significant disorder in which mental deficiency is a feature. Only Down's Syndrome and neural tube defects such as meningomyelocele (spina bifida cystica) are more common (Jones and Smith 1973).

Some women who drink heavily also report a decrease in sexual desire. Whether this is due to the impaired functioning of the liver's detoxification of hormones released by the adrenal gland (as reported among males) or some other mechanism is presently undetermined.

CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM (THE BRAIN AND SPINAL CORD)

The effects of drinking on the Central Nervous System (CNS) is rather complex. Consequently, we shall plot the course of alcohol's action as well as its effects.

MECHANISM OF ACTION: Alcohol is a depressant which temporarily blocks the electrical conduction process of the cell membranes and affects all neurons it contacts. Behaviourally, it causes a release of inhibition.

EFFECTS: The following tolerance effects occur as a result of alcohol's action on the CNS.

BEHAVIOURAL TOLERANCE: Occurs in heavy drinkers. They appear to do better on many tasks than do their non-drinking counterparts at the same BAL, due to previous learning which occurred while drinking.

METABOLIC TOLERANCE: Occurs but plays a minor role in "tolerance" development.

CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM TOLERANCE: (Cellular or Tissue Tolerance). Plays a major role in tolerance development but is presently poorly understood.

PHYSICAL DEPENDENCE: This refers to the body's ability to adapt to continuous high doses of certain drugs. The cessation or decrease in dosage causes the occurrence of withdrawal symptoms which are the result of the body's reaction and readjustment to the drug's absence.

PHASES OF ALCOHOLIC WITHDRAWAL:

Four phases of alcohol withdrawal may occur and differ greatly in individuals.

ALCOHOL TREMORS: ("Morning after shakes") Occurs as signs and symptoms of sleep disturbance, loss of appetite, weakness, increased heart rate, tremors which leave within several days after the cessation of

drinking.

ALCOHOLIC CONVULSIONS: ("Rum Fits") Occurs within 48 hours after the last drink. Withdrawal convulsions will develop into delirium tremors (DTs).

ALCOHOLIC HALLUCINATIONS: Usually occurs within 48 hours after the cessation of drinking. The individual is restless and experiences auditory, visual and tactile hallucinations.

DELIRIUM TREMORS OR TREMENS: (DTs) An acute toxic state which occurs about 72 hours after the cessation of drinking or may occur in heavy drinkers who have reduced their intake. A person gets agitated, disorientated and confused, often with a disordered sensory perception and increased autonomic activity (increased heart rate, flushing, fever and perspiring occurs). Untreated the death rate is about 10% to 20%.

DAMAGE TO CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM (CNS):

Damage of the CNS is related to vitamin deficiencies particularly of the B series.

POLYNEUROPATHY: (Extensive and Mixed Nerve Damage) Begins with tingling or numbness in the extremities, can progress to involve whole limbs.

CEREBELLAR DEGENERATIONS: refer to lesions in the cerebellum (the area of the brain which controls gross motor movement and posture) which results in disorders.

WERNICKE'S ENCEPHALOPATHY: is caused by Vitamin B (Thiamine) deficiency. Symptoms are vomiting, abnormal eye movements (nystagmus), staggering, weakness with peripheral neuropathy, progressing through delirium and stupor to coma and death.

KORSAKOFF'S PSYCHOSIS: (Amnestic-Confabulatory Syndrome) Is characterised by loss of memory of recent things while the past memory remains intact. The individual frequently confabulates to compensate for memory loss.

APPENDIX FOURMAORI COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AMMENDMENT ACT 1981 [1]Sections 30-36

[1] Sections 30-36 of this act relate to the prevention of unruly behaviour of Maori people. I have reproduced some sections directly as they are relevant to the study and concern such matters as controlling behaviour, also and the responsibilities of Maori wardens. Some of the sections we deal with in this appendix include the prevention of riotous, drunken and disorderly behaviour; the retention of car keys and the imposition of penalties that can be imposed by Maori committees. Some sections I have only noted and briefly summarized. Though this Act uses 'male' terms (eg. him, his) it is obvious that this includes women also.

30. The Prevention of Riotous Behaviour -(1) Any Maori who-

(a) Disturbs any congregation assembled for public worship, or any public meeting, or any meeting for any lecture, concert, or entertainment, or any audience at any theatre, whether or not a charge for admission has been made, or interferes with the conduct of any religious service in any church, chapel, burial ground, or other public building or place; or

(b) In view of any public place as defined by section 40 of the Police Offences Act 1927, or within the hearing of any person therein, behaves in a riotous, offensive, threatening, insulting, or disorderly manner, or uses any threatening, abusive or insulting words, or strikes or fights with any other person - commits an offence against this Act.

(2) Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent a penalty being imposed on any person under the Summary Proceedings Act 1957 in respect of an offence committed against section Three of the Police Offences Act 1927, but no person shall be punished twice for the same offence.

31. Prevention of Drunkenness - A Maori Warden may at any reasonable time enter any licensed premises in any area where he is authorised to carry out his duties and warn the licensee or any servant of the licensee to abstain from selling or supplying liquor to any Maori who in the opinion of the Warden is in a state of intoxication, or is violent, quarrelsome, or disorderly, or is likely to become so, whether intoxicated or not, and if the licensee or any servant of the licensee thereafter on the same day supplies liquor to that Maori, the licensee and, if the servant has been warned by the Warden, the servant, commits an offence against the Act.

Section 32 relates to a Maori being ordered to leave a public hotel.

33. Disorderly Behaviour at Maori Gatherings -

(1) Any person, whether Maori or not, who is under the influence of intoxicating liquor in any Maori meeting house or church or other building or meeting place where Maori people are assembled and who refuses to leave when requested to do so commits an offence against the Act.

(2) Every person, whether a Maori or not, who having the control or management of any dance, meeting, tangi, hui, or other gathering of Maori people being held in any meeting place supplies intoxicating liquor to any person within the bounds of the meeting place or permits any such liquor to be taken into or consumed within the bounds of the meeting place, commits an offence against this Act.

(3) Every person, whether a Maori or not, who, while at a dance, meeting, tangi, hui, or other gathering of Maori people is being held at a meeting place, drinks any intoxicating liquor within the bounds of the meeting place, or has any such liquor in his possession or control within the bounds of the meeting place or in the vicinity of the meeting place or supplies intoxicating liquor to any person in the meeting place commits an offence against this Act.

(4) For the purposes of subsection [sic] (2) of this section intoxicating liquor shall be deemed to be in the vicinity of a meeting

place where a gathering of Maori people is being held if it is shown that the liquor was in the possession or control of any person attending or proceeding to attend the gathering, or consumed or intended for the consumption by any person so attending.

(5) Any member of the Police or Maori Warden who has reason to suspect that there is any breach by any person of the provision of this section in or in the vicinity of any meeting place where a gathering of Maori people is taking place may without warrant enter the meeting place or any place in the vicinity thereof, and examine the same and search for intoxicating liquor therein and may seize and remove any such liquor found therein and the vessels containing the liquor. Any intoxicating liquor so seized in respect of which any person is convicted of any offence under this section shall, together with the vessels containing the liquor, be forfeited to the Crown.

(6) Nothing in this section shall apply to prohibit the supply to any person of intoxicating liquor or the drinking or possession of such liquor in any case where -

- (a) The liquor is bona fide required for medicinal purposes on the authority of a registered medical practitioner;
- (b) The liquor is bona fide required for religious purposes;
- (c) The liquor has been taken to and consumed in a meeting place in accordance with a permit given under this section.

Subsection 7 relates to the law governing the entry of the Police and Maori Warden into private residential homes. Power of entry cannot be done without a warrant or the consent of the lawful occupant.

(8) A Maori Committee for any area in which a meeting place is situated may, in respect of the meeting place, issue a written permit for the introduction of intoxicating liquor into the meeting place for the purpose of being consumed therein at any gathering of Maori people other than a gathering for the purposes of a dance. Any such permit shall prescribe the nature and place of the gathering and may contain such conditions as the Maori Committee thinks fit in respect of the supply and the consumption of liquor. A copy of every such permit shall be supplied to the Senior member of the Police for the area and the permit shall not have any effect until the copy is so supplied.

Subsection 9 relates to the penalties imposed under this section being enforced under the Summary Proceedings Act 1957 as a result of an offence committed under section 59 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1939.

Section 34 relates to proceedings in carrying out prohibition orders against Maori people.

35. Retention of Car keys -(1) Where any Maori Warden is of the opinion that any Maori who is for the time being in charge of any motor vehicle is, by reason of physical or mental condition, however arising, incapable of having and exercising proper control of the motor vehicle, he may -

- (a) Forbid that Maori to drive the motor vehicle; or
- (b) Require him up forthwith all ignition or other keys of the motor vehicle in his possession; or
- (c) Take such steps as may be necessary to render the motor vehicle immobile or to remove it to a place of safety.

(2) The powers conferred on Maori Wardens by subsection (1) of this section may be exercised in respect of persons other than Maoris where any such person is in charge of a motor vehicle or in the vicinity of a meeting place, or any other place where a gathering of Maori people is assembled for any lawful purpose.

(3) Every person who fails to comply with any direction given to him under this section or who does any act that is for the time being forbidden under this section commits an offence against this Act:

Provided that no person shall be deemed to have committed an offence under this section unless the Maori Warden had reasonable grounds for believing that in all the circumstances of the case the direction or prohibition was necessary in the interests of the defendant or of any other person or the public.

36. Imposition of Penalties by Maori Committees - If a Maori Committee is satisfied that an offence has been committed by a Maori against section 30, section 32, section 33, or section 35 of the Act, it may authorise proceedings to be taken in a summary manner under the Summary Proceedings Act 1957 in respect of the offence of it may, in its discretion, impose on the offender a penalty in respect thereof or such an amount as it thinks fit, not exceeding [\$20]:

Provided that no penalty shall be imposed by a Maori Committee under this subsection if the person charged elects to be dealt with summarily under the Summary Proceedings Act 1957, and before imposing any penalty, The Committee shall make known to the offender his right of election and the nature of the charge against him.

Subsection 2 relates to a clause that no penalty will be imposed in respect of a summary proceeding's being taken.

Subsection 3 relates to a Maori Committee being able to adopt a form of procedure as it may think fit subject to the directions of the Minister, and provided that the Offender has reasonable opportunity to present their case.

(4) In any case where a person fails to pay any penalty duly imposed by a Maori Committee under this section, the amount of the penalty shall be recoverable in the District Court as a debt due to the Committee by the person so failing to pay the penalty:

Provided that the person may defend the proceedings, and in any such case the matter shall be reheard by the Court which in its discretion may give judgement for the plaintiff for the amount of the penalty or such less amount as it thinks fit or may give judgement for the defendant.

(5) The amount of the penalties imposed by a Maori Committee under this section shall be paid to the Committee and shall form part of its funds.

Subsection 6 states that any penalty paid under summary proceedings shall be paid to the Maori Committee of the area within which the offence was committed. Provisions are to be made to deduct an amount set aside for a Ordinary Revenues Account.

APPENDIX FIVEPERMIT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR
TO A MAORI MEETING PLACE

This appendix is a copy of a liquor permit I obtained from the Department of Maori Affairs. Below are listed the sets of conditions applicants for a permit must state before a permit can be issued. Three copies are signed by three marae trustees (sometimes only two signatures are needed) and the senior police officer. One copy is held by the police, one by the marae committee or Maori Affairs and the other must be publically displayed at the gathering.

A permit for the introduction of intoxicating liquor to the meeting place states the following conditions:

- (a) The nature and extent of the gathering (not being a dance).
- (b) The maximum quantity of liquor that would be taken to the meeting place.
- (c) The time and delivery of liquor.

(d) That all the liquor remains in a safe place until the commencement of the gathering.

(e) The names of those controlling the provision of liquor are stated.

(f) The maximum time limit on the servicing liquor is stated.

(g) That no person of the gathering shall be permitted to consume such a quantity of liquor as to render himself intoxicated or noisy or quarrelsome, or if he will be driving a motor vehicle after the gathering, as to render him unfit or unable to to drive the vehicle safely.

(h) All unopened containers of liquor at the conclusion of a gathering or at the expirt [sic] of the time shall be returned to the suppliers.

APPENDIX SIXVIEWS ABOUT CANNABIS

It was important to include this appendix because of the common use of other drugs, especially cannabis, among young people in Ruatoria. Though this study did not focus on cannabis use it was important to highlight the fact it was seen and used in most drinking situations. This appendix also compares the views expressed by the younger and older generations in Ruatoria.

Older people's views about cannabis

"Young bastards who smoke cannabis need to be shot" (Man:40)

"It's no good for them...it buggers up their brains"
(Male:39).

"How do we stop young people from smoking this stuff...it's not doing them and us any good" (Woman:70).

"It would be better if they just stuck to drinking beer"
(Woman:38).

These views generally reflect the fear older people (36-80) have about cannabis. They find they are not able to tolerate it because of having little experience of it. Through hearsay, they firmly believe

it to more harmful than alcohol causing irreversible brain damage, severe lung cancer and insanity. To make matters worse it is illegal.

It is a fact that the older people are afraid of experiences they are unfamiliar with. It is human nature. Fear can manifest in outward anger or guilt. It is often the older men who get angry with young people smoking cannabis and older women who appear concerned.

Younger views on cannabis

The young people who smoke cannabis find status in the companionship among their peers. Being young, unemployed and alienated from their culture does not give young people much to hope for. Cannabis and drinking are things they find in common. They are said to be pleasurable experience; there is enjoyment in "getting wasted", or "out of it". Young people like to compare their use of cannabis to the drinking done by people older than themselves. It is normal for them to smoke as it is for them to drink. Some responses of young people were revealing:

"We smoke herb and drink, to get wasted, out of it, stoned, what else is there?" (unemployed man:20).

"What's there to do...there's nothing for us" (unemployed man:17).

"For the buzz" (Man:forestry worker:26).

"Everybody else does it" (Ex-school girl:16).

"There's nothing wrong with it. The only reason why the government has made smoking illegal is because they can't tax it" (Man:labourer:22).

"I smoke because all my mates do...there's nothing wrong with it" (unemployed woman:18).

Rastafarians view cannabis as important to their daily existence. They smoke it because it is enjoyed and because it ties in with their religious beliefs. Many "Rastas" ignore the legal system and call it the "hand of Babylon", taken to mean it is the instigator of their oppression. Some Rastas drank alcohol themselves and believed there was nothing wrong with it as it did not contradict what they believed. For a minority alcohol had little meaning because cannabis was always freely available.

Throughout my research I discovered many people, both young and old, who held indifferent feelings towards the use of cannabis. Not surprisingly, a majority were young (20-30), feeling neither concerned nor threatened by the presence of cannabis:

"It doesn't worry me what they do as long as I do it outside" (Woman:employed:23).

"If they want to smoke that's their own business" (Man:employed:27).

Smoking cannabis is learned and predominantely practiced as a group activity. To most older people it remains a "dirty word". Smokers are thought of as "criminals". People against cannabis generally preferred that young people stayed with drinking alcohol. It was clear that they considered alcohol less of a problem than cannabis. Though it is commonly known that alcohol is a problem when abused, it is a normal problem as people are use to coping with it. Cannabis, on the other hand, is something many older people cannot understand.

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