A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF CHANGING COMMUNITY LIFE ON CHILD-REARING PATTERNS IN A SMALL, RURAL, MAORI COMMUNITY.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for degree of
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INTRODUCTION

Given the fact that change is an inevitable process in all societies, the aim of this thesis is to show the connection between social change and child-rearing practices in a small Maori community.

The study is concerned with social change within New Zealand society, particularly amongst the Maori population of Hicks Bay and the effects of this on the family unit. Although the particular concern was with the influence of the mother-figure on the socialisation process and adaptability of the child, circumstances prevented the full inclusion of this latter part of the study within this thesis. However, a brief outline of these issues and their relevance to the particular Hicks Bay community is included.

A sociological approach is adopted in parts of this study primarily from an anthropological perspective. Social Anthropology examines the different kinds of relationships within a society with particular emphasis on aspects of the culture that are common to other cultures; the institutionalized aspects of the society and the ideas and values that are associated with it.

In this study, the influence of these factors on the social organisation of Hicks Bay is examined and the particular consequences of the socialisation process are described.

Psychological studies on aspects of Maori family life such as those written by James and Jane Ritchie (1957) and Pearl and Ernest Beaglehole (1946) have produced valuable information and stimulating insights relevant to this study. Some of the short stories and novels written by such Maori authors as Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, and biographical accounts of the lives of Maori elders (e.g. 'Amiria' by A. Salmond) have also provided an invaluable complement and corrective to previous research studies which, when based on a European[1] theoretical framework, have sometimes ignored or misinterpreted certain features of Maori family life. Ethnographic accounts of Maori communities, particularly those by Hugh Kawharu on Orakei, Patrick

1. The term European is used to denote New Zealanders of European stock.

Hohepa on Waima and James and Jane Ritchie on Rakau, have had an important influence on the shaping of this study.
At the level of analysis, a number of theoretical essays, notably those by Raymond Firth, Philip Mayer and Roger Keesing, have provided anthropological theories and models on which to base this study.

I have chosen my own family and people of Hicks Bay on which to base this study - a choice made initially on the basis of familiarity with the data. It was also an area with which I could identify in terms of kinship, and therefore, and in which I felt at ease in terms of analysis. Since my data is based on a study of such a small area however I recognize that the findings should not be taken as having a general application to New Zealand as a whole. Further research complementing this study would therefore provide valuable data for comparison.

Because Social Anthropologists are chiefly interested in social and cultural institutions, the first part of this study is concerned with kinship, descent and social organisation.

Chapter one looks briefly at the history and location of the Hicks Bay community. The focus of interest in this chapter is on the way in which the past in Hicks Bay weighs heavily upon the present, and the patterns of social organisation which are discernable on the basis of genealogical charters.

Chapter two deals with kinship and descent and the way in which these concepts define rights and obligations in kinship terms between the individual and his kinsmen in the community and elsewhere.

Chapter three focuses on family and community life, giving attention to both the internal structure and interrelationships of these units.

In chapter four, we consider the influence of economic changes within the community on organisational principles and values as expressed in the individual's choices and decisions.

Part two concludes this study with a brief sketch of one sector of change within the community, namely child-rearing. This chapter raises several

questions, and in particular the relevance of child-care for a community's structure and functioning. We consider the impact which a European belief system, mediated by members of the educational, medical and other governmental professions has had on patterns of child-rearing in Hicks Bay. Despite the reticence of the people to accept this system, they do accept it, and we see the effects of this amalgam on the community's sense of identity (which members take with them into the outside world) and the way in which this identity has been modified by social contact with the dominant western culture of New Zealand Society.

Finally in this study I have combined aspects of psychological anthropology, in particular studies of child-rearing and socialisation, with a biolgraphical and extended case-study approach. I have also merged the usual community axis with a historical axis in order to understand in depth, and from the inside, changing patterns of family interaction within a small community.

In connection with the preparation of this thesis, I am especially grateful to Professor Hugh Kawharu, head of the Department of Anthropology and my personal thesis supervisor, for his valuable criticisms and suggestions, and his unfailing encouragement. I owe much to my family for their faith in me, and for their support in my work. Lastly, my thanks to Mrs Leigh Reweti for proof-reading the draft of this manuscript, and to Miss Wendy Sigvertsen and Mrs Marie Smith for the typing of it.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORY AND LOCATION

> 'Its crops were so heavy and its hay so high, and its apples so red, and its grapes so blue, and its wine so rich, and its honey so sweet that it was a marvel to everyone who beheld it, and was commonly called the 'Treasure Valley'.
>
> J. Ruskin

Although Hicks Bay may not be considered a Treasure Valley today, a half century ago, her crops were heavy and her hay high, her apples were red and her grapes blue, so that it was quite a fruitful little valley, and her people were quite happy and content.

Today, the scene has changed somewhat, with the majority of the community working as individuals for wages and the remainder receiving one of the various social welfare benefits such as the Domestic Purposes, Unemployment, War, Widow and Invalids benefits. The older members of the community, the majority of whom are beneficiaries, still engage in some communal activity to supplement their incomes, e.g. planting and harvesting food crops, and fishing. These and other changes have had a sizeable effect on aspects of the community's social, kinship and economic organization.

This chapter outlines the location and history of the Hicks Bay community and its ties to other similar adjacent communities which are definable in terms of whakapapa or genealogical charters, and the importance which is placed on these ties. Any Maori community study, which this is, cannot be understood in isolation but must be seen as an interrelated network through the use of whakapapa.

Descent and kinship still constitute the essence of domestic and family organization in Hicks Bay, and cause some bargaining over duties and the reciprocal claims of individuals upon each other. A more detailed account of this system will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Change has been a gradual process in Hicks Bay, due mainly to its isolation from the rest of the country. Nevertheless, changes have occurred and are still occurring, more noticeably in some sectors of the community than others. Various aspects of government and economic

exploitation will be focused on in later chapters. One particular aspect of change which will be concentrated upon in this study, is that taking place in family life - particularly child-rearing practises among families in Hicks Bay and some migrant families who are now living in an urban situation.

The significance of all these factors in understanding the patterns of life of the present members of Hicks Bay community, will become increasingly apparent in this and the following chapters.

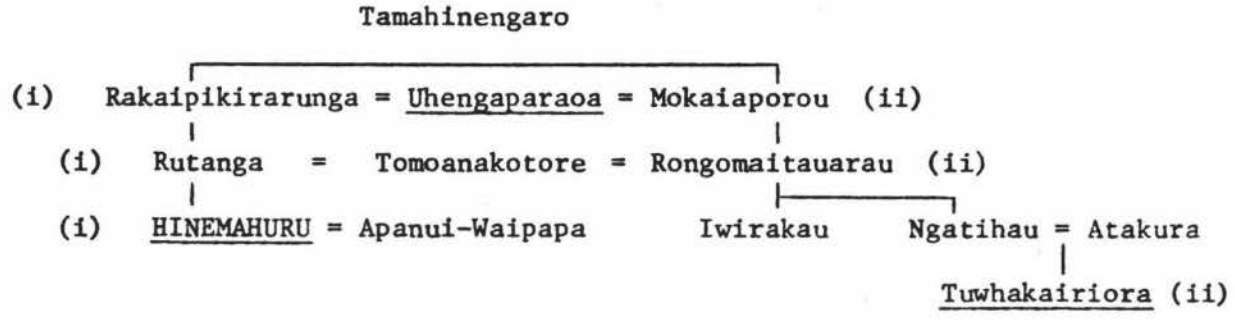
Location

Hicks Bay on the map is located 178 E. longitude, and 38 S. latitude. It is situated near the eastern-most point of the North Island on the seacoast, at the north end of the Ruakumara Range. The settlement is nestled at the mouth of a valley, which extends right up into the Ruakumara Range, and is bounded by the sea on one side and hills on the other. It's geographical position on the map has some significance for the community, particularly in relation to the Te Kaha coast, and the people of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

For many years, Hicks Bay has served as the resting place for people from the East coast travelling to Te Kaha, and vice versa. The relationship which exists between Hicks Bay and the latter may be described in genealogical terms as one of 'tuakana-ship' and 'teina-ship'. In Maori society, the terms 'tuakana' and 'teina' were used to denote one's genealogical relationship to other members of the society. 'Tuakana' means the elder brother or male cousin of a male, or the elder sister or female cousin of a female. 'Teina' means the younger brother or male cousin of a male, or the younger sister or female cousin of a female.

Hicks Bay's relationship with Te Whanau-a-Apanui

The following is a genealogical and historical account, as described by Sir A. T. Ngata in Nga Moteatea Pt 1.p7., which shows more clearly the 'teina' relationship which Hicks Bay has with Te Whanau-a-Apanui and which emphasizes its role as a border community.



(i) - denotes the 'tuakana' line

(ii) - denotes the 'teina' line

(fig.)

In the history books of the Whakatohea people of Opotiki, it states that an important Whakatohea chief, Uekahikatea, died at the hand of a war party from the Western Bay of Plenty.[1] His death was avenged some time later with the aid of a prominent Ngati Porou chief, Tamahinengaro. In recognition of his assistance, Whakatohea gave him the beautiful Uhengaparaoa; a direct descendant of Paikea. It was through this woman that Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui initially claim descent from the crew of the Mataatua canoe.

Uhengaparaoa first became the wife of Rakaipikirarunga, elder son of Tamahinengaro, by whom she had a daughter - Rutanga. On Rakai's death she then became the wife of the younger brother Mokaiaporou (an example of levirate marriage), by whom she had another daughter - Rongomaitauarau. Both daughters in turn became the wives of Tomoanakotore of Hicks Bay; the elder giving birth to Hinemahuru who married Apanui-Waipapa and from whom Te Whanau-a-Apanui descend. The younger sister (Rongomai) had two sons; Iwirakau and Ngatihau - the latter being Tuwhakairiora's father, and from whom all Hicks Bay claim descent.

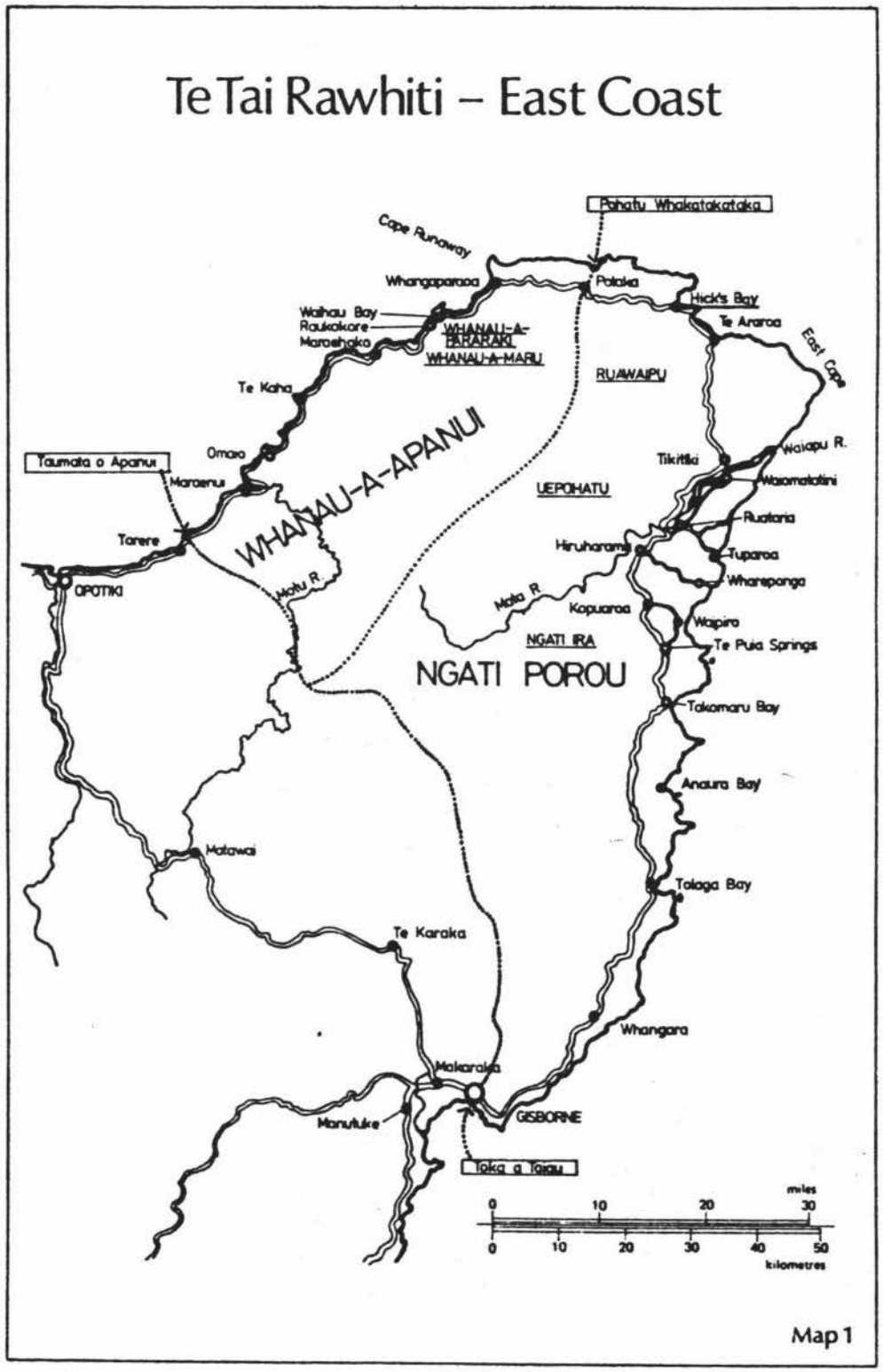
The following account describes an incident which occurred in Te Whanau-a-Apanui emphasizing the relationships discussed above. After the death of the well-known East Coast statesman, Sir A. T. Ngata (who originally hailed from Te Araroa) the 'kawe mate' ceremony where his death was taken to the various tribes, was carried out by the people of Ngati Porou. They had decided to start from Waiomatatini in Ruatoria and travel through to Te Kaha on the first day, and then onto Waikato. When Mihi Kotukutuku, chieftainess of Te Whanau-a-Apanui was advised of this she retorted 'I am their senior and Ngati Porou are not going to over-step me'. When the entourage approached her marae she stopped them

pointing out to the people that it was the first marae of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, and that according to protocol and tradition, she and her people had a right to pay their respects to Ngata in the proper manner. In her farewell to Ngata she said 'E Api, it was right for you to sleep in your ancestral house Hinemahuru'.[2]

The Hicks Bay Community

The community has a population of between 100-150 people, scattered over an area of approximately 8 square miles. The majority of the people are Maori and are Maori speaking with the exception of the local school teachers, store-keepers, sheep-station managers, and a few others who have decided to settle in Hicks Bay.

The hub of the community consists of a General store, which provides all the peoples needs, from food and clothing to household and farming equipment; the local primary school (Primers to Standard 4); a post-office, a motel complex overlooking the bay, and most importantly, the marae - the manifest symbol of tribal and community identity.


Te Tai Rawhiti – East Coast
Pohatu Whakatakataka
Cape Runaway
Whangaparaoa
Potaka
Hick's Bay
Te Araroa
East Cape
Waihau Bay
Raukokore
Maraehako
WHANAU-A-RARARAKI
WHANAU-A-MARU
RUAWAIPU
Te Kaha
WHANAU-A-APANUI
Omaio
Tikirtiki
Waiapu R.
Waiomatatini
Taumata o Apanui
Maraenui
UEPOHATU
Ruataria
Tarere
Hiruharama
Tuparoa
Whareponga
OPOTIKI
Motu R.
Mata R.
Kopuaroa
Wapiro
NGATI IRA
Te Puia Springs
NGATI POROU
Tokomaru Bay
Anaura Bay
Matawai
Tolaga Bay
Te Karaka
Whangara
Makaraka
GISBORNE
Manutuke
Toka a Taiau
miles
0 10 20 30
0 10 20 30 40 50
kilometres

Map 1

HISTORY

Hicks Bay in the Pre-European Period

As we have already seen, tribal history in New Zealand is essentially based on the rise and fall of tribes; conquests and counter conquests. Sections of tribes were often wiped out during inter-tribal conflict and often tribal names and mana were exterminated, rendering the people an unprivileged class. The principal chiefs would frequently be killed or would flee with their families to seek refuge with a related tribe.

Hicks Bay can be considered as a micro-cosm of the total New Zealand scene in terms of its Maori history and tradition. It is associated with all the well known and popular traditions of Polynesian settlement, i.e. Toi and the so called 'Fleet'.

Hicks Bay's Beginnings

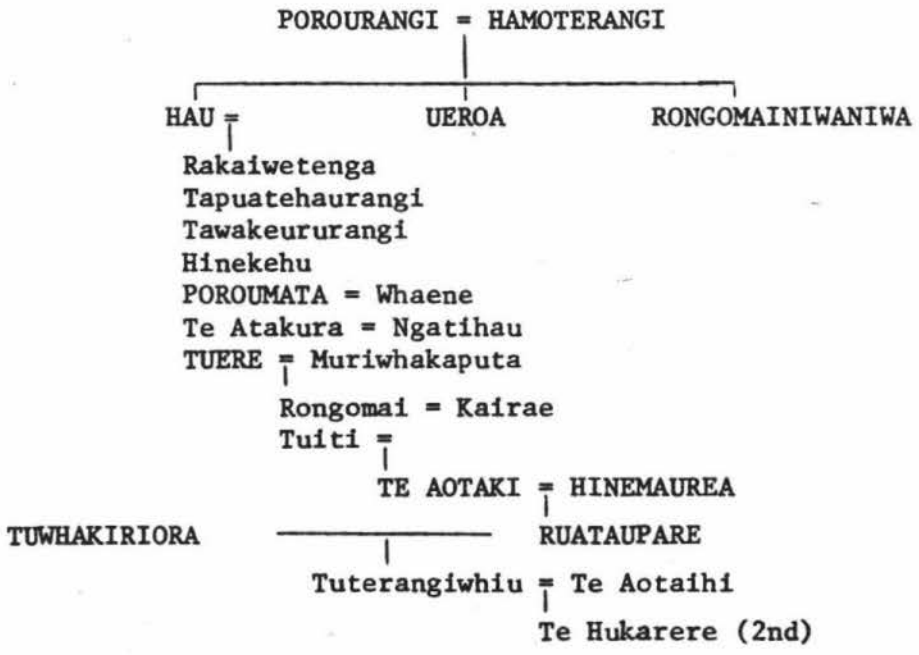
The history of WHAREKAHIKA or Hicks Bay as it is now known, commences with Polynesian settlers who occupied areas of New Zealand as early as 900 A. D. They were hunters and fishermen, as having brought no crops from their homeland, they moved with seasons to where food could be readily obtained instead of establishing large fortified villages. Tradition states that more than 40 canoes arrived in widely separated areas of New Zealand - north, south, east and west - including Hicks Bay, and culminated in what has been popularly called the 'Great migration of seven canoes' in 1350 A. D. However, rather than arriving in an organized fleet, most traditions speak of their arrival spanning 200 years or more.

Toi Kairakau, the navigator, was pre-fleet, and on the basis of 25 years per generation, arrived about 1150 A. D. He is known as Toi Kairakau because, having no crops, he relied on the products of the forest for sustenance: thus kai = food, rakau = forest, woods. His voyage of mercy in search of his grandson, Whatonga, and subsequent settlement of Whakatane is well known. Tradition states that Toi and his followers established themselves in a fortified position above the present town of Whakatane and took tangata whenua wives. Toi's sphere of influence and that of his descendants gradually spread over a wide area including the East Coast. In the northern Waiapu area which included Hicks Bay and Te Araroa, they were known as the Ngati Ruawaipu. Then came another

group of canoes including the Horouta, whose final resting place is said to be the mouth of the Waiapu River on the East Coast. These people and Toi's followers intermarried, creating new tribes.

The presence of the kumara had a major modifying effect on the life style of the people. Areas of permanent settlement sprang up with extensive cultivation, which led to extensive pa areas with an all year round population of several hundred. These nucleus pa were known as villages or kainga.

Wharekahika was seen as such a 'nuclei pa', because it was situated on the seacoast at the mouth of a valley. It had sufficient resources to sustain a large population, and the mild climate made it a desirable place to live in. The Ngati Ruawaipu people thus prospered in Wharekahika and intermarried and mingled with the later settlers from Hawaiiki. Close ties were established with the Horouta people of Whangara through marriage of chiefly families.



Ruawaipu - Ngai Tuere Alliance

Tuere, the last son of Hau, a descendant of Porourangi, married Muri-Whakaputa, a descendant of Ruawaipu. From this union emerged two important characters in the history of Wharekahika - Te Aotaki, chief of Tokomapuhia Pa in Hicks Bay, and his son-in-law Tuwhakairiora, who became the famed leader and chieftain of Hicks Bay.

Because of the close alignment of these two people, Ruawaipu and Ngai Tuere of Whangara, when Nga Oho conquered Ngati Ruawaipu, the latter sought refuge with their allies in Whangara. Nga Oho were one of the earliest tribal divisions of the mixing of the Arawa and Toi peoples from the Bay of Plenty, and they drove Ruawaipu out of Hicks Bay and Te Araroa. Ruawaipu suffered a severe defeat and the leading families and many others fled to Whangara. Nga Oho established themselves in Hicks Bay and the surrounding areas, allying themselves with the Ngati Ruanuku and Te Wahineiti tribes of central East Coast. All three tribes suffered greatly when descendants of Ruawaipu later set forth on a mission of reprisal and reoccupation.

The Ngai Tuere tribe and their refugee whanaunga, Ruawaipu, grew in numbers and dwelt at the mouth of the Pouawa River. They encountered several clashes with neighbouring tribes. Unrest, coupled with a desire to recover lands lost to Nga Oho, led to the migration of Ngai Tuere north to Hicks Bay and Te Araroa.

Tamatea-arahia, principle chief of Ruawaipu before the Nga Oho invasion, was slain during the attack. His daughter, Tamatea-Upoko, had fled to Whangara where she married a Ngai Tuere spouse, Uekaiahu. They had six sons who were all determined to one day, avenge the death of their grandfather and regain their lost lands. After an incident involving the murder of one of the sons Pungawerewere, by allies of Nga Oho, the Ngai Tuere people, who were now a numerous and powerful tribe, saw the time was right to carry out their mission of revenge. They were very successful in their onslaught and were joined by other hapu on their way to Hicks Bay and Te Araroa. At Mangatuna, the famous Hicks Bay chieftain, Tuiti-Matua and his family joined the party. His son, Te Aotaki (see whakapapa) was to play a leading role in the East Coast story involving Tuwhakiriora. (discussed later)

The Nga Oho were eventually driven out of Ruawaipu territory into the Bay of Plenty. The land was again divided up among the descendants of Ngati Ruawaipu and Ngai Tuere. Te Aotaki and his wife Hinemaurea, established their family at Tokomapuhia Pa at Hicks Bay. His older brother Uenuku-te-whana built a pa called Te Rahui below Tokomapuhia. The people prospered and multiplied in Hicks Bay and they became known as the Ngati Tuiti hapu of Ngai Tuere.

All the events described above took place during the early part of the seventeenth century.

The following whakapapa shows the strong links between Ngai Tuere and Ruawaipu

TOI

RAURU
WHATONGA
APA
PUTANGA
RONGOMAI
TAHATITI
RUATAPU
RAKEIORA
TAMAKITEHAU
TAMAKITERA
TAMA HURUMANU
RUAWAIPU

PARAWHENUA
TAMATAUIRA

TUERE = MURIWHAKAPUTUA

RUAWHAITIRI
UEKAPUANUI

TAMATEA-ARIHA = TIRAHAPARE

UKAIHAU = TAMATEA-UPOKO

PARAMAITAI | TAHANIA | UETAHA= | TAMAKORO | UENIKOTI | PUNGAWEREWERE

TUWHAKAIRIORA | HUKARERE (1st) = HINERUPE

(fig 5.

The Story of TUWHAKAIRIORA

First of all we must go back to Poroumata and his wife Whaene, who were both chiefly descendants of Porourangi. Their tribe was Ngati Ruanuku. Whenever the tribe procured food, they brought Poroumata the best portions. For a time all went well, then trouble arose. Poroumata's sons began to conduct themselves badly, taking fish from the canoes and molesting the womenfolk while their husbands were at sea. He however, knew nothing of their behaviour. As a result, his mana soon deteriorated and his tribe laid a plot to slay him and his sons. This they did while out on a fishing expedition.

Three daughters (one of whom was Te Atakura), and one other son, Tahamoana (who was living elsewhere), were the only surviving members of Poroumata's family. Their father had been killed and this demanded revenge at a later date.

Te Atakura was betrothed to Ngatihau, son of Tomoana-kotore, also a descendant of Porourangi. When Tomoana-kotore died, his body was trussed up and taken to a puriri tree to let his flesh decay (as was the custom for chiefs). As the men turned to leave they heard the old chief calling ....., 'let me down, I am still alive'. He had only been in a deep coma and in fact lived for several more years.

Te Atakura bore Ngatihau a daughter, Te Aomihia. She conceived again later while she and her husband were living with Whakatohea relatives at Opotiki. She was still mourning for her father, Poroumata. When she felt the child moving inside her, she uttered what was to become a famous saying: 'move violently within me, a son to avenge the death of my father'. The child was born, a son. He was named after his paternal grandfather, Tomoana-kotore-i-whakairia-oratia - (Tomoana-kotore who was suspended alive). This was later shortened to Tuwhakairiora.

He grew up under the watchful eye of the tohungas, and was trained in the skills, knowledge and customs befitting a chief. He was constantly reminded of his mother's desire to have his grandfather's death avenged. Tuwhakairiora soon acquired fame as a brave warrior, which soon spread, even to Te Aotaki's people at Wharekahika (also descendants of Tomoana-kotore). When at last Tuwhakairiora declared his intentions to leave the Whakatohea people who had nurtured him to manhood, they understood. Tu's East Coast homeland was calling, and avenging the death of his grandfather would be the vehicle for establishing himself there.

He travelled down to Wharekahika alone, despite offers from his people to go with him. On arriving in Wharekahika he came upon two young women and their attendants, who were gathering seafood. He soon found out that they were the chief Te Aotaki's daughters. Events seemed to be playing into his hands as he contemplated the possibility of marrying one of the girls. He could then establish himself among a strong tribal group, who also had no love for Ngati Ruanuku (a former ally of Nga Oho), thus providing him with the means to put his scheme into action.

Tuwhakairiora followed the women back to their pa and was recognised by his emblems of high birth and bravery, which he wore. He was welcomed by the people. That night Ruataupare (eldest daughter), was given by

Te Aotaki to Tuwhakairiora in marriage. At the marriage feast he informed the people of his reasons for his visit, i.e. to avenge the death of his grandfather, to which the people agreed, for they knew what a great warrior he was.

After the marriage, he and Ruataupare moved to Te Araroa, where they settled and were joined by Tu's brother, Te Hukarere who married Hinerupe, daughter of the great warrior chief, Uetaha. (see whakapapa). The two, gradually consolidated their position in the area, waiting for the time when they would carry out their campaign of vengeance against the Ngati Ruanuku.

Eventually, Te Aotaki sent for the chiefs of the descendants of Ruawaipu to assemble for a council of war. Hapu after hapu arrived and all the warriors were scrutinised by Tuwhakairiora. When his army was ready the people wondered at its relatively small size, but no one questioned his decision or leadership. Although Ngati Ruanuku were by far a greater and stronger army, they were overcome by a carefully planned stratagem and were vanquished. The only survivors were those who fled in the night to Kokai and Tokatea; all the others were slain. The pa that was overthrown was Tokaanu, and the battlefield, Te Hiku-tawatawa.

Although Tuwhakairiora's incursion had been motivated by revenge, it's successful outcome left him a very powerful leader and chief. So great in fact did his mana become, that in time the people of Hicks Bay took the name, Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora, which remains their name to this day. Under his leadership and later, his son's (Tuterangiwhiu), they became the most powerful tribe on the East Coast.

Tuwhakairiora had three wives in all - Ruataupare, Te Ihikooterangi and Matai. They bore him five sons and twelve daughters. All members of the Hicks Bay community today, claim descent from Tuwhakairiora, and through him, descent from the founder of Ngati Porou, Porourangi. (see Taiapa Whakapapa, p26)

The Coming of the Pakeha

With the coming of the Pakeha to New Zealand, it was inevitable that there would be changes in the native Maori society.

The following is a description of some of the changes which resulted from an interaction over time, between the Maori people of Hicks Bay and Europeans - whalers, sealers and traders; missionaries, teachers, employers and others. Mention will also be made of some aspects of European contact in other areas of the East Coast, which contributed to changes in Hicks Bay.

European contact with the East Coast began in 1769, when the cabin boy on the 'Endeavour' sighted land off Gisborne. The local Maoris according to Polack[5], decided that the ship was an enormous bird carrying 'party coloured beings', but when they went to challenge the visitors in traditional style, the challenger was shot. After that relations were anything but cordial, and it wasn't until the 'Endeavour' sailed north to Tolaga Bay that Cook and his men were welcomed ashore. The people of the area were described as living in profound peace, in scattered houses, with a large and affluent populations, working extensive cultivations.

In the post-contact period of 1818-1824, a series of raids by parties of Nga Puhi warriors from the North, were made on the East Coast. They killed, plundered and took great numbers of prisoners, including many from Hicks Bay and Te Araroa. The effects of these raids on the community of Hicks Bay were quite devastating, as was noted some years later by Weslyan missionaries enroute from the Bay of Islands to Kapiti.

> 'Here, we had painful evidence of the disasters and desolation that war brings in its train. There had at one time, been thousands of natives living in the neighbourhood. The Nga Puhi came upon them in full force.... Many were captured, killed and eaten. The remainder were reduced to such straits that families exchanged children in order not to eat their own offspring. In all, about 3,000 persons were cut off'.[6]

Traders and whalers kept away from the area in those years, but shortly after the last of the Nga Puhi raids, Australian schooners established a regular trade of produce for guns, along the East coast. During the 1830's, there was a boom in the flax industry and later, maize, pork and potatoes, and trading stations were established.

The whalers made their first contact with the people of Hicks Bay about this time. Two whaling stations were set up in Te Araroa, seven miles south of Hicks Bay. In those days, Te Araroa and Hicks Bay were seen as part of the same hapu, led by the chief Te Iharaira Houkamau. Local men helped the whalers to cut timber for spars and exchanged kumara, potatoes and pork for blankets, tools and guns. The local elders proved to be very astute capitalizers, placing a levy on all whales caught in the area, and the fresh water and wood taken by the whalers. Many of the local men were taken aboard the ships as crew and sailed to ports in Australia, Europe and the Pacific. Many of the visitors left descendants in the area, and these include the Brown, Manuel and Collier families of Te Araroa.

This initial contact period with the whalers brought with it many of the evils of any sea port, such as epidemics, alcohol and venereal disease; but it also fired the people of the East coast into putting their traditional agricultural skills to work. Before long, they were running their own flour mills, trading schooners, and were establishing general stores. Some of the local chiefs even acquired their own whaling boats.

Although this period of affluence for some of the people was short-lived, it had the overall effect of familiarising the people with some European goods and articles. The fundamental basis of the society and its culture however, remained unaffected.

Missionaries and Religion

Christianity came to the Coast in the 1830's as an indirect result of the Nga Puhi raids. A number of East Coast captives who had been taken North came into contact with the mission stations there, and in 1834 a group of these people were returned home by Rev. William Williams. One man in particular, Taumata-a-kura, became an enthusiastic evangelist, and Christianity spread like wildfire along the Coast. The early

Church in the district was run almost entirely by Maori catechists, and it wasn't until the 1840's that William Williams established his mission station near Gisborne and other European missionaries were sent to Rangitukia, Tolaga Bay and Te Araroa.

One of these was Mr G.A. Kissling. He arrived in Te Araroa in May, 1842, where he set up his parish, which extended from Te Araroa through to Opotiki, a distance of approximately a hundred and ten miles. During his office in 1843, his parishioners numbered five thousand people, and the last act of cannibalism took place on the East Coast. Three years later, Mr Kissling took ill and left the district, leaving six thousand Christians who could read and write. There were about twenty churches in the parish and approximately four thousand people were attending them. Kissling was followed by other missionaries of various faiths, including the Brethren and Roman Catholic.

Generally, the Maori people protected the missionaries, studied their skills, and sent many of their children to the mission schools. The Diocese of Waiapu has been distinctively Maori since it was established in 1858, and the first Maori clergy to be ordained in this country came from the East Coast.

Ringatu Church

In the late 1860's, during the years of violence and war between the Maori and Europeans, the Ringatu Faith was founded by a man called Te Kooti Rikirangi, which many Maoris turned to for strength and peace, in a time of turmoil. Te Kooti was among prisoners deported to the Chatham Islands after a battle with Government troops and loyalists at Waerenga-a-Hika Pa. During his two years imprisonment on the Chathams Te Kooti developed a messianic cult among the exils, and when he led an escape on the schooner, Rifleman, it was as a prophet. He became revered as a saint and prophet and events in his life were related to the history of Israel; his escape from the Chathams to the deliverance from Egypt; his fighting campaign to the wanderings in the wilderness; his pardon in 1883 and the subsequent consolidation of his church (1938) to the settlement in Canaan. The Ringatu religion was particularly influential in the Bay of Plenty, the Ureweras and parts of the East Coast. Some of the people of Hicks Bay, including my 'grandmother' Mrs Manapouri Bristowe, were strong followers of the Ringatu religion.

In belief and ritual, the church stressed continuity with the ancestors and the value of their Maori heritage.

Tohunga

Many of the tohunga (Maori faith healers) on the East Coast and elsewhere were members of the Ringatu Church. These people had a major effect on family life in Hicks Bay, especially on aspects of family health. When the cause of an illness was not readily understood or medical treatment unsuccessful, it was frequently diagnosed as 'mate Maori' (Maori sickness), and curable only by the tohunga.

The Hicks Bay Native School log books dating back to the 1900's, cited many instances of children being absent from school due to 'visits to the tohunga'. On June 26th, 1902, the teacher reported that .... 'two more children have died, making the third death since the tohunga's visit here. One girl is kept away to go to the tohunga, who was being attended by us for an abscess, and another child who has nothing the matter with her goes, and other absentees are kept away to work for him. Without exception all are under his influence'.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the Maori population was at a low ebb, tohunga were numerous and, in the opinion of many, played upon the misery and fears of the Maori people. So much so, that Maui Pomare, as officer for Maori Health, persuaded parliament to pass the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907. This, however, did not eradicate the activities of all tohunga, and as late as 1943, people in Hicks Bay were still reported to be visiting a tohunga in Tikitiki on a regular basis.

Today, the number of recognized tohunga is comparatively small, not more than two or three in most tribal areas. Over the years, the number of followers of the Ringatu Church has now declined in Hicks Bay; the majority being members of the Anglican Church. Greater improvements too in Maori health and a steady decline in the older population, had led to fewer people consulting the tohunga for a cure to their ailments.

The overall effect of the missionaries and christianity on the people of Hicks Bay was a universal respect for religious authority among the people. Where this respect was directed towards the Anglican Church,

it was a respect for both the body of religious belief; that had found broad acceptance in the Pakeha civilization which surrounded them, and for the erudition displayed by the minister - an erudition which only the elders could emulate. Where respect was directed towards customary belief and ritual, it was because these things continued to validate their existence as a tribal community.

Education

In 1867, the government set up 'Native Schools' in Maori settlements: first under the Department of Native Affairs and after 1879, under the new Department of Education. Primary schools were established in many villages, where they became Maori institutions with a firm base in the community. A code for Native schools drawn up in 1881, it laid down a policy of assimilation which remained in force for fifty years.

The first of these schools was set up in Hicks Bay in 1886. The land for the site was given by the local Maoris, which was indicative of their desire to have their children taught, and to thereby gain a better understanding of the Pakeha way of life which was starting to encroach upon their way of life.

The first pupils numbered only twenty, many of whom were 'of marriageable age'. The syllabus of instruction, in vogue, was very simple and necessarily so - English, arithmetic, spelling, writing and geography. It was administered by the regional Education Boards. To begin with, there were no fixed standards of education: every Master teaching what he thought best.

As with other communities, the Hicks Bay Native school laboured under several difficulties and frustrations. Staffing was often haphazard: teachers varied from very good and devoted to their jobs, to completely incapable misfits. There was very little guidance given in the way of regulations. The teacher, often the only Pakeha in the community, had quickly to establish good relations with leaders or meet with failure. Attendance was not compulsory and varied constantly. It was found to suffer mostly when economic opportunities arose. However, sometimes cultural factors were to blame, and in such cases the teacher was often powerless to do anything about it. For example, in 1902 Mr Abbott (teacher at Hicks Bay), reported the following account: 'attendance

is poor due to the visit of a tohunga, who intends to stay for six months. Many of the children are being kept away from school to do things for the tohunga. Owing to the unusual power, this tohunga has over everyone in this district, it is useless to protest. In fact it would make matters worse, so one must grin and bear it, hoping for an early removal of this tohunga or a decrease in his mana'. (Wharekahika Native School Log Book - 1900).

Teachers wives often instructed the girls in sewing, knitting, breadmaking and cooking, as well as any other domestic work she thought useful to her pupils and their families. When the school first opened, the children were found to be 'dirty, half-naked and lacking in any discipline or confidence at all'.[7] Cleanliness and tidiness among the children was thus strictly enforced by the teachers, as part of the syllabus, and was seen as a vital part of their training in the Pakeha way of life. Many of the young boys (some as old as seventeen years), came to school wearing only a shirt and no trousers - they were not worn in those days. The teacher's wife duly set about sewing each of them a pair of calico shorts. These were accepted, but for a time, were worn only in the school grounds. As soon as the boys left the school grounds, the pants were taken off, neatly folded and tucked under an arm, till the next school day. The young ladies of those days wore print frocks - just one garment apiece. After many struggles and much perseverance the pupils were coming to school a lot cleaner, well clothed, orderly, respectful and reasonably happy. The influence went beyond the pupils to their homes and families. Their 'kainga' were reported as being a lot cleaner and the children were receiving a more varied diet. Through the school and the children attending, the families in the area were brought in closer contact with each other - and the European way of life.

The policy of encouraging teachers to become actively involved in community development activites, led to the establishment of evening classes for the adult population of Hicks Bay. These classes began with much enthusiasm and some measure of success. There, they learnt to read and write and also some elements of arithmetic. Attendance however, was irregular due to bush felling and other economic activities in the district. The project was finally abandoned after six months, and those who were keen enough continued to learn from their children.

The activities of the teacher often extended beyond the school, to the health of the community. Because of Hicks Bay's isolation from the main centres of Gisborne and Opotiki, the teacher was often the only person able to help in times of urgent medical need. In 1900, the local head-master of the school reported.... 'the sensible hebaviour of these people deserves to be recorded, and also their gratefulness for the nursing attention my wife has given them'.

More than anything then, the school, the teachers and education brought the people of Hicks Bay in closer contact with a European way of life, and it also had a considerable impact on aspects of their family and home life. As well, the elders saw in education, the means of enabling their people to participate more fully in a European-type economy, which was slowly becoming established in Hicks Bay, and which would also have considerable effects on the Social Structure of the community.

This then, is the history of Hicks Bay - the community and it's people. The ecological, historical and economic factors described in this chapter must be taken into account if we are to understand social organization in Hicks Bay today, which will be discussed later, in Chapter three.

References For Chapter One

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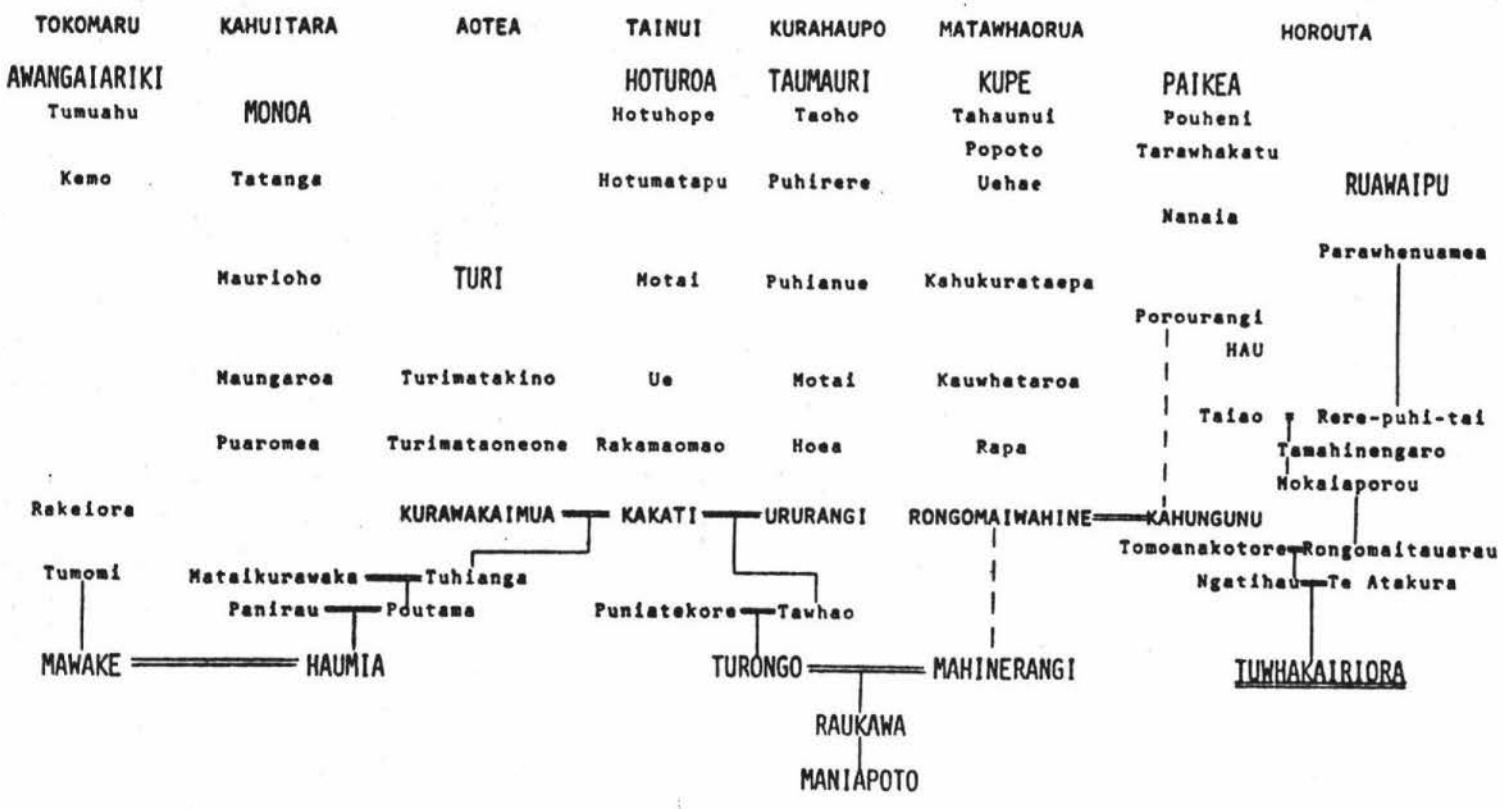


Figure 4: Linear links between Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora of Hicks Bay, and Seven canoes of the 'Great Fleet'.

CHAPTER TWO: KINSHIP AND DESCENT IN HICKS BAY

In Maori society, a community is at one and the same time both powerfully real and with equal power, symbolic. In the real sense, community is those with whom one lives who are also ones kin, with whom one shares common understandings of a moral, ethical nature that govern the ordinary course of life. At the symbolic level, community is the hook on which one's identity hangs, the group from which one draws ones membership.

This chapter deals with a more in-depth study of the Whakapapa or genealogical charters of the Hicks Bay community, and will attempt to show how kinship and descent define rights and obligations in kin terms between the individual and kin elsewhere. We shall also look at the factor of choice in the community and consequences for the individual making these choices. The final chapter will conclude this survey of the community with a summary account of kinship and descent, focusing on various aspects of socialization.

Communities like Hicks Bay; that is, local groups that are 'clearly larger than half-a-dozen households (perhaps 50-75 people), and clearly smaller than a tribe (of upwards of several thousand people), have commonly been called hapu'. (Kawharu: 1975:20.)[2]

Among others, Raymond Firth has made an extensive study of Maori society and the hapu, and his definition of this institution will be used here as a frame of reference for points which will be clarified in this chapter and the final one. According to Firth, 'the hapu in traditional Maori society was a group of kin tracing their relationship to one another by genealogies with ultimate point of reference to a common ancestor. The members of the hapu were categorized by the use of a common name, transmitted from one generation to another. They operated as a group on specific occasions and in regard to specific resources, but occasions and resources were multiple. The generation depth of the hapu varied according to the level of segmentation, but recognition of eight to ten generations was common. The hapu was not unilineal. Although weight was attached to tracing group membership by descent through males, membership was recognized if a line of

descent included several female names. The point of attachment of a person to the hapu could be then through a woman, and choice would be exercised by a person as to whether he would claim membership through his father or through his mother or through both. In such a choice a person might take as his basis the difference of status between his parents in their own hapu. But the critereon which primarily determined his membership - granted consanguineal kinship tie - was residence. Officially, the Maori marriage practice, which tended to favour unions within the hapu rather than outside, meant that for many members of the hapu, differentiations between membership through father and membership through mother was not a relevant issue.' (R. Firth, 'Bilateral Descent Groups: An Operational Viewpoint', in Kinship and Marriage, ed. I. Schapera, Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper, no.16, p.30.)[3]

Of the several characteristics listed here, the most basic appear in the first sentence: the hapu was a local group of kin who recognized descent from a common ancestor. As also described by H. Kawharu in his community study of Orakei, descent here, refers firstly, to the implicit or explicit claiming of descent from the acknowledged founder of the hapu, Tuwhakairiora, through either parent in any one generation, to justify the right to live in Hicks Bay, and through him also, the members of the hapu are linked to the founder of the tribe - Porourangi. Secondly, and within the hapu, we apply the term to the critereon to define membership in those factions whose own particular founders were the sons of Tuwhakairiora. The hapu and its constituent factions are thus descent groups in the strict sense.

By kinship here, we refer to the acceptance of ties between those descended from a common ancestor, whether or not they live together in Hicks Bay. It is a simple recognition of consanguineal kinship unqualified by residence. Its main ingredient is belief in an all-inclusive solidarity among kin, and it has had the effect of over-coming the conceptual, and actual divisions created by descent, and thus of tying not only the constituent groups within Hicks Bay to each other, and in post contact times, to individual households beyond Hicks Bay, but also Hicks Bay itself to a certain number of other hapu communities. In other words, the inclusive kinship ideal of unrestricted cognatic descent, is sufficiently strong that no person acknowledged to be within this wider descent category is explicitly

denied membership in some sense. Even kinsmen of recognized kinsmen by descent are often accepted as ones own kin. Kinship thus refers to categories of people, not to local groups: although all members of the Hicks Bay hapu are also members of one or more such categories. It may be described as general and ambiguous, whereas descent is particular and unambiguous.

The remainder of this introductory section will be taken up with a discussion of several ancestors who have played an important part in the establishment of the Ngati Porou people, and particularly the Hicks Bay hapu. In so doing, we will see how kinship and descent ties established centuries ago between Hicks Bay and other related hapu, are still a vital part of the social relations of these people.

The name Ngati Porou, is used today to designate all the hapu and sub-tribes from Gisborne to Potaka on the East Coast (see map), and it may be said that the people of Hicks Bay today, also accept this designation. This does not, however, convey a correct idea of the assemblage of this hapu, who originally belonged to the Ngati Ruawaipu tribe, which was slowly absorbed into Ngati Porou.
Porourangi, ancestor of Ngati Porou, was indeed one of the progenitors of the tribe, but not the only one; nor indeed the chief one. Tahu, Oho, Ira, Kahungunu, Ue Pohatu and Ruawaipu were also chiefly ancestors, and all were descendents of Toi-Kairakau, the great ancestor from whom all members of Ngati Porou and the other tribes today claim descent.

Ngati Ruawaipu: Before Porourangi's arrival in the East Coast region, tradition states that all the land from northern Waiapu to Cape Runaway, and inland to the watershed dividing the Bay of Plenty from the East Coast, was originally the territory of Ruawaipu. Very little is known today of this ancestor, but from the following whakapapa one may assume that he arrived in the East Coast - Bay of Plenty area, five generations after Paikea, navigator of the Horouta canoe and great ancestor of the Ngati Porou tribe.

MAUI-POTIKI (1)

TAHU
RONGO (5)
TOI-KAIRAKAU

OHO	RAURU		WAWAU	
	Whatonga		Tahatiti	
	Poutupariao	(10)	Ruatapu	(10)
	Pouturiao		Rakeiora	
			Tamakitehau	
	PAIKEA		Tamakitera	
			RUAWAIPU	(15)

(The figures show the generations from Maui Potiki).

Nga Oho: This tribe no longer exists today, but they were the next group to conquer Ruawaipu and to settle in and around Hicks Bay. First of all, a word about their origins. They must not be confounded with the Arawa people who were anciently known as Nga Oho, probably because they were descended from the ancestor, Oho-mai-rangi. Nor are they identical with the northern Ngaoho who came in the Tainui canoe. In fact little is known of the Nga Oho who came to Hicks Bay, or their origins, but it is supposed that they were a numerous tribe, even at the remote period of the arrival or the Arawa canoe.

Ngai Tuere: This tribe from Whangara near Gisborne, were direct descendants of Porourangi, and were the next group to establish themselves on Ruawaipu territory.
This was brought about by an exogamous marriage tie between Ruawaipu and Ngai Tuere, who later regained Ruawaipu lands which had been lost to Nga Oho. It may be noted from the whakapapa in Fig 2, (p.22) that this tie linking up the Porourangi and Ruawaipu lineages, probably facilitated the absorption of Ngati Ruawaipu into Ngati Porou.
Where marriage was exogamous i.e. outside the hapu, it was usually for a political end, such as to strengthen an alliance, as was the case here.

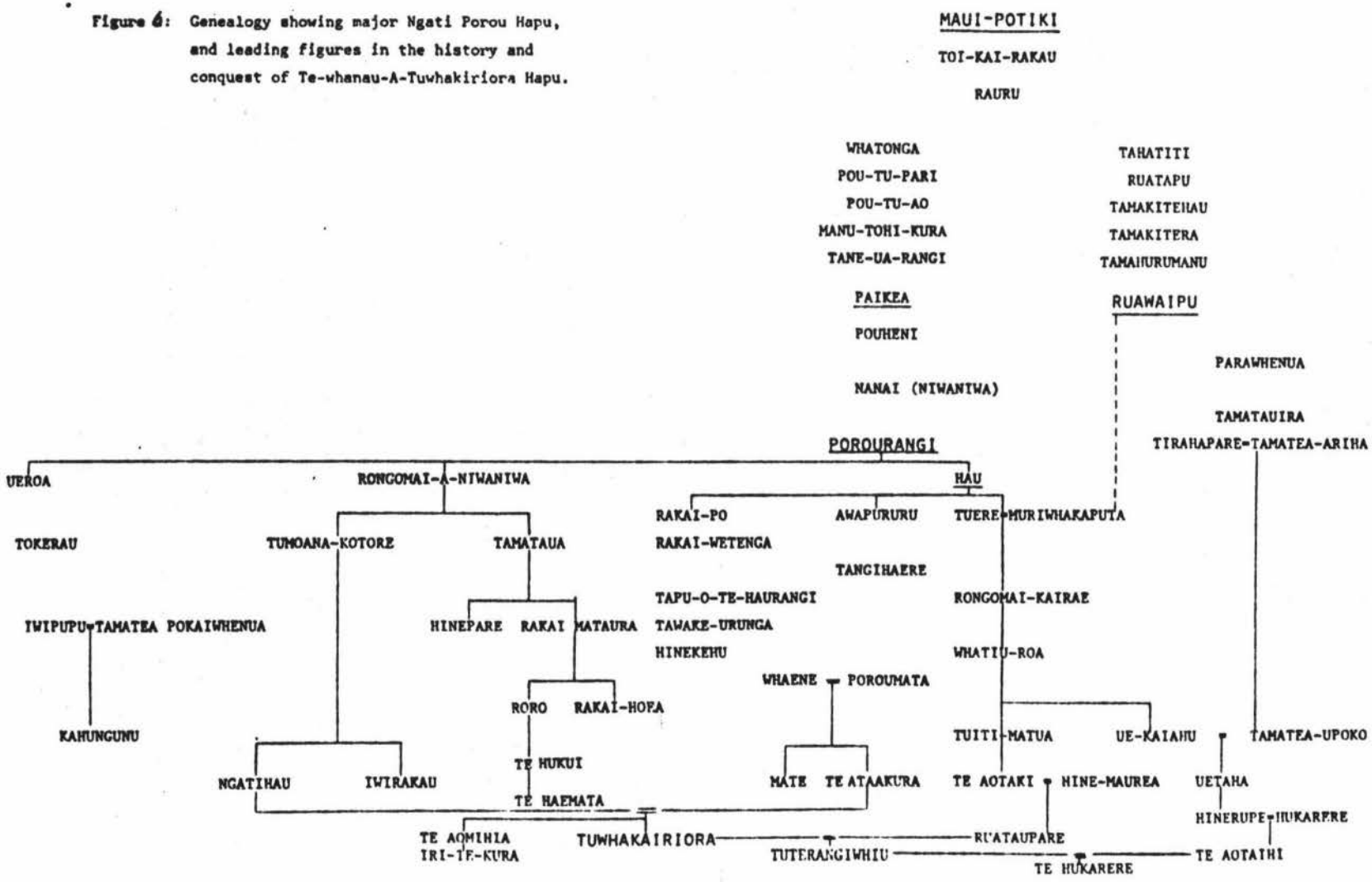
Many years later, Tuwhakairiora established himself as chief and leader of the Hicks Bay hapu but settled in nearby Te Araroa. Prior to his arrival, the people of Hicks Bay were known as Te Whanau-a-Tomoana-kotore (Tu's paterna grandfather), which they retained, even though Tuwhakairiora was then recognized chief. There was also another marae in Hicks Bay known as Te Aotaki (Tu's father-in-law), which was represented by several households. This was not a unique situation as Metge points out, where 'occasionally two small hapu occupied a single district.' (1976: p.135). The community still operated as a united organization when it was required of them.

According to Pine Taiapa, (master carver, prose writer, genealogy expert of Ngati Porou), in 1936, it was found that the foundations of the carved meeting house Tomoana-kotore had perished and it was dismantled. For many years it remained thus and all gatherings of the hapu were held at Te Aotaki.[5]

In 1954, after discussions with Apirana Ngata, who was responsible for the re-erection of many carved houses throughout the North Island, the surviving elders of the community decided to re-erect Tomoana-kotore. The site on which Te Aotaki stood was chosen for the new site, in an attempt to unify the people under one community centre. When the house was completed it had to be re-named, but no unanimous decision could be made by the people. This necessitated a meeting of all the hapu elders as well as leaders from nearby hapu: such was the magnitude and importance of the matter. The senior hapu, Te Whanau-a-Apanui was represented by their chieftainess, Mihi Kotukutuku. After much heated discussion, it was she who settled on the name Tuwhakairiora for the new house. She recited Tu's genealogy, pointing out his close kinship ties to both Tomoana-kotore and Te Aotaki to substantiate her argument. Because of the mana and prestige which Mihi represented as leader of the tuakana (senior) hapu, her decision was accepted by the community as final. Thus Hicks Bay became known as Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora of Ngati Porou, which remains their name today.

The people of Hicks Bay then, are descended from several lineages.

Figure 6: Genealogy showing major Ngati Porou Hapu, and leading figures in the history and conquest of Te-whanau-A-Tuwhakiriora Hapu.



They are a mixture of Ngati Ruawaipu, Nga Oho, Ngai Tuere and probably many other tribes whose names have been lost over the years. But it is these particular ancestors and their associated hapu, to whom the people claim descent and have close kin ties. In their relations with these units, they have always been represented by a select number of elders, chosen on the grounds of genealogical proximity to Tuwhakairiora, personality and proven leadership.

Whakapapa or Genealogical Charters:

We now turn our attention to Firth's points regarding the use of genealogies and the exercise of choice of affiliation to a hapu. We shall consider the significance of genealogical ties for the individual, and the ways in which they either establish or may be used to establish rights and status in the community. Finally in this section, we look at the question of the status of women in Ngati Porou, particularly those of high rank, and their importance in the kinship and descent system of this people. Firth acknowledges that a choice does exist in the Maori descent group system generally, and that although for most groups the 'major emphasis is upon descent in the male line, allowance is made for entitlement to membership through the female'. (Firth: 1957, pp.4-8).
We will see that for Ngati Porou, traditional evidence points to a widespread practise of individuals residing with ones mothers descent group, and identifying with her, as an indication of ones status. In this respect therefore, some Ngati Porou hapu may be said to differ from the Orakei hapu for example, and other tribal groups as well.

Fig 4. (p.20), shows the linear links between Ngati Porou generally, and the Hicks Bay hapu in particular - and seven canoes of the 'great fleet'. Fig 2.(p.26), is a whakapapa of some of the descendants of the ancient ancestor of Ngati Porou - Maui Potiki - and the generally acknowledged founder of all the tribes - Toi Kairakau. The following hapu of Ngati Porou have been accounted for in this whakapapa: -
Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora - Hicks Bay
Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe (f) - Te Araroa
Te Whanau-a-Hinepare (f) - N. Waiapu

Te Whanau-a-Iri te Kura - Waipiro Bay
Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare (f) - Tuparoa/Tokomaru Bay
Te Aitanga-a-Mate (f) - Whareponga

We may note in Figure 6, the appearance of several female ancestors, who were all senior issue of their line of descent and that many of these women gave their name to a line or segments of a line, as seen in the above diagram. In Hicks Bay for example, Tuwhakairioa owed his mana and status primarily to his marriage to Ruataupare, who was the senior issue of the chief Te Aotaki.

Such genealogical charters are important in inter-tribal and inter-hapu relations in Maori society. They are usually recounted in various circumstances by senior elders of the hapu, who are experts in genealogical knowledge, and are a vital part of an intricate status system. These charters are generally used during formal gatherings on the marae to establish ones right to speak on that particular occasion and that particular marae, and to demonstrate a connection between oneself and ones community, and those to whom one is speaking. In whort, by reference to ones whakapapa, you not only establish who you are, but you also recognise the status of others around you.

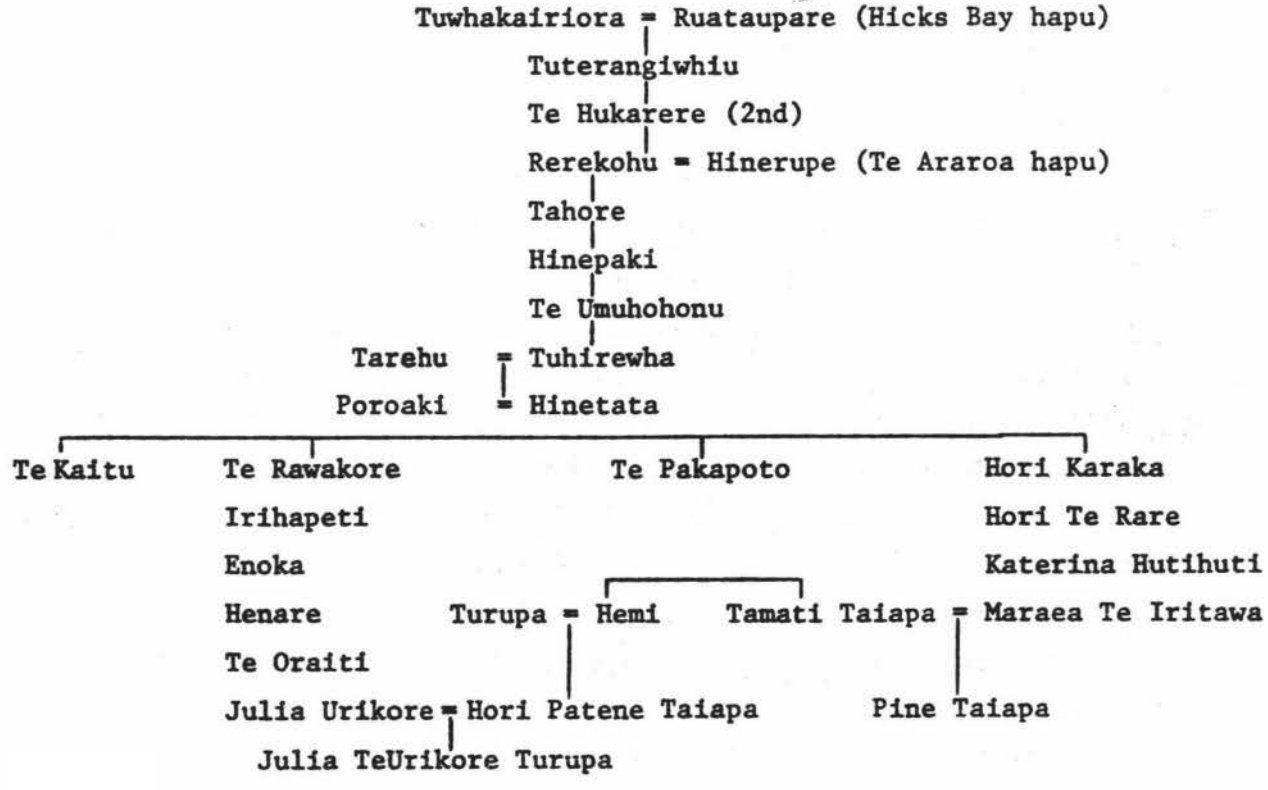
In Maori society, which has always been organized according to some principle of bilinear descent, the status with which one is born is not entirely fixed. In relation to any other person around one, it can be manipulated by careful location within the widespread and complicated network of a bilateral kinship system. In such a system, both lines of descent from mothers and fathers hapu can be made active, and since both mother and father also had a mother and father, one can quickly activate an enormous spread of kinship information. Bilineality consists of the structure of such a descent group. Bearing in mind then, the need for economy in the handling of a hapu's social resources, it is highly improbably and impractical for persons to claim or establish membership in any wide series of descent groups through both parents and their ancestors. It is true too of most groups in Maori society, that the claim to membership of one group tends to be emphasized at the expense of the claim to membership of the other - either permanently or varying according to context. A person may, and often does, switch from one group to the other as

circumstances dictate. In other words, as Firth points out, 'bilaterality is a feasible operational procedure, consistent, complete bilineality is not'. (1957: 6).

Choice of Affiliation:

According to Firth, the principle of affiliation is of particular interest in Maori society and Polynesia generally, because of the relative lack of importance attached to the particular parent through whom it is traced. For him, affiliation is simply the fact of membership in a descent group.

However, in ambilineal systems such as in Hicks Bay, where descent is traced from the founding ancestor through as many first born issue as possible - regardless of sex; a person may become an active member of the communities with which either of his parents has ties by descent. With the exception of a few members of the Hicks Bay hapu who were brought up in the community during the contact period, and who have since become incorporated into it, at least one of every married couple and their children are able to trace descent through male and female forbears to Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiora. The following is a whakapapa showing my lines of descent to these two ancestors.



As seen in the above whakapapa, Hicks Bay is the natal hapu of my mother through her mother. She also has kinship ties with Te Whanau-a-Apanui through her father. My father descended from hapu in both Tokomaru Bay and Tikitiki, but was 'brought up' in Hicks Bay at a very young agé after the death of his parents, and always considered the latter his home. On marrying my parents settled on land belonging to mother's family, and by doing so father never attained representational status in the Hicks Bay hapu. For example, during his life-time, father never achieved a leadership role in any marae activities. His role in any family discussions or gatherings was limited to one of sympathetic listener and of sharing with the workload. He had joined the family through an affinal tie by marrying into it, and could not therefore become a 'real' member with tangata whenua status. His tangata whenua status and rights lay in Tokomaru Bay - his stamping ground. Kawharu considered this 'joining by marriage' a purely operational concept and added that the attributes emphasized in such a role derived from such a person being a spouse as well as a parent of true hapu members, and from his productive capacity, especially in social and ceremonial contexts.

(Kawharu: 1975, p.35.)

Marriage in Hicks Bay was generally endogamous i.e. within the hapu. In Ngati Porou, including Hicks Bay, marriage between first cousins was not uncommon in pre-European times, particularly among the chiefly families. The inference was that if the blood was shared among close kin, the unity of the kin would not be jeopardised. Today, endogamy still occurs in Hicks Bay, particularly among those members who have remained in the community. Just as many however, who have left the district either temporarily or permanently, have married outside the hapu into other tribal, and even indigenous groups. For the latter group, there are a number of communities other than Hicks Bay with which close ties are established and where common descent is either recognized and qualifying action, or is merely latent, requiring social involvement only. Whatever the outcome, it is the result of the individual's own free choice, and also knowing that one is never excluded from other communities with which one has close kinship and descent ties.

As we saw earlier in this chapter, women of high rank play an important role in the whakapapa charters of Ngati Porou, and to prove this many of their senior hapu are named after such women. The fact that women in Ngati Porou have the undisputed right to speak on their maraes is also indicative of their importance in the kinship and descent system. This is especially reflected in the fact that the marae in Maori society is the centre of all tribal and hapu affairs, where the political fate of the people is decided. One particular woman was Mihi Kotukutuku, famous chieftainess of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, who were, as we saw in the previous chapter, descendants of Ruataupare and the senior hapu of Hicks Bay. In the book 'Amiria' by A. Salmond, Mihi is referred to as being 'respected by the people because she was the tuakana, senior in everything - even the speeches.' Mihi finalised everything for her hapu and no-one dared to over-rule her decisions.

In recent times, other leading women have also been accorded the right to speak on behalf of their hapu or tribe, outside their own areas. Once again, Mihi Kotukutuku is recorded as having done this among the Te Arawa people, who do not allow their women this privilege. (1976: p.67-69.)[9] All of this is to indicate the importance which some Ngati Porou women play in their genealogical charters. One of the elders of one such hapu is quoted as saying, 'remove our female genealogies and our genealogies will be made common'.

For the Hicks Bay hapu however, males have tended to hold a status superior to that of the females. This is particularly evident in the ritual and economic organization of the hapu, in oratory and in the decision making - all aspects of the hapu's social organization, which will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

References for Chapter Two

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CHAPTER THREE: COMMUNITY AND FAMILY

Whereas the first two chapters were taken up with Hicks Bay's past, the next two chapters will be concerned with it's present situation, and we will see more clearly the effects which her past history has had on the community today.

This chapter looks at those patterns of social organisation that are discernible on the basis of whakapapa discussed in the previous chapters. For example, we look at the way in which kinship still serves as an organising principle in the community today - notwithstanding the external influences from the world outside of Hicks Bay. In particular, it will look at those social activities in Hicks Bay which have helped to keep the people in contact with each other, despite the migration of many to nearby towns and cities. This will include a discussion of certain institutions which bind the people together on a cooperative basis, e.g. the marae committee, the church and the Maori Women's Welfare League.

This will be followed by a brief sketch of the concept of 'family', and what it means for the people of Hicks bay. Part two of this study will focus in more detail, in one particular aspect of the family which is changing, namely child-rearing practises. We see how an institution such as this, well-established and vital in the traditional way of life, may break down under the impact of external forces; and yet, while there are still traditional needs to be satisfied, the people often cling to remnants of it.

Finally in this chapter, we look briefly at aspects of leadership within the community - ceremonial, administrative and manual, showing again the importance which kinship plays in the different areas of leadership.

Social organisation as used in this study, refers to the 'processes of ordering of action and of relations in reference to given social ends in terms of adjustments resulting from the exercise of choices made by members of the society. By such coordinated, concentrated activity, a society is kept in being - it's members kept in relation

with each other.'[1]

Those aspects of social activity which are discussed in this chapter include some that are exclusive to the hapu, some that involve hapu members in contexts beyond Hicks Bay, and still others that are concerned with sub-groups of the hapu. In all of this, it will be apparent that some activities and the organisation of them, in their essence, closely parallel those of pre-European days, while others have little to do with custom or tradition.

Marae:

In Hicks Bay today, as in other similar Maori communities, the marae is the focal point for life. It is the centre for all gatherings of the people and for the practise of traditional rituals. For all members of the community, the marae is their 'place to stand' in terms of ancestry - their 'turangawaewae'. It is this 'turangawaewae' which entitles each person to help run the marae, to use it's facilities free of charge during family crises, and to play a part in ceremonials. Primary rights to the marae are gained by tracing one's descent through both males and females from the founder, Tuwhakairiora. The rights are reinforced by ownership of local Maori land. In this sense, 'turangawaewae' is a concrete and fixed concept, referring to particular and precise 'real' land. On the other hand, since kinship in Hicks Bay is traced ambilineally and back through many marriages and in many localities, it is a portable and symbolic idea, whereby one is able to establish membership of community wherever one goes. These people of the land are called 'tangata whenua', and have precedence in all marae activity. The majority of the people of Hicks Bay fall into this category.

Firth summarised the importance of the marae thus: 'the marae was bound up with all the most ritual happenings, with warm and kindly hospitality, with the grouping of hosts and visitors in positions determined by etiquette and traditional procedure. This helped to account for the fact that it was more than a simple open space.... or a convenient assembly ground, and it bore a distinct social

importance.'[2]

The Hicks Bay marae, consisting of a carved meeting House (Tuwhakairiora), dining hall (Hinemaurea), ablution block, cooking quarters and a newly built church, is 'run' by a body of local people. They are responsible for any activities held on the premises, and for the general maintenance of it's grounds, buildings and chattels. Until recently, the 'caretakers' of the marae in any Maori community were usually the most senior family and this role was governed by descent, and in particular, the family's genealogical proximity to the founding ancestor. The role and it's concomitant duties and responsibilities were inherited by each succeeding generation of this family. Where there was more than one marae in a community, these were usually built by an extended family - all of whom were descended from a common ancestor, and numbering perhaps thirty to fifty people. A new sub-tribe often emerged and a meeting house symbolising the unity and distinctiveness of the owner group, was built as a statement of the situation. Thus it was with the Hicks Bay hapu. (See Chapter Two).

Hinemaurea Marae Committee:

Today, the structural organisation of the marae has become formalised with the adoption of a non-Maori organisational principle - namely a committee. In it's operation and composition however, the committee reflects both traditional and non-traditional values and concepts, demonstrating the persistance of Maori community life in a slowly changing environment. All of its members for example, are from 'tangata whenua' families, with one exception. The latter is, among other things, a well respected European in the community whose occupation has kept him in close contact with the people. He speaks the Maori language fluently and has on occasion participated in speech-making rituals (in conjunction with his occupation), on the marae. He is also married to a Maori woman (non-hapu) and has resided in the area now for twelve years. These factors have enabled this person, as an outsider, to achieve an important position in what is usually considered the realm of 'tangata whenua' concerns.

The marae committee consists of a chair-person, a secretary, treasurer

and nine others. Attached to it is a subsididary group of women (usually the wives and female kin of committee members), who are responsible for the catering and other domestic operations at the marae. These women, though they seem to have lesser status, often have great power and influence, especially 'behind the scenes'.

Aspects of it's structure have made this organisation today, one more suited to the supervision and smooth running of hapu gatherings or 'hui'. A number of members for instance- have been elected for their expertise and experience in this field; e.g. the secretary is the local Post-mistress who has attended various meetings and conferences and is therefore familiar with committee procedure. The present chair-person, as well as being the son of the most senior family in the hapu, is also a school teacher, emphasising again the blend of old and new values.
Minutes and account books are kept for public inspection, and subscriptions are paid formally at meetings. Regular meetings are supposed to be held once a month, but in practise the committee comes together when required, transacting most of it's business by telephone.

Each person on this committee is seen as a representative of the hapu, it's values and ideals, and it is to this group and elders or 'kaumatua', that the rest of the community looks to for centralised leadership in hapu activities.

Extensions of the Hinemaurea Marae Committee:

Several migrant Hicks Bay families in their respective towns, have banded together to form subsidiary clubs. Their primary objective is to support the 'home' marae financially and ceremonially, as the need to fulfill their kinship obligations to the hapu is very strong. Such a link provides each of these families with a degree of security and social identity in their urban surroundings.

One such organisation is 'Te Ropu Aroha mo Wharekahika'[3] based in Porirua. This group consists solely of Hicks Bay families living in and around the greater Wellington area - approximately thirty households. It is organised along the same principles as in Hicks Bay, and has a

committee and a central core of elders who give it's members spiritual and hapu guidance. In helping to finance the building of a new church in Hicks Bay recently,[4] the group held a number of fund-raising activities, such as cabarets and various raffles, over a period of time. The result was an exorbitant sum which contributed greatly to the building costs and the opening ceremony. More importantly though, was their physical presence - as kinsmen, at the opening ceremony, consolidating what is for this and other similar kin-based groups, a very important link with Hicks Bay.

Maori Womens Welfare League:

The Hicks Bay branch of the Maori Womens Welfare League was formed in 1963. Modelled on the earlier Maori Womens Health League, this national organisation encourages the preservation of Maori arts, the betterment of living conditions, education and health, and liason with European womens groups.

Although this organisation is less specifically descent oriented, it is still concerned with the hapu as a local group, particularly in the kinds of activities it carries out in Hicks Bay today. These include helping out at the local school, hearing the children read; developing a pre-school Play group programme' visiting the elderly and sick in their homes. Once a month they hold a type of bazaar where women and children compete in cooking, sewing and floral arrangement skills. This is mainly a social occasion giving the women of Hicks Bay and nearby communities an opportunity to meet and share common interests and exchange ideas.

Like the marae committee, the League has an organising body made up of a president, secretary and treasurer. The president is usually a senior member of the community. Today, Hicks Bay boasts one of the oldest life members of the Maori Womens Welfare League. Each year, a delegation from Hicks Bay attends the annual national conference, financed by community fund raising efforts.

As seen in the Orakei branch of the League,[5] recognition of descent in the Hicks Bay branch is implicit in the womens recognition of their

hapu identity in the context of a supra-tribal European-structured organization. Their hapu character is at once their strength and their weakness. Custom accords them privileged status as tangata whenua, yet, to the extent that it also encourages their isolation, it leaves them vulnerable and outnumbered. As with any structured organization, there are divisions internally, but these are functional expedients, not differences of purpose. At the community level however, the organization is united in a common desire to improve the education health and well-being of family life in the community.

Patangata Youth Club:

The past few years has seen the revival of an old club, established in Hicks Bay during World War II, i.e. the Patangata Youth Club. When the Hinemaurea dining hall was built in commemoration of Hicks Bay soldiers who died overseas in combat, it was decided that the youth of the community should be informed of the ancient history regarding the ancestress, Hinemaurea. The club was called Patangata, to signify to the other clubs on the East Coast that they were the most northern club of Ngati Porou, and that the Patangata hill, a prominent land mark in Hicks Bay, would serve as a resting place for all visitors passing through Hicks Bay.

Today, the club consists mainly of the younger sector of the community, supervised by a few adults. The club is generally a social agency for these youngsters and some of their activities include an occasional 'disco' evening, organized weekend sports, and organising fund-raising activities for travel purposes. The reasons for reviving this club were two-fold: to provide some form of recreation and entertainment for the youth, and more importantly, to try and foster in them, an interest in their history, language, arts and crafts, under the supervision of the local experts. Progress in this latter field has been slow but it is indicative of an urgent desire to try and retain what the people see as important aspects of their heritage, which are slowly being lost with the deaths of more elders each year.

Finally in this section, a brief look at two organisations which are representative, at least in theory; the school committee and the

church committee. Members of both organisations are elected (or volunteer their services), on the grounds of capability and interest, and for this reason, often include pakeha members of the community. The relationship which the community has with both these committees is mainly a supportive one seen especially in money-raising activities to help maintain the school and the church. Both organisations also have ties with similar groups outside the community. The church committee is part of the status and organisation of the wider Anglican Diocese of New Zealand, and the school committee was formed at the injunction of the Education Department.

Membership in the various committees overlaps a good deal, for example, the same person chairs both the marae and school committees in Hicks Bay. Competition between organisations is minimal, due to limited finance, resources and manpower. Fund-raising events - card evenings, discos, flea-markets and bring-and-buys - are so aranged that they do not clash. They also help to bring in capital from non-members of neighbouring districts, boosting the communities social, educational, religious and political organisations.

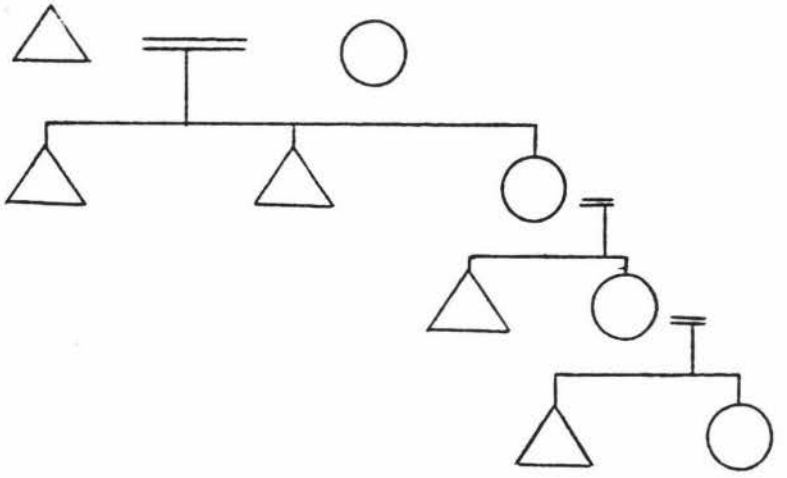
Through all of these organisations, the people of Hicks Bay are able to air their differences, opinions and ideas, expressing just what a community is all about. These expressions are usually voiced quite openly and strongly, just because they are a community. This means that the value placed on community is wider and stronger than any other value and woe betide anyone who, through misguided goodwill, takes upon themselves the task of resolving conflicts prematurely or privately - even in the organisations with pakeha members.

FAMILY:

Specific descent maintained among the corporate descent group (or hapu) as a whole, is necessarily the criterion by which sub-groups such as the extended family develop their connection charters of descent, and the criterion against which the claims of members of the wider descent category are judged for merit. Descent category here refers to those kin groups whose descent unqualified by residence, provides the rationale and incentive for more or less regular

cooperation among kin. The descent group is idealogically identified with the descent category in the respects that it is the active representation of it, shares in the symbols and mana of the land and property, and in any particular situation, is extended to include any demonstrable descendants as members in some sense.

A descent category which will now be discussed is the bilateral extended family, a very important organising principle of community life in Hicks Bay. In this study, the term refers to a parental couple, their children and married children, the latters children and married children with their issue.



Key

△ Male
○ Female
= Married

It may therefore contain upwards of four generations living both in Hicks Bay and urban areas. Bilateral membership of this group means that every member belongs potentially to more than one family (e.g. those of ones parents and ones spouse), including some associated with other districts. Obligations to all of these families are generally fulfilled. However, the tendency is for the individual to make one principal choice, to which they attach themselves and give most, in terms of time, monay and labour. The choice made is neither final, exclusive nor irreversible. Rather it constitutes a range of possibilities in an order of preference which may be altered by circumstance or personal decision.

Kinsmen who consider themselves active members of the gorup, but who do not live in the community, feel the necessity to explain why. The reasons given are typically marriage to a non-hapu spouse, economic opportunities elsewhere or lack of it in the community, or such options

taken earlier by their parents. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, many migrant families from Hicks Bay are active in subsidiary family or hapu clubs devoted to maintaining ties with what they consider their home locality.

The occasions for kin group reunion in Hicks Bay are associated with the celebration of life crises and religious ritual. Ritual gatherings on the marae are undoubtedly the most important and enduring basis of kin group gatherings. The cycle of rituals associated with death, the tangihanga, is the most complex and exemplary of these, and because of its explicit mediating function between the ancestors and the living, it is also a practical and idealogical focus of many hapu processes.

Most members of the community try not to let ties with Hicks Bay lapse for too long. The majority make one to several trips annually. More importantly though, almost all adult members are buried in the community cemetery or their own family cemetery, even if they have lived most of their lives in the city, and the people are careful to maintain sufficient ties to claim this right. Location of burial consolidates a descent group affiliation for all time.

Today, the remaining twenty or so tangata whenua families in Hicks Bay, occupying approximately forty households, are the active core of the kin group. Nearly two-thirds of the households are composed of single elementary families, and the remainder, mainly European families and other immigrant Maori families employed by local sheep stations, are of various combinations of families. At the head of a family is the father, and in some cases, the grandfather. Other members may include another grandparent, parents, children, foster children, siblings and grandchildren. Formerly, it was not uncommon to have upwards of twenty people of 3-4 generations living in the same household. Daily activities were carried out in groups based on sex, e.g. gardening, milking, harvesting etc. The smaller nuclear family was not lost in this larger group. Husband and wife had certain exclusive rights and duties to each other, especially sexual rights. With their children, they occupied a separate sleeping house or a definite section of the family home.

Today, many of the younger married children live in separate households, but still constitute part of an extended family group. Family size is also smaller due to increasingly insufficient economic opportunities in Hicks Bay and a resultant continual shift of the population to urban areas.
Family life in Hicks Bay however, is still based very much on face-to-face situations, close-knit relationships, sharing and cooperation. Kinsmen with whom one interacts on a frequent basis and members of ones family group, have a reasonable claim on the use of one anothers personal property (e.g. cars and money), and usually enter, eat and sleep in one anothers houses without formalities. In this way, the corporate descent group maintains a jural claim on the labour, savings and production of each of it's members, mobilised on a moments notice for any of it's assemblies.

LEADERSHIP:

Before concluding this survey of selected aspects of Hicks Bay social organization, we will look briefly at the main types of leadership found in the community.
The groups within a community form the background for the operation of leadership whether in the field of operations in the wider world or the more confined limits of the community. Leaders assume status and exercise authority by virtue of the positions they hold within one or the other, or several of the associations discussed previously, and also the occasion. The most important groupings from this point of view are those based on kinship, on membership of the church, of various administrative bodies, and of sports and recreational associations.

As we have seen, all of these play an important role in the social organisation of community life. They are looked at here under the headings of ceremonial, administrative and manual leadership; each of which is concerned with a distinct sphere of action and defined by it's own criteria.

Ceremonial Leadership:

This form of leadership is atributable to kinship and shows the significance of descent in the senior lines. In Hicks Bay, the ceremonial leader is the kaumatua, of which there are approximately ten. Of these, four are regarded as ceremonial leaders of right. They are distinguishable by their age, command of oratory, and seniority of descent. They lead the community in all hapu gatherings at the marae, formally welcoming guests and seeing to the smooth running of all operations on the marae.

As we saw in chapter two, women, particularly those of rangatira (senior) status, are frequently recognised as kaumatua in their own right among some East Coast tribes. However, in Hicks Bay the local women do not assume leadership status in ceremonial rituals. Rather, their role on the marae complements that of the men and is based on the traditions of the kinship group.
Through their involvement with the Maori Womens Welfare League and other similar institutions, these women are often looked to for leadership by the rest of the community. Thus, when the need arises, the mana of their genealogy is recognised and accepted.

Internal Leadership of the family: Within the close confines of the family, the authority of the elder is manifested in concrete situations from childhood to adulthood, between junior and senior members. This superordination of older kin extends mainly over siblings of the same sex, thus often, younger siblings are 'ordered around' by their older siblings. The relationship between siblings however, is generally close and supportive. Real authority and power with regard to the children's responsibilities within the family, is usually exercised by the mother-figure, while the 'head' of the household acts as a guide, adviser, and mediator in arguments.

Administrative Leadership:

The executive functions of leadership are mostly carried out by those in the middle generations, who have some attributes of administrative expertise and education. The administration of these bodies (e.g.

school committee and the Womens Welfare League), are more formalised and tend, therefore, to be directed along European lines for reasons of efficiency and neccessity. One effect of formalisation is that the leader's position is more clearly defined. Leadership is also dependent upon the results of periodic elections, administrative procedures and a lot of innovative vitality and enthusiasm. Membership in these organizations then, lends little association to the notions of kinship and descent evident in hapu and family oriented duties and tasks.

Manual Leadership:

Leadership in manual tasks is a subtle blend of kinship obligation and manual technical skill. Every family in Hicks Bay has a self-appointed task which they carry out with methodical skill at every hui. For example, mother is and always has been, the chief 'pudding maker' for all hui, be they tangi, birthdays or sports conventions. Other women will prepare vegetables for the hangi which the men are responsible for and the younger ones will 'man' the sinks. Each task is carried out with an air or assurance and great efficiency. There is no hierarchy, no stratification of tasks, no chain of command: all working on a cooperative basis. Any leaders in these activities are placed there by the workers, either for ones experience and added knowledge in the task, or because of a greater kinship responsibility to those most concerned with the hui. e.g. an elder kinsman of the 'birthday boy or girl' at a 21st birthday.

In summarising, all organisations in the community, derived in accordance with its need, are drawn together by common kinship association, and through them the various leaders serve the objectives and ideals of the Hicks Bay hapu.

References for Chapter Three

1. Firth. R., 1964, Chapter 2.

2. Firth. R., 1959, p 96.

3. 'Te Ropu Aroha mo wharekahika', briefly translated means 'the group formed through love to support Hicks Bay.

4. In 1974, the local church, which was over one hundred years old, was blown down in a storm. For a time, church services were held at the marae. The people then decided to have another church built which was accomplished in November, 1979, it was opened and dedicated.

5. Kawharu. I. H., 1975, p 49.

CHAPTER FOUR: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Every anthropological investigation is a study at a certain point in time. Change is taking place all the time in all human societies. Sometimes it is so slow as to be hardly perceptible to ordinary observation or so rapid as to make it difficult to speak of fixed institutions, but it is always there.

In this chapter we focus on economic developments which have taken place in Hicks Bay during the last century and some of the ramifications of these. We look in particular at change at a community level, and more so, within the kinship structure of the family, in the light of the values and attitudes of the adult members of the community. It is this group, imbued with the ideology of kinship, who have been greatly influenced by the historical factors discussed in this, and the preceding chapters, and whose decisions and choices have invariably had the greatest effect on the following generations.

Firstly, we discuss some historical aspects of Hicks Bay's economy, which were part of a total change occurring in the wider New Zealand economy. Firth referred to this period as one of culture change, characterised by the spread of European settlements, roads, towns, and customs,into predominantly Maori localities. For many, it was a phase of enthusiastic adoption of European culture forms.[1]

We will then discuss the present economic situation in Hicks Bay today. In the light of the previous discussion, we see how new choices and decisions made by present members have affected the social actions of others in, and out of, the community.

Part two concludes this study by focusing on one particular area of change in family organisation, namely child-rearing, and the effects which changes in the economy, social organisation and kinship structure have had on child-rearing practises carried out in Hicks Bay today and among migrant families.

A Changing Economy

Ngati Porou, almost alone among the tribes, had been able to absorb the changes brought into their lives by Europeans, and to construct a new successful pattern of living. This was due mainly to the relative isolation of the area. The land was rugged and the rivers led only to crags and ravines of the Urewera country. Thus, when Europeans were taking possession of the open land and advancing up the rivers, Ngati Porou were left alone. They were then able to benefit from the revolution in farming that began with the voyage of the 'Dunedin' in 1882. By the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Ngati Porou people were running nearly 100,000 sheep, more than 3,000 cattle, and over 8,000 pigs.[2]

On the East Coast, including Hicks Bay, this development of the land provided work for many of the people, e.g. shearing, harvesting, fencing, and clearing scrubland. The workers, mainly young men, were often required to move away from the community for indefinite periods, leaving the old and the very young to tend to community obligations and family responsibilities.

In the years between 1870 and 1880, a number of large sheep runs were developed along the East Coast, by European farmers; some on confiscated land, but mostly on leasehold for terms of twenty one years. For some years, many of the leaders of each tribal and sub-tribal group were very wealthy. They farmed their own land or leased it, providing them with a considerable income. At the same time however, they cared for their people; making livestock and land available to aspiring farmers, financing the construction of churches and meeting houses, and contributing largely to the upkeep of local marae. As in all small Maori communities, the rewards for such a big responsibility as leader, were more diffuse and were expressed in social status and esteem; a major element of the social structure and organisation of the community.

Produce from the sheep runs, at first mainly wool and maize was shipped out by schooner, and coastal settlements such as Tolaga Bay, Waipiro Bay and Hicks Bay boomed. Such was the introduction of Hicks Bay to a predominantly European economy.

Sheep Farming and the Freezing Works in Hicks Bay

In 1919, as a result of the boom in fat stock production from sheep stations in the community and surrounding districts, a freezing works was built by the Gisborne Sheep Farmers Federation. Hicks Bay was chosen for it's strategic position in relation to the rest of the East Coast and the Te Kaha coast. It was also one of the few coastal communities with a natural deep sea harbour. Construction of the Works, as well as a number of small cottages built to house European employees and their families, began in 1920. All materials for the Works were shipped in by coastal steamer ('The Mako'), which made regular trips between Auckland and the East Coast. There were no roads in Hicks Bay prior to this, and one travelled either by boat or horseback. The 'Mako' later brought bulk supplies of sugar, rice, flour and other household necessities for the families at the Works, and took frozen meat and an occasional passenger to Auckland. More importantly though for the people of Hicks Bay, the 'Mako' provided a very vital link with the 'outside' world.

By 1921, the Works was operational, handling 16,000 sheep and 100 cattle per day, employing approximately 150 people. Some employees commuted between Hicks Bay and as far away as Gisborne (100 miles), staying with relatives or at the Works settlement and returning to their homes at the end of the season. The Works operated for only 3-4 months of the year and consequently, the workers had to find seasional work elsewhere for the remainder of the year.

During this time, the Works settlement and it's population grew rapidly. There were six permanent homes, but the majority lived in tents. A growing number of children also necessitated the need for a second school in the community, and after several fund-raising efforts, the Matakaoa Public School was built. It opened in 1923 with a roll of 30 pupils, the majority of whom were children from the Works settlement. Local families living within a two mile radius of the school however, could send their children; my mother being one of these children. Despite the closure of the freezing works five years later, the school continued operating until 1935, after which all the children attended the Wharekahika Native School (See Chapter One).

Although the Public school was a relatively short-lived venture, it had a considerable impact on the socialisation of local children who attended, and their families. The school was administered by an Education Board which stipulated that English was to be the medium of instruction, and this policy was strictly adhered to by the staff. For most of the Maori children attending, Maori was still the vernacular, and many found themselves being severely reprimanded for speaking the only language they knew. Staffing arrangements did not ensure the appointment of staff out of any particular interest, or permit the appointment of a junior assistant to help the children with their language difficulties. Parents, who had been convinced of the value of European education for their children, helped to enforce the school's policy by encouraging them to speak English in the home and by not speaking to them in Maori. The long term effect on this and the following generations was a gradual decrease of the use of maori language resulting in feelings of social and cultural inadequacy by the children, inherent in their inability to communicate in their own language. The adults in the family however, continued to communicate in the vernacular enabling some of these children to 'keep in touch' with their families and kin.

The freezing Works scheme then, provided both economic and educational opportunities for the people of Hicks Bay. During it's heyday, the community boasted two general stores, a bakery, Post Office and a blacksmith. As well, the Works settlement had it's own butcher, bakery, general store and a community hall. The latter amenity facilitated communication and social relationships between the 'locals' and the settlers by providing regular entertainment in the form of dances, picture screenings and card evenings.
Roadways were upgraded increasing communication with other settlements, and attempts were made to build up the exiguous medical services in the district. A local medical graduate Dr. Tutere Wirepa, former medical superintendent of a small hospital in Te Araroa before it closed, was the resident doctor. Apart from Dr. Wirepa's services, the nearest pharmacy was at Ruatoria, a thirty mile distance; and the other nearest doctor was a Waipiro Bay, sixty miles away, where the hospital had been relocated. It may be noted that sixty years ago, there was only one hospital between Opotiki and Gisborne - a distance

of some 200 miles, which remains the same today - highlighting the isolation of this whole area.

From the first season that the freezing Works began operating, it was obvious to some that it was not a feasible operation. Access was very difficult and sheep driven from as far away as Tikitiki often arrived in such poor condition that they were only good for rendering down. In 1925, the local County Council misjudged the future of the Works and borrowed £30,000 to build a wharf at Hicks bay, anticipating revenue from wharfage fees. But in spite of improved facilities provided by the wharf, an inadequate supply of fat livestock in 1926 and an anticipated shortage in future seasons, forced the closure of the freezing Works.

Developments in Dairy Farming

Despite some economic improvements on the East Coast, the early years of the twentieth century was a difficult period for the people. Fractionation of land titles became a problem as large families succeeded their parent's lands, and a series of severe epidemics (typhoid: 1891, 1911 and 1913-1914: and pneumonic influenza in 1918.), wreaked havoc in the area. Throughout much of New Zealand at this time, land was being sold to Europeans for a pittance. Between 1865-1892 for example, Maoris sold 7,000,000 acres and leased another 2,500,000 acres to Europeans and between 1896-1921, a further 6,000,000 acres were sold.[3]

The first practical attack on the problem was made by the people of Ngati Porou. Under the leadership and guidance of the late Sir A.T.Ngata, the East Coast people developed incorporation - a scheme whereby owners formed themselves into an incorporated body which could negotiate loans, develop and work their land as a unit: and later, consolidation - a complicated system of exchange which concentrated each owners shares in one block. This done, the land could be developed and then farmed as a whole under the land scheme. The scheme gave the people new confidence and with money they made, they built new homes, educated their children and improved community ammenities. Ngata, who became Native Minister in Parliament during this time

established a dairy industry on the East Coast almost single handed. Raising finance to purchase quality stock from Taranaki, he founded the Ngati Porou Cooperative Dairy company, in 1925. In it's first season, it had 56 suppliers producing 61 tons of butter, and by 1937, the company had 377 suppliers, some from Hicks Bay, and was producing 744 tons of butter.

Dairying in Hicks Bay.

The development of a dairy farming industry throughout the East Coast could not have come at a more opportune time for the people of Hicks Bay. After the closure of the freezing Works, dairy farming became the dominant form of land utilisation. At the outset, there were only four milking machines operating in the community, but this number soon increased as more families went into farming. These varied in size and head of stock, but all concentrated on the production of cream which was collected daily by a 'cream truck', and taken to the Dairy factory in Ruatoria.

Many of the local farmers also bred pigs on the excess skim milk, to supplement the income received from the monthly 'cream cheque'. With gradual experience and a lot of advice from others around them, the people were encouraged to utilise their land to the fullest; many putting down several acres in crops such as kumara, potato, maize, vegetables, water-melon, and in our family - sugar-cane. The sometimes semi-tropical climate of Hicks Bay made it conducive to the production of these more exotic food crops.

Produce from all these activities were used by the families for their own immediate needs, and to fulfill any social needs or obligations to kin and community.

Agriculture in Hicks Bay was generally a family enterprise, where those who shared the hearth, also shared in the work and the harvest. Children took on a vast share of the farmwork at an early age, and were often required to be up a five each morning, to milk the cows, feed the pigs and fowls, before going to school. These chores would be repeated after school as well. Within this work pattern, there was a notably distinct division of labour based on sex, where the men

of the family were involved in the more strenuous and arduous tasks (milking, ploughing and planting), while the women saw to the more menial tasks of feeding fowls, collecting eggs, gathering firewood and helping with the harvest.
Each member of the family was seen as a vital part of a network. Planting and harvesting of crops often involved a wider range of kinfolk such as uncles, aunts and cousins; with whom one shared ones produce. This was all part of the principle of reciprocity which implied the concept of an exchange relationship, but which was an essential part of participation of kin in such activities.

Dairy farming in Hicks Bay, had an extremely short history, amounting to little more than thrity years. Today there is only one diary unit still operating successfully.
Many of the farms were inadequately developed as a result of the farmers inexperience in the methods of fully utilising their land. Efficient land use was further reduced by fragmentation, due in part to the bilateral system of land inheritance. Here, land was divided equally amongst the children of the owner or owners. As each generation passed, the number of owners of a block of land increased; a point being reached where an individual's land interests, i.e. land inherited from both parents and shared in common with other siblings; were small and spatially separated. In addition, where more attractive jobs away from the community presented themselves, many of the farms were abandoned or else absorbed, through leasing, by other farmers.

The ramifications of the downfall of both these economic schemes for the community were two-fold: a reduction in manpower with an exodus of the younger generation; leaving an imbalance in the population of the very young and the older members.

Life in Hicks Bay then, devoid as it was of daily communication, was uncomplicated. Relationships with the European families in the community were peaceful with many of the locals enthusiastically adopting European ways and goods, made possible by a wage economy. The fundamentals of the community's culture however, remained relatively unaffected. The kin group was still the most important unit of economic activity. Kinship responsibilities and obligations

often called the farmers away from the farm or required the donation of produce. The people contributed generously in kind and in labour especially when it involved ones own kinfolk. The extended family remained the focus for it's members and rendered meaningful their participation in the wider settler society surrounding them. This meant that for the individual the most meaningful field of social interaction was purely a Maori one which had the effect of limiting the number of choices and decisions which an individual could make in terms of competing Maori and European value systems. Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression of the people of Hicks Bay of this time, was a slow adaptation by them, to the wider New Zealand society.

The Situation Today

Despite an increasing mobility of the people provided by the ownership of a motor vehicle by many, and a regular bus service linking the community with Gisborne and Opotiki, Hicks Bay is still relatively isolated in relation to the outside world. The various forms of news media (e.g. television, radio and newspapers), and more importantly, the links kept with migrant families, have effectively enabled the people to 'keep up with what is happening in the rest of New Zealand.'

In discussing the economic organisation of households in Hicks Bay today, we will see that relevant to an understanding of social organisation, is the idea that the household itself must be viewed as a micro-community, and that internal changes brought about by natural biological processes from birth to death, have immediate repercussions in the wider hapu community. In short, the household must be looked at in the context of it's hapu, just as the hapu must be seen in the context of it's tribe.

Household Organisation

A dramatic change which has occurred in the community and other similar communities over the years, has been the marked decrease in the numbers of each household and the composition of the domestic units

within these households. (See tables 1 and 2 p.20 & p.26). The single most contributing factor to this has been emigration. A lack of viable economic opportunities in the community has forced many individuals, especially school leavers, to move elsewhere to obtain wage labour. The obligation on young children to stay and help parents and hapu is weakening. Instead, they are encouraged by the adult community to attend boarding schools and higher tertiary educational institutions, to increase their chances for better social and economic opportunities. Having achieved this, the decision to return to the community to settle is an individual one, but one often influenced by family and hapu commitments: e.g. to care for an ageing or ill kinsman, or to keep one's ties and status in the hapu, operational.

In Hicks Bay, the household represents the basic social and domestic unit of everyday living, while the elementary or nuclear family is the basic unit of the household. The household comprises all those people who share living, sleeping and eating facilities, within a single house. Within the community however, a number of single households constitute part of a wider extended family group, and between these, there is a great deal of movement of occupants and resources.

As we noted in the previous chapter, nearly two thirds of the occupied households in Hicks Bay, are composed of a single elementary family consisting of husband, wife and children. The remainder are a combination of three generational families and one-parent families - either a spouse who is separated and/or divorced and children; or a widow/er and children.

Of the fifty or so households in Hicks Bay, 85% are owned and occupied by tangata whenua families. The remaining 15% include a number of Maori Affairs homes attached to sheep stations in the district, at present occupied by local employees; houses being rented by a small number of Maori and European immigrant families; and a few privately owned 'beach homes' belonging to recent arrivals to the district - mainly European.

The majority of the houses in the community are old, having been built at the turn of the century. Until very recently, many of the

houses were without electricity, and wood burners, candles, kerosene cookers and lamps, provided heating and cooking facilities. The main source of water supply for each household, is rain water collected in tanks and nearby wells or springs. During the hot summer months when rainfall is low, water from nearby rivers is collected to replenish supplies.

Most of the houses are well-kept and adequeately furnished, and contain two to four bedrooms, a kitchen and a living room. Each household possesses a telephone, facilitating communication within, and outside of the community. On the whole then, the household in Hicks Bay is similar to that found in other small rural communities in New Zealand.

The following tables are the results of some data collected by the local school in 1939, and by the writer in 1980, showing the composition and size of households in Hicks Bay for those times.

TABLE 1

Size of Community Households - 1939

Persons per Household	No. of Households	Total
1	2	2
2	7	14
3	5	15
4	6	24
5	8	40
6	2	12
7	3	21
8	5	40
9	3	27
10	-	-
11	1	11
12	1	12
13	1	13
14	-	-
15	3	45
TOTAL:	47 households	276 persons

The number of household occupants ranged from one to fifteen with the mean being 5.9.

TABLE 2

Size of Community Households - 1980

Persons per Household	No. of Households	Total
1	4	4
2	2	4
3	9	27
4	15	60
5	4	20
6	4	24
7	4	28
8	2	16
9	1	9
	TOTAL 45 households	192 persons

The number of household occupants today range from one to nine with 4.2 as the mean.

With the reservation that a census gives approximations valid only for the period taken to record it, one may make some comparisons between Tables 1 and 2, and draw some conclusions from these. Among other things, we may conclude that fifty years ago, the number of occupants per household in Hicks Bay was greater than today's numbers, with over one third living in households of seven people or more. Although no recorded data was available for the family and genealogical compositions, the writer was informed that the majority of the households quoted in Table 1, consisted of two or more elementary families and in some instances, comprised households of three or more generations.

What was considered the norm fifty years ago, is now considered the exception today, with only five of the forty five households in the community comprised of three generational families.

As noted in Table 2, the average household today comprises four members, usually parents and two children. The decrease in the number of children one now has, is in part, attributable to the economic restraints in the community. The effects of this on changes in child-rearing patterns as practised by the people, will be taken up

in the latter part of this study.

Household Earnings

We turn our attention now to the major sources of income derived by community residents.

Dependence on subsistence agriculture and dairy farming in Hicks Bay, has now been replaced by an increasing participation in the commerical life of New Zealand. Today, the people depend almost wholly on a cash income for their livelihood. the main sources of income are - social security benefits, sheep farming, wage earning and business enterprises.

Social Security

Social Security legislation was passed in 1938 and began operating in 1939. As mentioned earlier, of the various benefits available to beneficiaries, the main ones being paid to residents include, Superannuation, Widows, Invalids, Domestic Purposes and Unemployment benefits. The majority of those drawing a benefit are pensioners and widows, and some of these are able to supplement this regular income through other casual business enterprises. For example, my mother, who draws a Widows benefit, supplements her income by knitting 'Kiwi-knit' jackets from fleeces provided by an aunt. An older sister living at home, receives an Invalids benefit and together they are able to live comfortably. A large amount of their income is expended on electricity (a recent acquirement), telephone, food and general maintenance bills; and one annual visit to see other members of the family - scattered throughout the North Island.

Widowhood has brought about structural changes for some families in Hicks Bay, reflected in resident arrangement. At present, one half of those widowed are living on their own, while the other half share households with either or both children and grand-children. All members of the former group have children or kin living in the community, thus the decision to remain on their own is basically one of personal choice.

Greater independence made easier by a regular income enables some to make frequent visits to members of their families in various parts of New Zealand.
All but one of these widows and widowers has acquired kaumatua status and are particularly valued for their services on ceremonial occasions. Their status within the family, and particularly with regard to their role in the rearing of children, however, is undergoing changes - a trend which is becoming more apparent in small Maori communities.

Sheep Farming

Members of twelve families, working on either a full-time or part-time basis, derive their incomes from three large sheep stations in the district; while two other families operate their own sheep farms. Work on the former farms ranges from shearing and shepherding, to fencing and 'cooking for the shearing gang', providing opportunities for both men and women in the community. As much of the work is also of a seasonal nature, workers sometimes find it necessary to draw an Unemployment benefit when no other jobs are available.

Wage Earning

Today, the opportunities for wage earning are varied but limited, and at the time of writing, are decreasing as inflation figures increase. Private business ventures provides eleven people with employment. These include fishing, farm contracting, opposum trapping and dairy and sheep farming. As the success of some of these ventures is dependent on unpredictable variables such as the weather, the income received from them is also at times, unreliable.

Seven other residents have full or part-time teaching positions at the Hicks Bay and two other nearby schools. Four of these positions are occupied by immigrants to the area, and the other three by migrant members who have returned to settle.

The New Zealand Forestry department employs another five people. The planting of pinus radiata seedlings in the East Coast region, is a

relatively recent venture, and it is anticipated that in another decade or two, this area will become one of the major suppliers of New Zealand timber. This is one of the jobs which takes employees out of the district daily, where they are required to travel long distances, returning in the evenings.

Other current occupations in the community include: shop assistants (3), Post Mistress (1), bus driver (1), Ministry of Works (4), and part of full time domestic employment at the Hicks Bay Motels (5). The latter is owned and operated by a larger Hotel Corporation based in Gisborne, and provides seasonal work only for some of the residents.

Although some members are dependent on a fluctuating income for their livelihood, most households in Hicks Bay today receive at least one regular source of income.
As we saw previously, the elementary family is the basic domestic unit, with the father-figure or head of household as the main bread-winner. Without the burden of housing rental costs (for most), the money earned gives the individual far greater freedom of movement and purchasing power within his household, than was possible in the past. Many are able to provide their families with a comfortable style of living, while others are even able to afford the more luxurious items of a modern life-style e.g. a car, colour television set etc.

Beneath this external veneer of modernity however, there is still maintained the essential community and kin spirit in the individual. The wage earner (both inside and outside of the community) may be called upon to contribute to the general support of the wider bilateral extended family: or to a particular financial need in the hapu, such as the building of a new church. For the individual in the community, an immediate response is expected - an expectation determined largely as a consequence of his membership in the community.

The individual then, is still communal in his social organisation, even where he may be individual in his economic organisation. Despite his active participation in a wage economy, the values which he upholds are those of the wider kin and tribal group, which in turn

largely determines the choices and decisions he may make within that social organisation.

As H. Kawharu quoted, 'although it is the individual who progresses through the biological cycle he nevertheless does so as a member of a tightly-knit household with it's own particular network of social relations. At the same time, this household is a unit in a wider field of hapu relations.'[4] One very important contributing factor to this, is the strong social solidarity and close integration of the community's social, economic and other activities. Personal relationships with others are multiplied; members of the same family often work side by side, and many individuals marry spouses from the community who are already kinsfolk - all reinforcement of one's obligations of kinship.

Despite the lower frequency of large three generational families sharing the same abode in the community, there is still the feeling that one can expect cooperation and support from one's kin wherever they may reside.

The family therefore, may be altering in form but not in it's meaning aspects - a consideration which will be focused on in Part two.

Summary

Through the reconstruction of it's historical and organisational beginnings, this study has thus far, looked at the way the Hicks Bay hapu works, and the means by which it is held together in the process of social change. One salient factor important to it's members, is the way in which kinship, as part of the total social organisation of the hapu is seen to be the unifying factor in social relationships. By concentrating on the concept of social organisation, we have focused on aspects of dynamics or process in which choice is exercised in a field of available alternatives; where resources are mobilised and decisions are taken in the light of probable social costs and benefits.

This has meant the movement of many members out of the community, which has in turn effected various changes in the community's social, economic and structural organisation.

The remainder of this study will be taken up with a discussion of one sector of change - namely child-rearing practises.

References for Chapter Four

1. Firth. R., 1959, pp 445-455.

2. Turnbull. M., 'The changing Land': Longman Paul Ltd, 1960, p 196.

3. Salmond A. 1976.

4. Kawharu. I. H., 1975, p 65.

PART TWO: SOCIALIZATION AND CHANGE

This study is basically concerned with kinship; (i.e. the system of social ties in a community, based on the recognition of genealogical relationships;), and the most fundamental way in which kinship is effective in social life, is through the family.

In every human society which has been examined scientifically, the family organisation has been found as the basic unit.[1] It survives as the one common durable link adapting itself to various and changing conditions. There are a variety of family styles in New Zealand today, including those with two adult bread winners, couples without children, single parents, three generational families with an additional adult, student flats, communes and other innovatory domestic arrangements. In any or all of these, the business of growing up continues wherever there are children joining the past to the present and preparing the way for future generations.

One of the most valuable functions of parenthood lies in the handing on to the child, by example as well as by instruction, a great deal of the cultural heritage of the group to which the parents belong.

In view of the previous discussion this brief sketch attempts to look at the way in which changes in kinship structure may be used as a mode for explaining transformations in patterns of child-rearing in Hicks Bay families. Some of these changes include the abandonment of former practices; the break-down of the extended family household, and it's replacement by other family type groups; the choice to have fewer children.

For the remainder of this study then, our attention will be occupied by the relationship between the community and it's migrant families. Firstly, we refer briefly to aspects of socialization theory, noting their applicability to the situations which will be discussed. We look particularly at the mother - child relationship and the role which the former plays in transmitting to the child, it's culture; and in educating it to any new or different social situations which may confront it. This is followed by brief discussions of past and present child-rearing practises in Hicks Bay, and those of some migrant families, showing

the transformations which have taken place through time.
In drawing the threads together, we will consider the relationship of these transformations in child-rearing to the general pattern of change evident in the community today, and suggest some possible consequences for the future of Hicks Bay (and it's members), as a kinship community.

Theories of Socialization

In order to fully comprehend the effects of change in family organisation generally and child-rearing in particular, one must first look at the basics of socialization theory. It is at this particular level that adjustments can be easily made in an individuals life, so that one is able to cope with change.

A defined by P. Mayer, socialization may be broadly defined as 'the inculcation of the skills and attitudes necessary for playing given social roles.'[2] Socialization has a narrower and a broader sense. In the former it tends to be confined to the social learning of children, to the processes whereby they acquire the values of adult society in order to participate fully within it.
In the latter, it may be extended to adults whenever they join a new social group and are expected to acquire a new set of values before participating fully within it. By and large then, it is rare for individuals not to have to confront actual or potential new ideas in adult life which would require from them the acquisition of new role-playing skills and attitudes.

The focus on the infancy period is also of significance, because it is during this period of dependence on the family and the 'mother-figure' in particular, that a child learns the rich complexity of his way of life. He finds out who he is as he learns what society is. Later he learns that the roles he plays, and the decisions he makes, are not only relevant to the intimate circle of his family but relate to the expectations directed towards him by society at large.
As Berger said, 'what occurs in socialization is that the social world is internalized within the child'; a social world which not only controls his movements, but shapes his identity, his thoughts and his emotions.[3]

The hypothesis which the writer makes at this point, is that when the major influence on the child i.e. the 'mother-figure', is unable to adapt to, or accept change, stresses and strains inevitably occur which invariably affects the stability and successful functioning of the family unit within the wider community, and the socialization of it's children.
This again raises the question of choice, and the reasons for the choices which are made. For example, the decision by adult members of a community characterised by intricate and formalised social networks of kinship and life-long friendships, to migrate to a totally different social structure, (a decision necessitated by the need to survive); is often fraught with feelings of apprehension and uncertainty, making adaption to their new situation difficult. This point will be taken up again in the discussion of migrant families with reference to it's effects on child-rearing.

Former Practises in Hicks Bay

As seen in chapter three and four, the social mechanisms that bound a family together, centred around a group of people who were an economic unit, working together for mutual support. The family was also seen as an allegiance group where the biological descent quality was taken for granted, and within which one knew one's place geneologically in terms of status and identity.

In former times, the basic unit of the household in Hicks Bay was the extended family comprised of a number of biological and classificatory kinsmen, sometimes numbering upwards of twenty people. The beginnings of my family was made up of three households and included approximately fifteen people. Large families and in particular, many children, were valued not so much as individuals but more for their part in the economy of the family and in ensuring the continuity of the community. Mothers were seen as child-bearers and were expected to go on bearing children till natural ageing made it impossible.

One of the most striking features of child rearing which arose out of a sense of community, kinship and close living residence, was multiple parenting. The business of raising children was often carried out by all

members of the household unit, to free parents for more important economic duties.

During the first two years of the child's life the mother and grandmother had the closest contact with it. Because of the latters status and honour within the family and community, there was little conflict of opinion between parents and grandparents about how the child was to be reared. Moreover, the mother did not endorse the idea that she knew better than her own mother, chiefly because she followed her mothers' roles and methods so closely.

From two years of age onwards, an active curiosity and progressive independence was encouraged in the child, and caretaking responsibilities were allocated to older siblings to help him make the transition. For the remainder of one's childhood then, siblings as well as cousins and neighbours children had the most influence on the child. All children learned about their society by observing adults at community gatherings and within their households. Instruction in general behaviour and manners started early, both by example and by cautioning against the violation of rules set down by the family and the community.

Child rearing in former times was seen as a community function, allocated to biological parents, to adult relations to adolescents and even to children who were sometimes a few years older than the child for whom they had parenting responsibilities and duties. The child was received not only by it's biological parents, but into a wider circle of people among whom it was a welcome new member of the family, a household member, a part of the kinship network and a member of the community.

For the mother-figure, this had the effect of reducing the responsibilities and strains of raising many young children. With so many 'parents' around, both parent and child had someone to whom they could always turn for emotional and social support.

Present Day Practises in Hicks Bay:

Family structure and function are defined by the organisational needs and values of a society, and as these change, so will the size and type of family group, the roles of both the individual members and the unit, and the content and methods used in socialising the young.

As we noted in Chapter four, the factor that has had most effect on the structure of the Hicks Bay family, is an economic one; since the tendency to individualisation has heightened unlimited opportunities for an independent existence away from the community. For those who have remained in the community, earlier financial independence has enabled many young married couples to build their own homes, or to occupy a vacant house in the community. This has resulted in fewer instances of parents sharing the same domicile as their married children, and consequently fewer instances of close contact and direct influence of grand-parents on the rearing of their grand-children. While this has meant some slight transformations in child-rearing patterns, mothers in Hicks Bay still share a common set of practices and beliefs (discussed in the previous section), to which they have been conditioned since their childhood. Today therefore, one finds the same special devotion to small babies, and the same diffuse but real definition of adult affairs and childrens worlds, with the child free to enter the adult world but strictly on adult terms. There is also the same free movement in which the toddlers play out of sight and mind of their mothers. Where large families are grouped together in separate households or where they constitute a three generational household, there is the same allocation of younger children to the elder, and loosely structured play groups. Children freely visit the homes of family kin from whom they may receive meals, lodging, companionship or chastisement.

Economic change has also brought about changes in the size of families today. The decision by many couples in the community to have fewer children has been greatly influenced by the realisation that during this era of higher living costs, large families have become an economic liability. Other influencing factors include improved contraceptive knowledge and medical services, and the higher standards of care and education advocated and needed for the child today - all

factors which are more congruent with a European belief system.

As a result of these transformations, there is a lower degree of interaction between close kinsmen in the socialisation of the young today, although the parents are secure in the knowledge that there is always someone within walking or calling distance to whom they may turn for help or advice with their parenting duties.

Today therefore, there has been a tendency for child-rearing in Hicks Bay to become a more private matter of varying family tradition, based especially on parental choices rather than a publicly uniform tradition.

Practices Among Migrant Hicks Bay Families:

The majority of established emigrant families today, consist of a small elementary household, usually occupying rental housing, with few able to purchase their own homes. Family sizes range from approximately two to eight persons.
Within this independent domestic unit, the rearing of children is carried out by the parents, and in particular, the mother. (Whereas in the community situation, the mother was not required to take sole responsibility for the care and upbringing of her children, today she is usually left in total and solitary control of them for a great deal of the time.)

During the initial stages of settlement, migrant households often include members of the extended family, and even non-kin from the home community. This often occurs when they require temporary accommodation while seeking employment in the city for the first time. Such arrangements however, usually dissolve within a few years, when these others either marry or find accommodation of their own. Such persons play an important supportive role in helping migrant couples and their families to adjust and adapt to their new environment by assisting with baby-sitting and helping to obtain tenancies.

Nearly all of Hicks Bay emigrant families made their beginning in the outside world embedded in a wider kinship network. Several related households would often cooperate regularly in activities such as

bulk-buying, child-care, outings and family festivities, while both adults and children continued to move freely between households.

Two of the older siblings of the writer, who live in the same city and whose homes are in close proximity to each other, follow a cooperative life-style similar to that described above. Both are married with small families, (one has two children, and the other - four children), and each have members of their respective husbands kin groups living nearby. As well as the help and support they give each other, they are also always guaranteed help from their spouse's relatives. It should be noted however that both of these family members have married into Polynesian families. Family life for them is characterised by close living and interaction between their two households - similar to that found in the home community.

However, other migrant families who do not have the support of a kin group when establishing themselves in their new surroundings, are faced wit the dilemma of learning a new set of attitudes and skills - many of which are alien to their mode of thought - while trying to maintain aspects of community life and culture as a means of security and stability.

Within their new environments, all migrants must learn to live entirely within that society - physically and psychologically - dealing continually with strangers, whose standards must in many cases, be taken as models for adjusting to the new social structure. Often large sections of the migrant mothers network of previously learned relationships, together with their associated tasks, are destroyed and never wholly renewed. A woman in this situation must learn to adjust, and it may be predicted that her adjustment and subsequent general efficiency will depend on various factors. These will include the acquisition of various new membership positions in the community, the development of new friendships, and the addition of new tasks. In acquiring these, she will undoubtedly undergo periods of individual stress and frustration, affecting her relationship with the children and the domestic family unit generally. Sinclair (1962)[3], said that the problem of altering ones value system is productive of psychological tension and bewilderment - a permanent factor in the production of psychological disorder.

To help overcome these stresses and strains, attachment to the home community and close kin outside of the community, is strengthened by visits, and moreover, regular contact through telephone calls and letters. Visits back to homefolk in Hicks Bay in particular, provide migrants with a reintegrative experience of being in familiar surroundings with familiar kinsfolk.

Within the writer's immediate family, eight out of nine siblings are ar present living in communities outside Hicks Bay, and of these, seven are raising young families. The remaining sibling who is unmarried, plus one surviving parent, still occupy the family home in Hicks Bay, and it is these two members in particular, who motivate the others to go home, and who provide the most important link with the community. Because of the considerable organisation and finance involved in home visits, these are usually limited to one or two per year. They are often planned to coincide with other family members travelling plans, firstly, because it is customary for one not to go back alone for a family gathering, and secondly, so that expenses and transport facilities may be shared. News of illness and death however, take close kin home immediately, and again, the cooperation and sharing between siblings and other close kinsmen operates.

The departure of many families from Hicks Bay has not however, diminished the close kinship relationships and responsibilities they have for each other and the community. A decrease in the frequency of visits or their cessation, does not necessarily mean a decrease in personal contact or the weakening of ties with the community. As Firth said (1964)[4], one cannot successfully measure the strength of the links between kin, by the relative frequency with which one follows a certain obligation. The link is just as definite, but may differ in the type of action that it produces.

It is postulated here that links with the community and the feelings of close kinship or 'Hicks Bay-tanga', are very strong in those members who were raised in the community and who can therefore identify with it. These feelings of affiliation will probably always be retained. This would therefore apply to the migrants of the writers generation, who have all spent their childhood and youth in Hicks Bay.

The decision of this group to socialise their young children in the values and beliefs of the home community is however, a personal one, tempered by several factors which must be faced in the migrant situation.

For many of the children of Hicks Bay's migrant families, the sense of community identity and attachment is non-existent, particularly for those who have spent their entire lives in the city. These children have not had the same experiences, as their parents nor do they hold the same values, and depending on the latters aspirations for their children, may or may not be spoken to in the Maori language.

In an effort to help them to retain links with Hicks Bay, children of migrant families are sent back to the community as kin, from whom they are able to learn about their roots and to gain an insight into their heritage. The parents are also happy in the knowledge that they are being remembered by the people in the Hicks Bay community, through their child's physical presence there.

In summarising then, migration and urbanisation have less destroyed the fabric of family relations than increased the choice of behaviour and the number of relationships which are possible. It does however, raise such problems as the connections of kinship structure with other structures within the community, qualitative changes in the kinship network, the effects of the changes on the problem of individual choice, and the cost which this individual choice entails. It has also helped to break down cultural isolation and to modify traditionalism for both emigrants and also returning migrants (temporary and permanent), who bring back to the home community new ideas and interests.

CONCLUSION:

Family life, especially child-rearing, and it's part in the social and economic changes taking place in the Hicks Bay community, has been the central theme of this study; viewed not only from the point of view of those living in the community, but also from that of members who have emigrated. It has endeavoured to relate the consequences of changes in socialisation to the general pattern of change evident in Hicks Bay at the moment.
In drawing the threads together, we will consider some of the implications of these changes for the future of Hicks Bay as a kinship community, and the future of it's members.

The existence of a distinctly Maori pattern of child-rearing (more apparent in Hicks Bay during former times), was first demonstrated by Earnest and Pearl Beaglehole in their study of a North Island community titled 'Some Modern Maoris.' James and Jane Ritchie later published a series of studies of another more remote and isolated community which they called Rakau. The latter study showed how changes had occurred in the Maori pattern of child-rearing, but that this did not necessarily mean that they became less Maori.
Similarly, this brief study has attempted to show that although change has brought some transformations in child-rearing, these have not greatly altered the values and attitudes of the present, or of former generations of Hicks Bay members.

We have seen that small communities such as Hicks Bay, have organisation, codes and values (which are felt by them to be very important), to which they are conditioned in childhood, and these basic values continue to be preserved and used by such communities as long as there are people living in them. In the light of the discussion in part two of this study then, it may be argued that the future generations of Hicks Bay members, especially those being raised in migrant situations, will not be conditioned to the same value system as their forebears, nor will they utilise the same patterns of child-rearing. They will be faced with the choice of either standing alone for good or ill, or of rediscovering the meaning of being part of their tradition, to take the opportunities for their personal growth which the home community offers them, and yet to keep themselves part of the wider New Zealand

society: part of the part, while part of the whole. This study suggests that such choices are becoming increasingly important, as change becomes more a matter of personal rather than social organisation. Individuals can now decide to extend their material property however they please, and to abandon their Maori identity and build up their esteem (both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others) in terms of their personal achievements.

Malinowski pointed out the way in which values are important for the exercise of choice among alternatives to action, and how they provide the force and integration for action. (1947, pp127-131). As Clyde Kluckhohn has said, 'values are ideas formulating action commitments (1956, p396). Hence they tend to have an obligatory character - an element of 'ought' as well as 'want'. Thus for some migrant members, it is this feeling of obligation and responsibility which takes them back to Hicks Bay: an obligation to ones family, e.g. to care for the elderly or ones land interests, or more importantly, an obligation to the community; to share in it's functions and actions. It is postulated here that, of these returning migrants, a small minority will have leadership qualities and ability which they may or may not wish to use within the social structure of the community. Inevitably, they will also introduce new ideas and attitudes which may be rejected or accepted by the residents. Because it is a tradition, the people continue to think in community terms, and the acceptance of any new ideas and decisions put forward by these individuals will depend on various factors. These include the ability to maintain ones self esteem in regard to the community, earning the status and respect of the people when the time is right and not by individual search and display. To be able to accept community scrutiny of one's actions and the comment of others upon them.

It is anthropological dogma that any social institution has an implicit charter, some justification of it's function and social purpose. This charter is a statement, however vague and unrealised, of what the system is supposed to do. Such charters limit the extent of a rebellious individual's disruptions by forbidding each person to do what suits himself.
The importance of these factors in the continuity of Hicks Bay as a kinship community is prevalent. Hicks Bay is still an important

identification group for it's members - migrant and home. It is the place where land is held, where ones primary emotional attachments are focused; where one feels secure at times of crisis and happy at times of rejoicing. It has its uniqueness, its own history, its special future; but it also shares cultural features of most other similar communities. It's future is inextricably entwined with the links which migrant members keep with the community, and resocialisation of migrant children into the community. The central theme of the community is that children will learn best by participation rather than by instruction. Through these links, the community will be better able to merge with the greater New Zealand society, which is itself responding to the influence of the wide varieties of change.

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