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Practising *Tamariki Āngai*:
Mangaia's Informal Island Adoption

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Abstract

This interdisciplinary ethnography seeks to make a contribution to the practice of a centuries-old social custom, 'tamariki 'āngai' or 'informal island adoption,' as practised by the Mangaian Cook Islanders. Tamariki 'āngai refers to both the tradition of nurturing or 'feeding' children and the fostered children themselves.

During preliminary observations and inquiry among my neighbours in Mangaia for several years, I discovered that their custom is widely practised in a variety of forms of social replacement that have many incentives and dilemmas. Herein I document what the tradition represents to the Mangaian people, what the protocol is in the custom and how it has evolved over time, and how the practice and the effects of the practice are managed by the people living in Mangaia and Aotearoa. Mangaian identity begins at birth and is associated with a connection through family to the land. The practice of tamariki 'āngai alters this 'umbilical' and all-important blood relationship, and while it is intended to strengthen relationships with extended family members, customary adoption compromises the eligibility of the 'feeding child' to acquire the birth right endowment of land that reaffirms a Mangaian's identity as being Mangaian.

The literary context of my thesis is formed from early documentation by the colonising missionaries, court records, archived correspondence and news articles. Colonialism imposed alien concepts of record-keeping that were confusing for the Mangaians and had unforeseen consequences. The distinctions between registering births and registering adoptions were not understood by the people. Now the inaccuracies caused by this confusion are used against the tamariki 'āngai by their families to dissociate these 'feeding children' from their birth right land and thus, their identity.

This study also examines the effects on the practice from the cultural bifurcation arising from the diaspora on the practice and the people 'back home' and in Aotearoa. Interviews with thirty-two informants provide rich descriptions that highlight agency and the management of contingencies, the tenacity of relationships and the search for identity. The voices and experiences of my sample population and early literary contributions attest to the durability of the practice and the Mangaian people. I seek to provide a relational analysis of the themes and patterns in the practice that convey individual and societal values that the families may want to consider as they shape their tradition in future generations. I hope to make a contribution that assists people to choose how to manage the practice to meet their contemporary goals.
Acknowledgements

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Preface

I first learned about Mangaia's adoption practice in 2003 when I visited the island as a tourist. Although Mangaia appears to be a relatively undeveloped island, it is home to a rich and socially complex society. After being told by a Mangaian about their adoption practice and its prevalence, my first impression was that I wanted to know more for several reasons. My initial inquiry was a natural extension of my own background of being raised by a birth parent that was fostered by relatives in the United States. Secondly, my Masters studies emphasised child welfare and fosterage. Lastly, as an adoption social worker, I was interested in the mechanics and outcome of Mangaia's customary adoption that I eventually learned had not been documented since the mid 1940s. My husband and I felt drawn to both the island and the people.

After shifting to Mangaia later in 2003 and during our daily activities, I had close informal contact with the people. I began observing the 'feeding' practice in action over my hedge, across the road and throughout the island, where I saw a disproportionate number of old and young people and learned that Mangaia's population has decreased considerably due to outmigration for employment opportunities. I was told that the children are left behind as tamariki 'āngai 'feeding children' to be raised by their older kin. The Mangaian people spoke to me about their experiences knowing my background and interest, and knowing my plans to document their tradition that I stumbled upon.

It is difficult to describe in a few pages the people who claim their culture has been developing over 600 years, longer than many western cultures as we now know them. Although the people tend to be very social, their perceptions vary individually. On Mangaia we attended events when invited and found the people to be resourceful and focused to meet the needs of their families. They were generous and helpful, industrious, and invested in their ecumenical activities. The people were candid and displayed a warm sense of humour. I found the Mangiains to be shy and curious people, knowledgeable about their heritage and aware of what was happening in their environment. The adults appeared to spend their time economically in activities that they found satisfying and that had a predictable and beneficial outcome.

Fifteen months of my time spent on Mangaia was devoted to compiling a dictionary-glossary of their endangered dialect with the extensive help of eleven of our neighbours and my husband. Occasionally I tutored one child in my village. These activities were done voluntarily and without external funding for us or the Mangiains. In 2006, I began my study on the University of Otago's Dunedin campus.
Throughout this research, my approach as an outsider to the Mangaian culture has been to objectively document the beliefs and experiences of thirty-two informants, emphasising the continuum of 'voices' and perspectives regarding their practice which the people also refer to as 'feeding children.' I have sought to learn and convey the indigenous epistemology that creates the reality and world wherein this Mangaian tradition operates. The Mangaian people define their practice and how it is managed. The claims that I have made in this thesis about Mangaia's aggregate of adoption practices and various issues related to the custom are derived from literature, and interviews with Mangaian people conducted in Aotearoa and through subsequent telephone calls. These sources of information are supported by my observations during my residence on Mangaia.

My concern in this study is the political nature of the topic—how to honour and objectively present the many perspectives of my 'alumni' informants and protect confidentialities without either denigrating the history and its realities, or recruiting for the practice in the future. On its own merit, the current practice of tamariki āngai continues to benefit the Mangaian communities. This is how it was and 'how it is' according to what I have learned from my informants and my observations. 'How it is' appears to have evolved; however, it remains more or less hidden from forthright community discussion. An examination of the practice provides insight and learning about the reasons for changes from the past practices. Acknowledging the challenging histories of the individuals involved from the way the adoption contingencies were managed historically may influence how the practice is managed today and thus, tomorrow. I base this claim on the considerable feedback I received that a renaissance of cultural accountability may benefit the current and future generations of tamariki āngai. My informants anticipate that the current problems they describe could worsen unless the practitioners rethink how their entitlement system is managed within the families. There is tension in Mangaian communities from the dissonance between the inseparably linked cultural and sociological processes in Mangaia's ecological levels, and from how families choose to manage birth right eligibilities for those children who are informally adopted.

In Mangaia dialect, the term kōmotu a'i means an ember-stick that is used to ignite a fire. It was the case until technology added new opportunity to conserve their efforts, that neighbours would acquire their embers from a shared fire to generate their own flame. My hope is that this study will become a figurative kōmotu a'i to increase awareness and discussions within the Mangaian communities about the different roles people have in managing a successful outcome for their tamariki āngai, their families, and thus, their communities in this ever-changing world.
This work is dedicated to the Mangaian tamariki ‘āngai.
Map 2 Mangaia's tribal districts

(Goldman, 1970, p. 75)

Map 3 Mangaia's settlement patterns

(Kirch, 2006, p. 254)
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Chapter 1 Scene-setting

It is the anthropologist's task precisely to demystify: to show how customs make sense, that they are reasonable or logical once we understand the set of cultural meanings in which they are embedded.

R. A. Barrett

Introduction

Mangaian informal adoption has an extensive scope. Everyone I spoke to after I shifted there had experience with the practice, either being raised themselves by relatives other than their birth parents or raised alongside tamariki 'āngai, their term for adoptive or 'feeding children,' from another household or households, by having their siblings reared in other households, by raising children born to other parents or their parents had experienced adoption. It would be an anomaly if Mangaians 'back home' did not fit into one or several of these categories when I lived there. My questions expanded as it became clear how the custom entwines with other components of Mangaian culture, each influencing and being influenced by the other. Over time and through relationship-building, candid responses to my inquiries revealed widely differing outcomes for the practice, ranging from very positive reports to equally painful experiences. I wanted to know more about this tradition that occurs in a society whose members consider themselves to be extremely independent.

The most obvious demographic indicator is that the island has a high representation of old and young Mangaians.¹ As many middle-aged parents out-migrate for employment, I wanted to know how the people manage difficulties in the current situation with what appears on the surface to be a custom that has loose controls. This significant phenomenon posed an intellectual problem for me because of my interest in adoption, but also because the practice represents some social problems for the people that warrant their examination. What does the custom of tamariki 'āngai mean and what are the attitudes of the people about this tradition? The Mangaians were surprised at my interest in their cultural norm.

Houston Wood's (2006) 'practice focus' correlates with traditional practices that has taken on a new meaning in the modern period of migration and the diaspora. The four parts of this introductory chapter set the scene for the study of customary adoption by looking at Mangaia's history in its context, its traditional institutions, the values that may be seen to influence the tradition more specifically, and finally, contemporary issues, notably those relevant to the tamariki 'āngai situation.
Setting the research scene

The following eight chapters explore and describe tamariki 'āngai, a parenting practice in the Mangaian culture. Although the people translate their custom as "informal island adoption," the prevalence alone of this parenting phenomenon indicates there is something more complex than "informal" and "adoption" suggest. I seek the mechanics and influence of this ancient tradition. How do the Mangaian people make their tradition work for them and against them to increase and limit agency in their environment. I base my findings on conversations and interviews with thirty-two Mangaian informants and four community forum. In this way I bring a muted topic into the public arena to strengthen families that practise this extensive and valuable tradition 'back home' and in the diaspora.

My ethnographic research begins with a foundation of how the evolving practices of tamariki 'āngai fit in relation to Mangaia's history, cultural values, and the contemporary world in which it occurs. The tradition remains enmeshed in these components. The extensive literature reviewed in Chapter 2 bears this out. The research design and methodology in Chapter 3 documents how the information was gathered and managed. The data chapters 4, 5, and 6 rely on the voices of contemporary practitioners. Chapter 4 defines the custom and protocol which together represent different consequences for the practitioners depending upon the roles they play in the tradition. Chapter 5 describes the incentives identified by the informants and Chapter 6 examines dilemmas derived from the how the practice is implemented that are faced by members of the communities. Chapter 7's analysis highlights relationships and themes that emerge from the data. Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the information into nine characteristics of the vast practice that the people have developed and manage. Now I commence as outlined.

Mangaia: History in context

Mangaia's custom of tamariki 'āngai is based on historical traditions and/or protocol that has been influenced by developmental dynamics—the loss of population and the age structure left behind that shape the incentives and dilemmas which form and refine the indigenous hybrid of adoption. Mangaians 'back home' live close to their history. In general, according to Jon Tikivanotau Jonassen, Cook Islanders value wisdom, faith, patience, life, unity, humility, freedom and love (2003, p. 128). There is a strong "emphasis on food" which reflects the
power structure, Marjorie Crocombe explained (1983, p. 12). Mangaia's historical context contributes to their unique and independent way of life.

**Pre-European-contact settlement and order**

Although Mangaia is the "oldest island in the whole Pacific" according to Crocombe (1983, pp. 21-22), at somewhere between "17-20 million years as determined by K/Ar dating" (Stoddart et al., 1985, cited in Kirch & Ellison, 1994, p. 313), human settlement began relatively recently. Patrick Kirch and Joanna Ellison reported that radiocarbon dates show human presence on Mangaia 2500 BP (1994, p. 319), although Athol Anderson (1994) refuted their claim that humans were fully settled in Mangaia at this time. Pre-Christian Mangaian believed that Auau, Mangaia's early name, was first settled when three brothers ascended from a chasm "known as Tiki's hole (Te rua ia Tiki) [which] constituted the regular road to Avaiki" (Gill, 1876b, p. 18). Reverend William Wyatt Gill recorded the belief that Mangaia and the people came up from "Avaiki, or the nether world" to the east and he explained that "[i]n Polynesia, to sail west is to go down; to sail east is to go up [or] to climb up" as with the sun (Gill, 1876a, p. 25). Gill calculated that Mangaian began arriving from Rarotonga around the early 1400s, some 400 years before the missionary colonisers. The Mangaian were polytheistic and already familiar with the Tahitian language when the missionaries arrived (see Appendix 12).

Mangaia is a Polynesian culture and, at a high level of abstraction based on E. G. Burrows' 1938 work, Irving Goldman categorised Mangaia with the "Open" societies—those societies having transitional conditions in status rivalry and being in the transitional phase of Polynesian evolutionary cultural developments "similar in character and intensity of the conflict for position and power" to Tahiti and Hawaii (1955, p. 681). Goldman (1970) described Mangaia as more of an open society than Rarotonga when he builds a Polynesian historical context for Mangaia's contemporary attitudes in a variety of developments. Michael Reilly cautioned that overviews "risk generalisation and perhaps simplification" (M. Reilly, personal communication, 17 November 2008).

With Reilly's caveat in mind, Goldman's literature describes the open societies according to authority, property, kinship, status position of women, sexual practices, infanticide, warfare, priesthood, deities, afterlife, sorcery and omens (1955, pp. 689-694). Goldman stated that Mangaia evolved to have territorial leadership of chiefs, subchiefs, and priestly advisors exerting increasing force over captives and aliens (1955). Mangaia considered religion an "official arm of the government" and "priests who sought political advantage for themselves
lost their religious immunities" (Goldman, 1955, p. 690). "Tapu became a political instrument" with Mangaia having religious and "penal sanctions" to enforce tapu according to their rules (Goldman, 1955, p. 690). The leaders' "[a]ttitude toward human life became more callous" with human sacrifice introduced as a form of "[f]irst-fruit" taxation for Mangaia's new regimes in ceremonies involving symbolic token offerings (Goldman, 1955, pp. 690-691).

Again, the reader should consider Reilly's caveat when reading Goldman's description of Polynesian open societies: "[L]ower orders came to bear the brunt of food shortages" and that "[t]he strong took a larger share but accepted responsibility for their followers" (1955, p. 691). Mangaia's "distribution of wealth" unevenly favoured "the chiefs or warriors," Goldman argued (1955, p. 691). "Property attitudes became more predatory ... mainly at the expense of aliens[, and t]hey indulged in rivalrous ostentatious property displays" (Goldman, 1955, p. 691). While their tenure system became more fluid with the "[c]onquest and the absorption of captives," Goldman advocated that Mangaia's kinship bonds were weakened from "wars and the internal struggle for power [that] realigned kin and provoked intense intrakin conflict" (1955, pp. 691-692).

In Goldman's generalisation of Polynesian open societies, marriage alliances were increasingly motivated by politics and status (1955, p. 692). Women had minor tapu restrictions and received additional political rights since primogeniture, rather than gender, secured rights to succession, according to Goldman (1955, p. 692). There was "considerable premarital sexual freedom" for all but the "high-borne women" who were held to "premarital chastity," Goldman stated; patterns of infanticide existed and mourning practices turned masochistic (1955, p. 692). Wars, Goldman argued, became "more prominent" and brutal with predatory motives and "unusual acts of ferocity against enemies" and the chiefs and warriors were "the main beneficiaries of military success" (1955, p. 693). "The priesthood became more political" and elaborate with increased ceremony while "[r]itual became confined to rules and to the upper ranks," Goldman asserted (1955, p. 693). The people became more stratified as their threatening clan-gods "inspired terror by their demands for human offerings" (Goldman, 1955, p. 693). The concept of an "afterlife" developed to include good and bad outcomes, with brave warriors earning a better status following death, Goldman alleged (1955, pp. 693-694). Threats of sorcery worsened for Mangaian and omens increased, Goldman posited, and supernatural illness punished the social delinquents or religious offenders (1955, p. 694).

Dan Sperber (1996) explained that adaptations are environmentally motivated. Mangaiaans developed their own hybrid culture by replicating and adapting what they saw other societies
do. Goldman categorised Mangaia with similar Polynesian nations in terms of development, and described that their society evolved to have stronger political controls, more exploitative relationships, more violence, more conflict, and greater general insecurity (1955, p. 694). As emphasised, such overviews have some value, however, should not obscure the detail of specific development (M. Reilly, personal communication, 17 November 2008). Mangaia's early stratification system was based on merit for the privilege of Mangaia's supreme leadership; whereas heredity mattered in aspiring to the priesthoods, Marshall Sahlins argued (1958).

Mereana Taikoko, Marjorie Crocombe and Va'ine Ko'ai wrote that until the early 1800s, Mangaia had no central government and separate clans fought over scarce land and fresh water resources (2003, pp. 151-152). According to Marshall Sahlins, nearly a decade prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the two dominant warring leaders centralised their roles and "divided the island into six districts" (puna 'swamp') to govern (1958, p. 174). The lineage-based sacred leaders also merged their roles, and still functioned in those capacities when the London Missionary Society (LMS) arrived in the 1820s (Sahlins, 1958, p. 174). Sahlins suggested that these radical political changes may have been influenced by European contacts of whaler-captains who landed around the turn of the 19th century and again in 1814 (1958, p. 174). Whatever caused these abrupt changes, the last Mangaian slain and offered to Rongo occurred only weeks in advance of the first missionaries in 1823 (Hiroa, 1934, p. 83; Sahlins, 1958, pp. 174-175).

Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) explained that, in Mangaia, "[t]he final acceptance of Christianity by ending war also destroyed the technique by which changes of government could be effected [and] confirmed for all time" that existing traditional offices would remain in the ruling families because "no technique remained" to unseat the office-holding families of their authority (Hiroa, 1993, p. 28). The "tutae-auri," those who held out against Christianity, did so hoping to overthrow the rulers and thereby attempt to retrieve political and economic security and advantage lost along with their traditional gods, all of which was difficult for some to abandon (P. Aratangi, 1988, cited in Hiroa, 1993, p. 53). Mangaia's final battle was fought in February 1828 (Gill, 1880a, p. 226), four years following the arrival of missionary colonisers. Thus, in this case, the dynamic structures became static.

Post-contact politics

Rohan Bastin and Barry Morris stated that "[n]o scientific or intellectual discipline is separable from the political and economic context to which it gives rise and to which it
ultimately refers" (2004, p. 3), which supports the argument by Linda Tuhiwai Smith that "[i]mperialism frames the indigenous experience" (1999, p. 19). Jeannette Mageo posited that "colonial circumstances ... which complicate people's sense of self ... are likely to compromise their cultural identities" (2001, p. 4). Discussing the combination of colonialism and Mangaia's response to it is an important part of setting the scene for this research because the outcome influences the traditional and contemporary political context and the practice of tamariki ‘āngai. In 1888, the Cook Islands territory became a British Protectorate, and in 1901 it was annexed by New Zealand. Mangaians objected to the appointment of a resident agent imposed on them to replace their traditional leadership and this fostered a legacy of mutual enmity between Rarotonga's central government and Mangaia's traditional government that continues to the present.

The Mangaian saw themselves as subject to Mangaian laws wherever they reside:

[O]nly last year, a crowd of 250 Mangaian's came on a visit from their island (120 miles distant) to the people of Rarotonga. While in Rarotonga the Mangaian Judge, who was one of the visitors, held court and fined Mangaian long resident in Rarotonga, for offences of drinking, concubinage, &c., and took the fines with him for division among the police and judges of Mangaia.

Colonel W. E. Gudgeon who served as the British resident in the Cook Islands during 1898-1900 and resident commissioner between 1901-09, compared Mangaia to the other outer islands as "the hard shell to crack," according to Dick Scott (1991, p. 78). Mangaian objected to both Gudgeon's interference and that of Captain J. T. Large, the agent Gudgeon transferred to Mangaia from Aitutaki who was "formerly an experienced magistrate in New Zealand Maori districts" (Scott, 1991, p. 108). Large reported back to Gudgeon Mangaia's response to unwanted overseers (Scott, 1991, p. 108): 'New Zealand had been conquered by the European, but Mangaia had only been conquered by the religion of Christ, and therefore they should conduct their own affairs.' This response merited Mangaia monetary punishment and imposed "papaā [European] rule" (Scott, 1991, p. 108). Scott alleged that Mangaia's "uncompromising independence" contributed to its "legacy of neglect" (1991, p. 270).

During World War I, New Zealand's Parliament ratified the 1915 Cook Islands Act which unified the fifteen culturally different islands for administrative purposes. When Britain entered World War I, so did the Cook Islands, including Mangaia whose wartime allegiance was unquestioned. Mangaian sacrificed funds and people to the war; a memorial in Oneroa commemorates those who valiantly fought and died in this effort. Following Armistice Day in
1919 when there was the potential for mending previous political rifts, Mangaia's returning veterans met with a series of disappointing developments:

The men had been required to hand in greatcoats but were told they could keep their uniforms. They found their last pay docked to meet their cost. Those who objected had the deduction returned, the meek were short-paid. Events were to show a lesson was seen in that. And then those who believed that enlistment had solved their financial problems found that all their debts were intact and waiting for them. Only unpaid fines had been cancelled by the government. (Scott, 1991, p. 144)

In addition, Mangaia's veterans could not get closer to home than Rarotonga, because the "Union Steamship company refused to transport them [to Mangaia] without an assurance of a profitable return voyage; it was six weeks after landing" that the men finally made it back to Mangaia, but only after "mounting a ten-day campaign to lower prices in the stores" (Scott, 1991, p. 148).

It is understandable that Scott remarked (1991, p. 144), "Mangaia was one island with few illusions about what the postwar world would deliver," especially after the Rarotongan transport balked at delivering Mangaia's soldiers:

[O]ne of two howitzers presented by the New Zealand administration as mementoes of war was shipped [to Mangaia and] the people refused to unload it unless they were paid full surf landing rates. An island that had repelled all landings, whether by Atiu warriors, explorer Cook or the missionary John Williams, felt no need for papā battle relics to confirm its fighting spirit. The gun was returned to join its partner in Rarotonga.

Mangaian, however, are selective in their resistance to outside contact. One Rockefeller Foundation-funded public health project on Rarotonga finished ahead of schedule in 1932, with help from the Mangaians:

Even Mangaians, it was noted, gave "willing co-operation" in contrast with their "general attitude towards Government help." Until this campaign, an average of thirty cases of typhoid were admitted to hospital on Rarotonga each year and it was only good fortune that outbreaks on Mangaia and Atiu were contained without heavy loss of life. (Scott, 1991, p. 203)

In my personal experience, Mangaians tend to be industrious and committed workers when they have a guaranteed outcome that they trust. They are generous with their time and effort toward programmes that they support, such as the war effort during World War II. It was reported that without "persuasion or obligation," the Mangaians spontaneously contributed a thousand boxes of oranges valued at £225 for the World War II war effort. The previous year, Mangaians collected £180 from "dances, concerts and voluntary subscriptions" which they
contributed to the same Patriotic Fund.² At the time, according to the news article, "[t]he average annual income of a Mangaian family man [w]as about £12 to £15."²

Mangaia's tenuous history with imposed resident agents has some positive outcomes for its infra-structure: Resident agent W. H. Ryan, a New Zealand WWII enlistee veteran was "[o]ne resident agent who succeeded in winning Mangaian co-operation" while serving in the late 1940s until his transfer in October 1950 (Scott, 1991, pp. 271-272). An engineering student prior to the war, Ryan was instrumental in tapping into "government largesses" to benefit Mangaia's infra-structure (Scott, 1991, pp. 271-273), but not without frustration. In one report, Ryan described the Aronga Mana, Mangaia's traditional authority, as follows:

This extraordinary body of men continue to be the bone of contention on the island. It consists today of 2 Arikis and 6 Kavanaghs. It appears that they have the same strange ideas that the early Stuart kings of England had that they rule by divine right and they cannot be wrong. They are a grasping, lying group and they do not care one little bit for the people of the island as long as they get looked after. It is their policy to oppose the government and administration in everything.... (Scott, 1991, p. 273)

'All Mangaians are the same height,' a Mangaian saying, reflects the 'balance between their value for humility and sense of individual worth that they extended to resident agents which served as a "leveling sentiment" for those agents in what amounted to Mangaia's administrative struggle for power and mana (power, status, influence) over the agents' sense of Britain's 'divine right' (Scott, 1991, p. 271).³ Recall that Goldman described M aangaian distaste for self-aggrandisement in early Mangaia, when religion became an arm of the government and priests who aspired to political advantage for themselves forfeited their "religious immunities" (1955, p. 690).

Mangaia's history of pre- and post-colonial treachery and tensions over domination extend to contemporary issues that directly relate to Mangaia's customary practice of tamariki 'āngai, especially regarding land inheritance. Resident agents such as Moss kept records that highlight cultural practices during their tenure (1894). In 1945, Agent Hugh Hickling, described Mangaian statistics, naming practices, reasons for adoption, and various protocol (pp. 83-86).⁴ Very importantly, Hickling (1945) documented early birth registration practices that were mistaken by the Mangaians to be adoption registration, which apparently Hickling did not rectify because this technicality exacerbates problems today for tamariki 'āngai claiming inheritance rights to land 'back home.' Agent-colonisers imposed foreign language, laws and administrative protocol that undermined Mangaia's customary traditions and protocol. This generated mistrust toward the alien authorities and internally, as Mangaians began using the new laws punitively against their own.
Independence

The Cook Islands became self-governing on 4 August 1965 with Mangaia having three Parliamentary representatives. In the 1970s, the LMS became the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC), the State religion. Today, Mangaia has three leadership sources: its traditional lineage-based leaders, the CICC and elected local government officials. My research shows that tamariki 'āngai's disenfranchisement regarding actually accessing land inheritance continues to concern and have an impact on Mangaians in general because available land 'back home' is diminished by any claims. Since the early 20th century, one strategy to avert contention regarding adoption inheritance involves 'rētita' formal adoption through Land Court conducted in Rarotonga.

Economy

Mangaian life changed in the early 1970s with the advent of electricity and the telephone. In 1971, air service expanded to Aotearoa and started an exodus from Mangaia for employment opportunities to earn superannuation. This tide of workers fluctuates depending on economic conditions abroad and opportunities on Mangaia. Many emigrants intend to return to Mangaia, build a home and retire on family land, unless medical needs outweigh the island's resources (as with Mangaia's ariki 'monarch' who resides in Auckland). Air Rarotonga's flight service to Mangaia four days a week (or more frequently as needed) supplements a cargo boat based in Rarotonga that serves the outer islands on a sporadic basis.

Since 1978, Mangaian families receive a fortnightly government stipend to support children including tamariki 'āngai up to age ten which increased to age twelve in 2006 (Kurai-Marrie, 2006a, Cook Islands News, p. 1). Informants remember financial hardship before the benefit began: Ora describes one year as being "very thin for us," while Tuna recalls "when the hurricane comes, and say, in between the two years, you can hunger." Today Mangaia's disabled residents receive monthly financial assistance from the government. Eligible Mangaians beyond age 60, or their surviving spouses (Greig, 2006, Cook Islands News, p. 1), receive a monthly stipend up to $400 (Greig, 2008a, Cook Islands News, p. 1). Since 2007, newborns receive a birth benefit of $300 (Kurai-Wragg, 2008b, Cook Islands News, p. 1).

On Mangaia, people earn income from government jobs and teaching, sales in small shops and at a weekly market, and from tourism. In December 2005 only one percent of Mangaia's wage earners were privately employed and the balance of the work force was government workers (Woods, 2005, Cook Islands News, p. 1). Expatriates provide remittances for family
remaining on Mangaia, maintaining ties that stimulate reciprocity as islanders and goods flow in both directions.

People work hard on their inland plantations as Mangaia’s latitude is in cooler water than the other Cook Islands, requiring more effort to subsist on sub-tropical farming. Previously, the island exported oranges and pineapples. More recently the emphasis was on *nono* until the Asian market flooded the international market with cheaper products (Kurai-Marrie, 2005, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Mangaian taro is considered superior, but export is limited by logistics and competition with larger operations abroad. In the early 1990s, 900 hectares of hilly slopes were planted with pine to check erosion and leaching; however, the cost of harvesting, treating and shipping mature timber exceeds projected returns (Woods, 2005, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Now pine needles reduce soil fertility. Tourism in this off-the-beaten-track destination adds somewhat to the island’s economy; however, Mangaian people have mixed feelings about tourism and development.


Unfortunately, occasional foreign sponsored investment schemes tend to evaporate after several years; the positive outcome of this is that the 'spoils' go to the islanders.

In three decades, Mangaia and the Cook Islands have gone from the advent of electricity to telephones and computers that make it easier for separated families to reinforce their ties. In May 2004 Telecom Cook Islands (TCI) cut their rates by 50 percent to make communication more affordable "for those many families who have close relatives living in two or more islands" and to protect their monopoly status (TCI, 2004, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Later, in a second such reduction, TCI capped out-going phone call tariffs to five countries including Aotearoa (Woods, 2006c, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Before the 1970s, Mangaian families with members living abroad could only write letters (Vakevake) or rely on the 'coconut wireless.' Early in the new millennium, Internet service arrived that was expensive, slow and unpredictable. In March 2007, Telecom reduced its monthly Internet fees by 30 percent and doubled the service speed for residential customers, and introduced higher speed broadband for businesses (Woods, 2007, *Cook Islands News*, p.1).
In many ways, the contrasts between maintaining traditional practices and accessing technology are striking. Tarofan compares how technology influences leisure today as compared to Mangaian household activities 30 years ago:

Our time during the tamariki āngai, there's no TV, no computer, so we have time to spend with our friends during the evening time, to play around and do such activities. Not at this time. You can't see even children on the road playing like marbles ... tamariki today is when they finish, the thing on their mind is when they finish their work ... or after study, turn on the TV or the games, PlayStation....

Demography

Raymond Firth explained that "[s]ome attention to demography should be the concern of every social anthropologist" because population density relative to the size of territory influences the character of social institutions within a territory more "than is usually recognized" (1957, pp. 597-578). Population records for Mangaia (52 square kilometres) compiled during this research show the general decline of Mangaia's population since the missionaries arrived.

Table 1.1 Mangaia population 1826 - 2007

![Mangaia Population Graph](image-url)
1826-1827: estimated 3000 (Syed & Mataio, 1993, p. 34)

1845: 3567 (W. W. Gill, 1880b, p. 170)

1872: 2266 (W. W. Gill, 1876a, p. 106)

1881: 2000 (Syed & Mataio, 1993, p. 34)

1891: 1860 (Buck, 1934, cited in Beaglehole, 1957, p. 57)

1902: 1541 (Syed & Mataio, 1993, p. 34)

1907: 1531 (The Cyclopedia of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands, 1983, p. 3)

1921: 1230 (Hiroa, 1934, p. 6)

1926: 1241 (Hiroa, 1934, p. 6)


1948: 1871 (Freeman, 1951, p. 418)

1965: 1270 (Syed & Mataio, 1993, p. 21)

1966: 2002 (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 16)

1968: 1270 (Syed & Mataio, 1993, p. 12)

1971: 2080 (Shibata, 1988, p. 306)

1975: 2016 (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 16)

1976: 1530 (Carter, 1979, p. 13)

1981: 1364 (Shibata, 1988, p. 306)


2007: 619 (P. Arokapiti, personal communication, 1 November 2007)
The population of this small island is "subject to large chance fluctuations" (Barker, 1994, p. 74) that may reflect inaccurate estimates, warfare, disease from outside contact, and migrations either direction due to employment or Aotearoa and Rarotongan economic difficulties. Hiroa attributed the reduction in Mangaia's population between the 1820s and 1920s to outmigration for employment, and endemic and introduced diseases (1934, p. 6). Scott explained part of the census drop in 1872 occurred after a ban on emigration lifted and 150 young men left for Rarotonga (1991, p. 15).

Mangaia appears to be part of the nationwide exodus for employment, although in 2006 the Cook Islands' Ministry of Finance and Economic Management reported correcting an error in calculations that reversed the nationwide trend at least temporarily between 2001 and 2005 (Woods, 2006a, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). In response to the adjusted census estimates, Cook Islands financial secretary Kevin Carr stated: "It would therefore appear that the best thing the government can do to encourage more people to stay in or return to the Cook Islands is to enable greater economic development opportunities through sustainable economic development" (Woods, 2006a, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1).

During 2006, Mangaia recorded the birth of four boys and five girls, while it celebrated three local marriages and buried five residents (Greig, 2007, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1); even so, Mangaia's population continues to dwindle by outmigration. Unfortunately, Mr Carr's national reverse-trend appears short-lived, because in 2008, Cabinet Minister Willie Rasmussen, Minister of Parliament for Tongareva, the northernmost of the Cook Islands, emphasised in the *Cook Islands News*: "It is absolutely essential that the bleeding must be stopped, otherwise people from the outer islands will continue to leave for overseas depleting our population even further" ("Govt must 'wake up' to islands' needs—Rasmussen," 2008, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1).

I. C. Campbell (1989, p. 215) discussed the diaspora population of the Cook Islands in general and noted that by the 1980s, more Cook Islanders reside in Aotearoa than in their homeland. Mangaia's population contributes to this trend, particularly those working age parents seeking employment who leave their children behind as *tamariki ʻangai*. Children born abroad and sent back home also contribute to Mangaia's population of *tamariki ʻangai*. The CICC Pastor, Pāpāmāmā Aratangi, estimated that approximately 80 percent of Mangaia's children up to age 18 in 2006 were *tamariki ʻangai* (personal communication, 7 July 2006). Mangaia's welfare officer Poroa Arokapiti stated that of Mangaia's 619 inhabitants, 181 were age 12 and under; 113 were age 60 or older, and there were approximately 100 *tamariki ʻangai* around age 20 and under (personal communication, 1 November 2007).
Mangaia’s three main villages each have pre-schools and primary schools. A bus transports students from Ivirua and Tamarua to attend higher level classes in Oneroa at Mangaia School’s campus. The University of the South Pacific provides several extension courses at Mangaia School.

This concludes the historical section of setting the scene. Now I turn to a brief overview of traditional institutions and contemporary issues that influence and relate to adoption.

**Traditional institutions**

**Traditional hierarchy**

A discussion of hierarchy is relevant to this thesis because the tradition is about altering family relationships. Mangaia retains its traditional lineage-based hierarchy, so positions may not be available to some Mangaians who are tamariki ʻāngai. The families decide if the tamaiti ʻāngai (ʻfeeding child’) will be given the position and privilege; however, there is always a family member that will agree to the responsibility.

Mangaia is divided into six puna with traditional leaders that pre-date other government positions introduced with colonisation. All of these positions are acceded to only through blood-relationships. Each puna has its traditional pava or kāvāna (chief), the highest rank on the village level and an elected government leader. Pava preside over puna meetings on the district level and oversee local decisions such as making food arrangements for tere (traveling) parties or organising pig hunts to protect the inland taro patches. The six pava serve with 39 rangatira (subchiefs) (plus one figurative wooden carving), who have as many pūi-tapere (assistant subchiefs in subdistricts). Individual families comprise the ʻetū tangata te kirikiri (small people).

The six pava plus Mangaia’s ariki (presently a queen) comprise the aronga mana o te ʻenua (traditional law-makers) founded on pre-contact socio-political structure; traditional leaders are invested and recognised, and inherit “titles, status, roles and lands”; Makiuti Tongia explained that titles do not leave the Cook Islands (2003, p. 290), although in the somewhat controversial case of Mangaia’s current ariki, the majority of the people choose to honour the title when the holder is abroad for medical care. Mangaia’s traditional leadership remains the gatekeeper to customary change or resistance to change, depending on the nature of the concern and the individual pava that comprise the Aronga Mana. However, it is subject to the CICC. Tiotio explained that the ariki who is installed by CICC leaders, oversees the Aronga Mana and embraces the evangeria (religious body) or the CICC.
The six elected *puna* representatives comprise Mangaia's Island Council, headed by a Rarotonga-government appointed Secretary (who has veto rights on certain spending), plus Mangaia's elected mayor and a member of the Aronga Mana. The Mangaia Resource Council, a newer advisory entity, includes all officers of the Island Council plus leaders of all the religious denominations, but it excludes the business community. *Tamariki āngai* are eligible for elected positions on Mangaia.

Mangaia's traditional leadership is undergoing its own changes as titles drift from title-holders living abroad. As members of the community, the leaders influence and are influenced by the practice of *tamariki āngai* as long as people are the stakeholders of heritage land. Tiotio explained about the Aronga Mana's role in title-less proprietary decisions:

> [T]he Aronga Mana make the decisions on our island ... You own your own piece of land. Every family own their piece of land on the island. That's your own. You inherit it from your forefathers.

It is Mangaia's Aronga Mana that is revered as the major change-agent in matters of tradition.7

Te Ruru A Rama explained about *tamariki āngai*, status instability and *tika'anga* 'right':

> [T]he law of our ancestor will never stable and it is never documented ... if the adopted children understand where they come from, their genealogy, how they get there, maybe some of them will be lucky enough to inherit the land. But it has to go through a long process, because the land owners or the family who own the land will always be against. But sometime I believe also that the law does not recognise the 'feeding children' on the land. They don't.

This insecurity is influencing the customary aspect of Mangaian's adoption tradition as parents seek alternative ways to protect the security of the *tamariki āngai*, especially after their *metua āngai*, or 'feeding parent' is no longer around to advocate on their behalf.

Presently there is no law to ensure verbal inheritance directives (*kōreromotu*) are honoured. Maiata states that the "*kāvana* (pava) don't know the land; they don't write down who owns this and who owns that ... I've seen a lot of wrong things happening ... if there is a contention about taro patch, if I like you, then the taro patch goes to you, and that one loses out, even if the taro patch belongs to that person. It's happening" (Maiata).

The prevalence of *tamariki āngai* is having its impact on decision-structures. Manu speaks of "old law" versus the "new law," and how the power of the Aronga Mana ("They are the law of the land.") is sadly diminishing from past infallibility, because "money has changed their attitude" and now *tamariki āngai* are positioning for power. Poro states that previously, "money was never an issue in those days; there was no money involved." Manu asserts that "the Aronga Mana during my grandfather's time, they were some of the poorest people, but I
think their payment is when they see the people happy." They enjoyed the respect of the people whom they served, according to Manu. "I want the Aronga Mana to have their *mana* back," because revitalising the role of traditional leaders will lessen the threat of Mangaia installing its own land court: "[T]here's a lot of people saying ... that they can't wait for the land court," Manu emphasises. Instead, Manu advises: "Leave the Land Court; do anything else with the government, but leave the *mana* of the land with Aronga Mana." Manu explains, "The tamariki 'āngai is going to try and do this and do that ... some tamariki 'āngai who want to get into the circle' to provide security "[m]aybe not for them, but for their children." Manu predicts that "it's the tamariki 'āngai who's going to rise against the Aronga Mana, I think, because they know, if they get the land court on Mangaia, they have a fighting chance of getting a piece of, well, of getting land as equal as the birth children." Manu adds that "they are only trying to bring it for their own benefit, no: for the benefit of the people of Mangaia."

Poro, in contrast, argues for adapting old and new ways:

[M]ake a balance to work for us these days and forget what works for the old people in the olden days, because you can't go back; you can't make anything that was in the past in the future. You have to go with the future and make it work for the people of that generation ... the Aronga Mana is sort of getting weaker and weaker. And of course, we don't want that to happen; we want the Aronga Mana to still hold the *mana* for the island, but looking at the change in this world, everything is changing; we have to make it work for us in our days. If we don't...

A *tamaiti āngai*, Manu, predicts that tensions surrounding the transference of inheritance to *tamariki āngai*, or blocking the same, are building toward soon requiring that traditional leaders confront the issues, at a time when the *mana* of the island's *traditional leaders* appears to be drifting somewhat from earlier standards.

**Spirituality, *mana* and status**

Mangaia is a spiritual island where the belief in the supernatural predates Christianity. The spiritual realm was Mangaia's early religion and supernatural beliefs were tied to various aspects of the culture that persisted with the advent of the missionaries.

We cannot ignore a family's feelings toward their link with the supernatural. Religion holds the society together. Maybe this is where the broken link is, that caused Mangaia to forget the real essence of adoption. Adoption can only rectify through the belief in the supernatural. How people think and feel, the way they are, has to do with the supernatural. (Te Ruru A Rama)
Supernatural influence continues to relate to adoption in several ways. The tradition operates in concert with other Mangaian customs that alter and compound channels of eligibility, accountability and consequences. Until the missionaries arrived, Mangaia was an oral society and some things, including birth relationships were not talked about openly; these factors plus the frequency of adoption, modify, distort and complicate kinship-reckoning.

Te Ruru A Rama tells that in the past, if a person murdered a relative unknowingly or even by accident, a blood curse would descend upon the murderer's family because "blood ties are related to the gods ... the people worshipped." Historically, the problem compounds because pre-contact Mangaians had 13 primary clan-gods (Gill, 1876b, p. 107), and newborns were dedicated to their birth father's god unless adoption altered this allegiance.

When a person was murdered, then the curse transferred to another relative (Te Ruru A Rama). Hiroa argues that the exception to this curse occurred during battle as Mangaian warfare tribal bonds superseded family ties (Hiroa, 1934). It is believed in Mangaia that many generations of Mangaians may have been wiped out due to blood curses (Te Ruru A Rama).

Another way unseen forces relate to adoption concerns eligibility and restrictions that govern exogamous incest boundaries. Mangaia's early gods disapproved of inter-tribal marriage and pre-Christian matrimonial rituals involved the community showing its support for the couple (Gill, 1894). Birth and adopted tamariki raised in the same household are not supposed to marry each other, just as metua 'ängai should not marry their 'feeding child.' Furthermore, not knowing your 'akapapa'anga (genealogy), complicates finding an appropriate life-partner. "It is the duty of parents to teach their growing children whom they may lawfully marry, the choice being extremely limited" (Gill, 1979, p. 5). The same dilemma occurs abroad today. In Aotearoa, some Mangaians meet and unknowingly fall in love with relatives (Angelia). At the 'uipa'anga I inquired of participants about rules for reckoning kin relationships that are permitted to marry, but the responses were sketchy other than an individual should not marry a relation. (See Appendix 20 for family relationship chart.)

Mangaian concerns about supernatural sanctions relating to adoption also manifest in tu'a tamariki (the conceptual division of children between maternal and paternal sides of families) which is linked to naming, entitlement and obligation. These cultural components are addressed in this chapter under separate sub-sections, but are included here because of the cause-effect link between sorcery and tragedy befalling families negotiating 'ängai arrangements. Reportedly, if an eligible individual asks to adopt a tamaiti or tamā'ine 'ängai (female 'feeding child') and the metua ō ānau (birth parents) declines the request, concerns develop that the child will become unwell from maki tūpōpaku (ghost sickness), if the requester utilises sorcery to punish the birth parents for their decision to withhold the
requested child. In the case of maki tiipōpaku, the tamaiti's health may be restored by the birth parent acquiescing to the wishes of the eligible, but offended relative. The same applies for naming an infant inappropriately, in that renaming to one deemed more eligible may restore the child's health. "In heathen times, no one was supposed to die a natural death ... [perhaps from a] breach of idol-etiquette, or the shedding ... of related blood ... [or] on account of the sins of parents or uncles" (Gill, 1876a, p. 70). Exceptional occurrences were and are attributed to unseen influences.

Although the power of God supercedes the force of mana for many Mangaians, mana is still considered to be very powerful (Manu) and generally remains important. The influence of mana extends to different powers and beliefs (Poro) associated with tamariki āngai when certain things are done or not done in that something bad may befall the tamaiti in question. For example, mana transforms into supernatural influence when individuals fail to conform to societal rules, such as going through the proper channels, and mana manifests when bad things happen (Manu). Maiata asserts that mana only works if you believe in it, and to the extent that you believe in it. Mana and its consequences still serve as a social control in Mangaia in 2007 (Maiata).

A Mangaian receives mana from lineage, birth order (Manu), gender (Miro) family gifts/land ('Uipa'anga), adoption ('Uipa'anga) and knowledge (P. Hall, personal communication, 26 April 2008). Mana is situational and may increase or decrease through adoption, depending on a number of factors, for example, if additional asset-qualifiers or entitlements become available to the tamaiti āngai as a result of the adoption.

Miro tells that there is no change in community status hierarchy for Mangaian parents when they become metua āngai. Tiotio explains that a tamaiti āngai in the āngai home, forfeits primogeniture privilege enjoyed in its ānau household. Indeed, the firstborn will always have more status over a tamaiti āngai even in a family without biological children; "According to our island-custom", Tiotio states, "it's a different status." Tanga'eo describes and accepts mata'iapo privilege as part of Mangaian life: "[T]heir oldest, that's the one they look after; that's the one who will get hold [of] everything." Although for some, adoption's intent may be to create fictive kin, opinions vary about the comparative durability of birth lineage in the āngai domain: "Even if he is registered, he's not a birth person" (Manu).
Religious institutions

Mangaia's ecumenical context is significant to tamariki 'āngai: Missionaries in the 1800s serving Polynesian societies discouraged adoption and fostering of children, according to Penelope Schoeffel, and religious beliefs continue to influence the practice (2000). In 2007, Mangaia has three Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC) buildings, plus Assembly of God Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), Jesus the True Vine Apostolic Church, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah Witnesses congregations (Maiata).

Views of Mangaia's contemporary evangeria (religions) vary regarding the practice of tamariki 'āngai. The Assembly of God religion supports the tradition without restrictions to its members as the scriptures indicate that God loves everyone (P. Poila, personal communication, 17 December 2007). Although the CICC is neutral regarding tamariki 'āngai, Mangaian members have individual opinions from: supportive to concern about problems that arise from the practice (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 17 December 2007). Roman Catholics are neutral and families decide for themselves; some families do have tamariki 'āngai and others do not (G. Vaiimene, personal communication, 17 December 2007).

The Apostolic Church advocates that members raise their own children and cautions that even the best motives for sharing a child do not outweigh the potential for the child to experience feelings of rejection (I. Papatua, personal communication, 17 December 2007). The Jehovah's Witnesses of Mangaia encourage the practice of tamariki 'āngai; "The Lord loves all people" (N. Tuara, personal communication, 17 December 2007). The SDA faith encourages parents to raise their own children, but in instances of family crisis, the children would be treated 'as if' they were natural children by the adopting parents; the minister expressed that the practice is diminishing on Mangaia as more parents are raising their own children (N. Poko, personal communication, 17 December 2007).

LDS official guidelines in "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" (Hinckley, 1995) encourage parents in ideal circumstances to look after their own children: "Parents have a sacred duty to rear their children in love and righteousness, to provide for their physical and spiritual needs, to teach them to love and serve one another, to observe the commandments of God and to be law-abiding citizens wherever they live. Husbands and wives—mothers and fathers—will be held accountable before God for the discharge of these obligations" (Hinckley, 1995).

Tiare Maori's statement about durability of the practice of tamariki 'āngai over time—"It's always been here," and the practice's continuation within the religious communities, suggests
that in some cases, personal feelings or situations may be said to either operate parallel to the enua or override religious guidelines in 2007.

'Enua: Lineage and land rights

For centuries, entitlement to Cook Islands land and thus, planting and survival, is about lineage and authority, Richard Gilson emphasises (1980). Mangaian relationship with the land begins at birth and is reinforced culturally through dialect and ritual. The Mangaian word 'enua signifies placenta and land, and homeland and heritage. Regardless of whether the child remains with the birth family or goes to an āngai family, people plant their newborn’s 'enua under a tree to remind families that "there is the child’s placenta" (Tarofan). A family member may give the new parents a tree to plant on top of the newborn’s 'enua even if the Mangaian parent has never lived in Mangaia or traveled there to visit (C. Makita, personal communication, 10 January 2009). This planting can be done by either the metua-āngai or the metua āngai according to their decision about the location, and logistics, such as where the 'feeding child' is born or raised (Tarofan).

Potentially, a Mangaian is a member of any lineage to which the individual can trace descent or adoption, according to Ron Crocombe, but usually an individual is a "primary" member of one lineage (1964, p. 30). The people continue to be exogamous (Sahlins, 1958). Crocombe (1964) states that Mangaians acknowledge bilateral descent and tend to reside patrilocaly, however there is a trend by younger couples to live in dwellings apart from their extended family. Minor lineages are called ngāti and most were patrilineal (Crocombe, 1964). Any bequeathed but unclaimed Mangaian land reverts to its source (Crocombe, 1964). Non-related adoptees are considered "marginal" lineage-members "dependent on continued acceptance by the group," according to Crocombe (1964, p. 29), while "contingent members" are those who married out or are adopted or who vacated (under good circumstances) and return having not exercised rights available during absence; the head of the group concurs with the contingent member's return to reside. Children of the contingent members are considered "secondary members of the lineage of that parent" while the spouses or refugees are considered "permissive" members of a lineage (Crocombe, 1964, pp. 29-30).

Prior to modern contraception methods, large Mangaian families were routine, adding pressure to the limited carrying-capacity of the land and the social sustainability of the community. A news article from the 1940s emphasises that "a Mangaian family is a family." Some informants recall families having 10 to 20 and more children. Manu remembers some parents having a child at the beginning and end of the same year. Although Manu posits that
economic reasons in early days stimulated the practice of sharing children, Maiata tells that people did not correlate family size with hardship—"they used what they have to survive." Now family planning allows parents to regulate family size (Manu) which increases resources available to household members (Poro) in not having to divide assets among a large inventory of children.

Land continues to be a political issue in Mangaia; it is never sold, but rather maintained, acquired and parceled out through social group membership and traditional leaders. Crocombe states that continued land eligibility depends on "occupation" of the land which "is difficult to define," however, residence location of the claimant and 'active' use of scarce land is a factor (1964, p. 59). "[T]he humble request of a friend and potential supporter" could merit a parcel of land (Crocombe, 1964, p. 59). Very importantly, "[t]he challenge to the survival of a right came only when a counter-claimant began to exercise rights by planting, building, or harvesting on the land" (Crocombe, 1964, p. 59). This remains true today.

Although Rarotonga's Land Court commenced in 1902, Mangaians have since resisted having their own land court; "fears of surveying were involved in opposition to other government schemes" (Clerk, 1981, p. 170) that continue today. Questions over land ownership and rights create tension, especially with regard to tamariki āngai and inheritance. Politician-developer and half-Mangaian Winton Pickering conceded about Mangaia that "the difficulty in undertaking commercial development there is that there are no leases, no land court jurisdiction and no survey pegs[; b]oundaries are marked simply by landmarks, and approvals are based on group consensus" (Woods, 2005, Cook Islands News, p. 1).

Since the advent of colonialism, Mangaia's mechanism to secure succession rights for tamariki āngai appears to have changed from traditional ways for metua āngai to now register the adoption in Rarotonga's Land Court. As the children matured, whose adoptions were formally registered, more could eventually claim a piece of their heritage land, and thus secure rights to the soil in perpetuity.

Tu'a tamariki

Tu'a tamariki is Mangaia's social mechanism acknowledging bilateral descent in apportioning newborns between the father's and the mother's tu'a (side) of the family, a form of concurrent planning for sharing economic and social welfare of children by both families, should the metua ānau be incapacitated. Usually the firstborn, third, fifth, seventh child, etc. belongs to the father's line, although there are exceptions that include children born outside of marriage or a stable union who often stay with the mother's family. Sometimes large families
lose record of whose side a child should be assigned (Angelia). It may also be that family members considered eligible under tu'a tamariki rules are not available to ʻāngai an infant when metua ʻōnau are either schooling or working, or are deemed too young by older family members for the important task of parenting (Te Ruru A Rama).

In time, young parents may try to reclaim their tamariki from unwilling metua ʻāngai grandparents, who by then, are deeply bonded to their grandchildren tamariki ʻāngai. This can result in disputes and ploys for loyalty that fracture families. It is considered a compliment to the technically ineligible tu'a to be asked to name or ʻāngai a tamaiti or tamā'ine (Poro). 'Uipa'anga4 explains that presently, the Mangaian custom of tu'a tamariki is diminishing: Instead, emphasis in crisis-placement is more about keeping the family together, respecting affinity already established with those who are available, most convenient, and capable of providing for the needs of the displaced tamariki.

Names and naming

Names "are regarded as the property of the lineages"; the bearer extends the lineage through time (Siikala, 1991, p. 55). Unattractive names were given to protect the infant from harmful tūpāpaku "ghosts or devils" (Hickling, 1945, p. 85). Names transfer mana between generations (Manu). 'Uipa'anga4 asserts that Mangaian families routinely designate one child as a 'junior.' For some tamariki ʻāngai, having multiple names and flexible ʻāngai protocol adds confusion about whether to retain the ʻāngai or ʻōnau name for legal purposes (Elena). Due to western influences the cultural value, richness, power, and seriousness of names is diminishing; for example, younger parents may choose celebrity names rather than naming to prolong the memory of a loved one (Elena).

Gill (1876b) writes that early public naming for the young to pubescent youth was celebrated on family marae, followed by great feasting, which reinforces the connection between lineage and entitlements to land access being associated with lineage membership. An adoption related example of this connection is naming a child after a metua ʻāngai and subsequently receiving a piece of land there from to ensure perpetual family stability on that land. Naming links access and reciprocity (Tania). An example of this exchange would be the so-named 'feeding child's' devoted care toward the aging metua ʻāngai.

A newborn may be named after someone designated to become the metua ʻāngai of the tamaiti ʻāngai. "I am named after my pāpā ʻāngai, Teina" (T. Marie, personal communication, 15 January 2009). Metua ʻōnau allow another person to name their infant, knowing that such deference weakens their parental rights to retain and raise their child (Angelia). However, the
privilege and responsibility of naming an infant does not guarantee that the child will automatically be shared with the individual who provides the name and desires to raise the child. Metua 'ānau may use defensive strategies to keep a taimaiti 'ānau, such as remaining abroad—not returning to Mangaia with the infant, or honouring a relative with a namesake but retaining custody of the infant (Angelia, Tarofan). 'Uipa'anga4 states that it is common that being given the honour of naming an infant establishes a favoured-child bond between the individual who provides the name and that child.

**Reciprocity, obligation and expectation**

For Mangaians, reciprocity obligates and manifests in the practice of tamariki 'āngai. On Mangaia, reciprocities reinforce social bonds between dyadic affiliates of tamariki 'āngai such as the adoptive parent and adoptee or between the birth parent and the adoptive parent. The obligation to share a child is proportionate to relatedness between individuals when asked by a family member for a child to adopt (Miro1&2). Honouring family obligation and the duty to share children correlates with what Mangaians describe as their innate desire to share in general (Elena), and sustains status quo between families (Maiata). A sense of entitlement correlates with expectations held by hopeful kin who press to receive a tairaiti 'āngai for many reasons (Elena). However, 'Uipa'anga4 tells that this strength of the request is diminishing in today's world as more people are holding on to their children.

Secrecy obscures some adoptions, not necessarily, but particularly when the taimaiti or tamāine 'āngai or a half-sibling was raised on an island apart from its birth family or the child is born outside of a stable relationship (Poro). Some individuals are already mature when they learn of having additional birth siblings (Vakevake). Others raised near their 'ānau families are surprised to learn after many years that people routinely seen in their village are, in fact, their birth siblings (Angelia).

In the past, the intent was for tamariki 'āngai to ensure that all children were looked after, but the reality for some is an erosion of the former and more prevalent enthusiasm which leads into the next topic.
**Contemporary issues**

Change continues in the Cook Group as more information is available that causes change. Margaret James (1986) acknowledges a change in status of women in the Cook Islands. The impact of invaders, development and outmigration have changed Mangaia’s demographic balance which seems to be developing into a series of related issues that especially focus on the use of tamariki ‘āngai, within this context as set by the diaspora. The tradition of tariariki ‘āngai is undergoing new trends in its implementation. These developments in turn present challenges evident in both Mangaia and Aotearoa.

**Cook Islands migrants and identity**

Contemporary Cook Islanders continue to migrate, re-‘placing’ their ethnic identities primarily in Aotearoa and Australia. Patricia Numa explains that Cook Islanders identify other Cook Islander’s legitimate "standing" by the individual’s blood ancestry roots in the Cook Islands (2003, p. 53). Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald interviewed first and second generation Cook Islanders around Wellington in a study (1996) on the effects of movement on identity and a sense of place across time resulting from migrant mobility. Just over a decade following this comprehensive report, Aratangi, a Mangaian-born minister and historian, reviewed a summary of the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald report (1996) and confirmed that the information is representative of the Cook Islanders (including Mangaians) in Auckland suburbs presently attending his parish (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 17 November 2008). A summary of the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study (1996) appears in Appendix 7 and a general discussion by Aratangi about Cook Islanders and identity in Otara is found in Appendix 8.

In brief, the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study found that family and church in Aotearoa provide a supportive environment for "mini-Cook Island [sic] cultural domains that reinforce language, shared customs and kin-relatedness" (1996, p. 4). Even so, the study reported a deficit over time in the retention of 'pure' Cook Islands identity and reinforcement of their culture through education from exposure to multi-ethnic influences and the prevalence of bicultural marriage (1996). The trend is for the Cook Islanders to become more individualistic; this development is futhered by what the study-report described as a "Maori cultural renaissance" that highlighted Maori land entitlements (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 15). In the Polynesian hierarchy within Aotearoa, the Cook Islanders rank below the New Zealand Maori, another level of competition that works against the Islanders (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996). Underhill and Sem demonstrated that through many developments
from being an "emerging culture' in the context of a multicultural society[, both Aotearoa] and the Cook Island [sic] cultural elements are combined in a dynamic way unlike either original" (1996, p. 16), continuing a centuries-old tradition by the people of Oceania.

The concluding source for this subsection about Cook Islands identity in Aotearoa is from a New Zealand Ministry of Health study done for the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand. In a section examining different patterns of alcohol consumption in New Zealand compared to the homeland, appeared this quote and the accompanying comment:

It's not in the same sense as we do back home and I think the reason for that would be because of this non-active participation within the community and there's no reinforcement from out there to give it meaning ... whereas back in the islands you're surrounded by meaning.

This participant was talking about how the community in Aotearoa New Zealand was fragmented compared with the community in the Cook Islands because people did not have the same level of spiritual/emotional connection to their adopted country. In the Cook Islands, every rock, tree, waterfall held significance because of its place in people's history, but in the new land this history is missing. (1997, p. 13)

The diaspora

Contemporary Cook Islanders continue to migrate taking their ethnic identities primarily to Aotearoa and Australia. The general consensus by Mangaian people is that far more Mangaians reside abroad than at home (Tanga'eo). A major issue faced by Mangaians stemming from the diaspora is the impact migration has on identity given time and opportunity.

It appears that after Mangaians out-migrate to Aotearoa, they tend to amalgamate with a more general Cook Islands Maori identity. In Aotearoa's 2006 census, only 27 Mangaians classed themselves as Mangaians, whereas 58,011 individuals considered themselves Cook Islands Maori, the second largest Pacific ethnic group in the census. Of this 58,011 figure, 71 percent were born in Aotearoa. Birthrates increased this population by 10 percent (5,442), between 2001 and 2006 with the median age being 19 years.

Australia's 2006 Census includes 5030 Cook Islands-born residents, an increase in five years of 6.4 percent. This census shows that 34.5 per cent of the Cook Islanders counted in 2006, "arrived between 1996 and 2000 and 18.6 per cent arrived between 2001 and 2006." Just over half of the Cook Islands-born reported speaking their dialect at home. The median age for Cook Islands-born residents of Australia is 37.5 years. This mid-line bulge in the population profile with fewer very young and old fits Mangaia's hourglass profile of residents.
Native language loss is a reality in Mangaia's context of diaspora to Aotearoa. In 2006, the *Cook Islands News* reports that "[o]nly six percent of Cook Islanders born in New Zealand can speak the Cook Islands Maori language" (Carr, p. 1). Whilst Mangaia dialect is slightly different from the Cook Islands Maori, Carr's news statistic is a good indicator of similar loss faced by Mangaian children in the diaspora (Elena). Two years later, the Minister of Pacific Islands Affairs (MPIA) reported in the *Cook Islands News* "a shortage of pre-schools for islanders" living in Aotearoa and estimated that only "5 per cent of Cook Islands Maori born in New Zealand can now speak their parents' native languages" (MPIA, 2008, p. 8). Neither of these articles allege how many of the Aotearoa-born Cook Islanders can understand the dialect of their parents without speaking it.

Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald (1996) report that identity and a sense of place relating to 'back home' gets increasingly convoluted with each generation raised abroad even when family, community and church recreate a smaller version of the cultural nest for the next generation. With regards to language loss, the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study (1996) revealed that 57 per cent of the Cook Islanders interviewed who were born in Aotearoa reported that they did not speak the language of their parents, however they could understand when the dialect was spoken to them.

Another development for Mangaian involved in the diaspora to Aotearoa is that one community has replicated a fundamental artifact of their socio-political identity, the office of rangatira, as an organisational mechanism to look after their people in traditional ways in Aotearoa (Tanga'eo). In various ways, communities adapt to globalisation and large scale migration, and reconstruct familiar and important components of cultural identity in their new environment to suit their needs. Mangaian Cook Islanders have a strong reputation for determining their own reality and, in some ways, resisting outside influence.

Although Richard Brislin (2000) explained that researchers disagree on a single definition of culture, it could be viewed as a manifestation or rehearsal of history and its processes, shared ideas, common beliefs and similar activities. In Aotearoa, the *evangheria* 'church' is a cultural keystone, especially for older Mangaians in the diaspora. Rev. and Mrs Pāpā A ratangi serve their parishioners in Otara, Auckland. A discussion of their ecumenical perspectives on the influence of the diaspora in their community is found in Appendix 8. As Mangaian people emigrate, their culture metamorphoses into a new version unlike what generally exists in their homeland and also unlike the mainstream culture in their new environment. Their customised culture changes the lens through which Mangaians view their life back home while they are away, and upon return to Mangaia, the hybrid version of their culture recedes somewhat into the background as they respond to the culture of the day in their immediate location.
Over time, Mangaian perspectives about identity shift around the interaction between personality, spirituality, physical and social location, and kinship (fictive and birth) relationships that range between reintegration, reckoning the confusing silences and in some cases, dissociation from kin. In this milieu families send infants and teens 'back home' to older relatives who accrue seniority as they maintain family plantations and nurture the new generation immersed in the culture and dialect, away from the 'easy life' and those in diaspora from their roots.

Reverse-migration

Mangaia has a significant old and youthful population, with diminishing numbers of grandparents looking after tamariki ōngai. Mangaians are encouraged to return 'home' (Tanga'eo) and some do and do not for various reasons. If they do return, they and the other Mangaians adjust to the new dynamics in their family and wider community. However, Mangaians returning from abroad are a different class from those who have remained at home. In comparison, the returnees have traded seniority for experience abroad. In changing places, they have themselves changed from being away, no matter the extent to which they have kept their presence intact between visits by way of mail, telephone calls, Internet and remittances. Although they come back to the same Mangaia, as individuals, they are not the same; they do not return to the same place to continue as though they never left (Elena). Individuals remind them that they have been away and out of the information loop (Elena). Others not knowing, or learning and conforming to the rules, may not find their 'fit' and leave (Maiata).

Metua may return 'home' after earning money or to retire after earning superannuation. Some do not return and begin new partnerships abroad (C. Makitae, personal communication, 10 January 2009). As mentioned before, other people whose children are born or raised abroad may send their children back home to live as tamariki ōngai with relatives and learn the Mangaian dialect. The island serves as a language 'nest' for tamariki ōngai sent from abroad.

Occasionally when Mangaians either return to or go to Mangaia initially, some youth bring problematic behaviours that have an impact on their people (Tania). 'Uipa'anga4 explained that some children manifesting problematic behaviours in Aotearoa are returned to Mangaia for punishment to avoid social service intervention abroad. Mangaians living in Aotearoa are aware that these children can be troublesome for inhabitants of their small island ('Uipa'anga4).

As stated previously, Rarotongans tend to share some similar feelings with Mangaians when the issue is re-integration. To illustrate this, in a 2002 news article, when the mother of a
convicted killer in Auckland was hoping for the early release of her teen, "she told NZ media that she would send her son straight to Rarotonga away from the streets of South Auckland on his release. [The matai's] comments caused an uproar in the Cook Islands with people saying [that the teenage felon] should stay in New Zealand and that Rarotonga is not a dumping ground" for problems (Kurai-Marrie, 2007, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1).

**Behaviour and effects**

Brislin wrote that researchers disagree about how best to document cultural effects on behaviour (2000). He argued that enculturation begins with values learned in childhood and that socio-cultural values tend to be stable over time even if subjected to "obvious mistakes, blunders, and exceptions" about which people experience intense emotions (2000, p. 17). Brislin also stated that individuals change about the acceptance of cultural values over time and consider that changing cultural values is "extremely difficult and time consuming" (2000, p. 19). However, as the proximity and lure of western ways compete with traditional values of enduring reciprocity, the youth, especially, embrace cultural changes too easily (Te Kuru A Rama). While this may be due in part to what Brislin described as a "time-out prior to adulthood ... for adolescents' mild deviations from adult norms [and] less-than-perfect social skills" (2000, p. 145); even so, life 'back home' in the Cook Islands is changing and concern about behaviour of tamariki 'angai was expressed by Mangaians, both visiting and living abroad.

There are, for example, major challenges for the Mangaian 'back home' stemming from the imbalance of age, as noted earlier in the demographic description. Young people of all ages are either left behind by parents in the diaspora or family may send the youth to Mangaia to live as tamariki 'angai with older relatives, for a variety of reasons including anti-social behaviour. Mangaian youth are sensitive to whether or not they are wanted which can influence their behaviour (Maiata). Adoption related problems can worsen on Mangaia and abroad from western influences that are difficult to stop once the youth and adults experience life abroad that modifies their values from traditional ways (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 30 June 2006; 28 July 2008).

It is unpredictable how the youth will adjust to Mangaia's culture and environment or how a family will adapt to having an additional member who is used to living by different rules. Some individuals thrive in the remote environment and choose to remain and settle. For others, however, Mangaia ends up to be a temporary 'time-out' repository. Youth having abundant time, an unregulated life with few island jobs available, limited partnering options
from being related, and abundant empty houses around the island, can find mischief in the community, especially when youth are unwilling to conform to their family's expectations. The elderly are left to contend with troublesome behaviours by young people that can be difficult to manage in a small remote community.

In those days, it easy, easy, easy life, yeah, but this time, no ... tamariki today is different ... Because at that time, we what you call—we honour, we listen to our parents. Different because some tamariki in these days, they don't even listen to their, they don't bother or they don't care what their parents say to them. It's different, yeah, because, but much during our time do what they say ... That's the other thing that I am bear in mind, because the Bible say that the last generation will be the stubborn ... children, or they don't listen to their parents ... Maybe this is the generation that's the Bible talks about. (Tarofan)

In a small environment such as Mangaia, each youth's individual integration affects Mangaia's population. Families and community work with and warn recalcitrant adolescents in their own ways, to conform to their society's norms. This can be through threats of violence from the fellows at the 'bush tavern' or through a community leader on local television predicting that "something bad would happen" if the perpetrator does not confess and take responsibility for property damages (Maiata). Alternatively, another family in the community will offer their place as a sanctuary and find some kind of a job for the youth to perform and by working with the youth, try to help stabilise the effects of rejection and chaotic moves. For example, one tamaiti āngai community offender was taken in by another family in Mangaia, given a job, quit smoking and drinking and "did well for a year" before resettling on a different island (Maiata).

Re-location itself is a problem. Tamariki āngai get shifted in both directions—to and from Mangaia and sometimes back again. These tamariki āngai straddle two cultures, and while they know many of the rules for both environments, it appears that they are caught between, in a cultural limbo of not being fully in one or the other culture and thereby they become nomadic hybrids. Mangaians know that āngai placement 'miracles' and 'manamanata' 'problems' occur both at home and abroad in āngai families. Prior to my arrival on Mangaia there was a case of a child exported to a relative in Aotearoa. In time, members of the āngai family alerted police that the metua āngai was physically abusing the child including locking the child in a room without food. The child described to me the handcuffed perpetrator being led away by police preliminary to the child being returned to the metua ānau in Mangaia. Later, on school property in Mangaia, a tamaiti āngai teen raped the same child that had been abused in Aotearoa. The perpetrator was sent abroad and given a security job; eventually the
youth returned to Mangaia whilst I lived there. Subsequently, the youth out-migrated again to a family member that made their home available for the youth.

Behaviours can worsen with subsequent moves until, hopefully, a compatible match is found or the youth matures and emancipates from conventional supervision. Although it is claimed that Aotearoa's controversial "anti-smacking" legislation restricts the ability of Mangaian metua 'āngai living there to manage disrespectful tamariki 'āngai without adequate alternatives, no similar law has been enacted in the Cook Islands. It appears that the children know and exercise their rights in their home culture and abroad.

Rarotonga, Mangaia's nearest and largest neighbouring island is a transit stop for all Mangaian (and 13 other outer islands') passengers, commodities, diseases and behavioural trends. As such, it can be useful to be aware of Rarotonga's developing social challenges for strategising preventative measures in Mangaia. After Cook Islands police commissioner Tangata Nekeare interviewed all of Rarotonga's juvenile delinquents in 1972, he stated "Juvenile delinquents are mostly tamariki angai" (Crocombe, 2001, p. 120). Furthermore, Nekeare "was convinced that popular beliefs about adopted children being treated the same as born children were wrong" (Crocombe, 2001, p. 120).

Over 30 years after Nekeare's inquiries, Staff Officer Ken Ben of the Cook Islands police force in Rarotonga stated that "the majority" of juveniles who get in trouble with the Rarotongan law are 'feeding children' because of the different treatment by the 'feeding parents' (personal communication, 29 June 2006). Ben explained that the natural parents love their own children whole heartedly, but it is not the same feeling towards the 'feeding children' as they have for their own; the 'feeding children' can sense the difference and their behaviours get them into trouble in their community and with the law in Rarotonga (personal communication, 29 June 2006).

In June 2007 after a 15-year old Rarotongan youth was caught burglarising a home there, "Detective inspector Aka Matapo of the Criminal Investigation Branch told Cook Islands News that the young man was released since there was nothing police could do other than investigate and wait for the Juvenile Crime Prevention Committee (JCPC) to sit and hear the case" (Wilson, 2007a, Cook Islands News, p. 1).

The big concern is the prolific ones who don't have family support, who usually have some alcohol problem or have some sexual abuse problem and the family are not interested in holding the person accountable or cannot hold them accountable. Those are few in number, however cause a disproportionate amount of damage or offending. (Carr, 2007c, Cook Islands News, p. 1)

Rarotonga's chronic problems prompted this excerpt from a letter to the news editor:
We can't keep pretending that we don't have a problem. These kids and many like them have been on the rampage for the last 10 years. They are getting clever at what they do and how they go about it. And the scary thing is - they understand their rights and know no one can touch them. (Carr, 2007a, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1)

It was suggested in Rarotonga that there was a need to review and change juvenile laws in an effort to solve delinquency problems:

[W]e also need to consider is that society [in 2007] has changed, where in the past extended families would have been willing to take in juveniles with the assumption that a change of environment may change the person, these days there are few families who will even consider this idea. (Carr, 2007b, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1)

In 2007, Rarotongan business woman June Baudinet stated that "many of these problem kids don't have a home and live all over the place" (Wilson, 2007b, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Rarotonga reported that in several of their communities homeless teens are increasingly a problem in gang related strife (Kurai-Wragg, 2008a, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Rarotongan police requested a 'collective approach,' that parents impose and enforce a curfew on their children to keep the miscreants as young as age 16 off the streets at night (Carr, 2008c, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). As a result of a police crack down on repeat offenders in the last year, Rarotonga reports a reduction in breaking and entering and burglaries (Carr, 2008b, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Again, Rarotonga's trends are relevant to this thesis because burgling and vandalism by *tamariki āngai* have also created problems in Mangaia's smaller community.

Suicide is another social concern for Cook Islanders. It was reported that Cook Islands authorities were alarmed over a "frightening" increase of country-wide suicides totaling 11 suicides between 1996 and 2006, of which nine were male and two were females, plus 30 attempted suicides in that time evenly split by gender (Kurai-Marrie, 2006c, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). Youth suicides were particularly alarming to Rarotongan officials (Kurai-Marrie, 2006c, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). In response to this development, staff from a Rarotongan mental health centre teamed up with a Malaysian psychiatry professor and conducted workshops in Mangaia. Mangaian officials identified a growing need for a mental health clinic in Mangaia as advocates see a trend toward melancholy and "worry" that contribute to "stress and anxiety" in their community (Turua, 2006, *Cook Islands News*, p. 7). "Ken Mitchell of Papa Ken's Teenage Helpline" in Rarotonga encouraged parents to invest more time with their children, "especially the young people who are in the most vulnerable age group" (Kurai-Marrie, 2006b, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1). It is believed that intervention available in a newly proposed psychiatric ward for Rarotonga will discourage future suicides (Turua, 2006, *Cook Islands News*, p. 1).
Also troubling for Mangaia’s communities are 'tamariki ʻāngai who have been abroad and return home to claim inheritance without showing appropriate cultural deference and humility in their demeanor and fairness in their requests. The family land gatekeepers are offended by the returnees’ greediness and lack of piety and concern for others who may want to share in future land claims. Over the years, the claimants become attuned to their marginalised eligibility for receiving their birth right, especially after the metua ʻāngai are deceased.

Conclusion

This contextual overview provides an introduction to the holistic setting for Mangaia’s practice of tamariki ʻāngai as a foundation from which to gain a deeper understanding about the implications of the practice in this family oriented culture. The administrative governing entity of the Cook Islands is made up of fifteen islands spread over two-million square kilometres of ocean. Within this political context Mangaia’s fiercely independent cultural way of life and tradition of tamariki ʻāngai continues to operate following European colonisation in the early 19th century and major contemporary pressures of development and outmigration.

Mangaia’s population dwindles due to death and outmigration now that travel is easy, safe and offers better opportunities for employment and healthcare. The effect of diaspora alters Mangaia’s demographics and the age balance of those left behind to raise the children, work the plantations and maintain the infrastructure as many of the working parents have jobs abroad. People are encouraged to return, but not to bring problems for the community ‘back home’ to solve.

Mangaian traditions entwine with, and operate parallel to, beliefs imposed by migrants throughout Mangaia’s history and contemporary politics to produce the hybrid practice of tamariki ʻāngai. The current practice of tamariki ʻāngai is influenced by Mangaia’s developmental dynamics, the loss of population and having many old and many young people, importing and exporting behaviour problems, and difficulties accessing inheritance in light of the independent nature of Mangaian and modern mobility.

Modern contraception restricts the number of children available for adoption and shifts Mangaia’s practice to be a catchment for children born to parents in unstable relationships. Often, these children grow up with their elder relatives back home until their care-givers die, at which time the children return abroad to resume living with their birth parents who are by then, better able to provide for the children. Technology decreases the amount of labour necessary to sustain smaller households, increases leisure time for other activities in Mangaia and simplifies maintaining contact between families separated by the diaspora. Mangaia an
children are imported and exported to live with kin due to changes in family situations and, in some cases, adjustment problems.

The practice of *tamariki ōngai* is flexible, perhaps one of the reasons why it has withstood many cultural influences. However, equally as durable is the insecurity that *tamariki ōngai* associate with access to secure land inheritance after their adoptive parent is no longer around to ensure that the promised allotment is actually bestowed to the ‘feeding child.’ Mangaians have a unique form of adoption with aspects of it leading to specific problems in the current population in Mangaia and abroad that captured my interest from the beginning. Significantly also, modern pressures of *tamariki ōngai* left behind by outmigrants sent back to Mangaia or living in Aotearoa, produce social pressures which cannot always be effectively handled by the increasingly elderly Mangaian resident population.

Of major concern are the inadequate controls over behaviour problems that have threatened harmony, and in some cases, safety of the Mangaians in the past, and the current tension over accessing inheritance rights by adult *tamariki ōngai*. Not only are these intellectual adoption problems for me, but they are also social problems for Mangaians. Because of what it does to the Mangaian communities, the Mangaians have a warrant for looking at their practice as it is, which stands as an indictment against having equitable opportunities for members of Mangaian society whose parents gave them away in the practice of *tamariki ōngai* before the shift toward *rētīta* adoptions became necessary to secure inheritance rights.

Considering all the cultural constraints managed in the course of the practice, I raise questions of how and why do Mangaians practice informal island adoption; what are the effects of the current practice; and how might Mangaians rearticulate this practice to serve their needs in the 21st century.

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1 A copy of the letter of welcome and introduction from Mangaia's high school principal J. R. "Bob" de Lautour dated 6 December 1976, written to new-hire school teachers Lesley Waugh and Susan Hawke in Wellington appears in Appendix 13, reprinted with permission from Neil Robertson at Archives New Zealand (personal communication, 20 April 2009). The letter is part of the Ministry's archive collection (ABED 7749/W4262 1292 C5) and includes these excerpts:

I was thrilled to get the news of your appointments to Mangaia High School yesterday, - the whole island is buzzing with excitement already … The people depend on pineapples and their relatives in N.Z. for money. Not very many people your age here really – they all go to N. Z. – most of the people are old or very young. (The kids are left with their grandparents)....

THE SCHOOL: Has 250 on the roll this year – touching 300 next year....
In 2009, Michael Reilly writes, "Many of the people a visitor encounters walking about the villages are either children or older adults. There are few teenagers, slightly less than 100 of the island's 700 people fall into this age category" (Reilly, 2009, p. 1).

The original news article entitled "MANGAIA'S WAR EFFORT: ONE THOUSAND CASES: PATRIOTISM OF NATIVES MANGAIA" first appeared in the New Zealand Free Lance, dated 1 July between 1943 and 1945; however, this article was reprinted 21 June 2008 in Rarotonga's Cook Islands News, p. 11, in an article entitled "Memory Lane: Photos from our past: 'Virile natives' show their patriotism."

John Williams (1837, p. 81) attributes the saying 'all heads being of an equal height" to the Mangaian chief telling Papeiha's missionary group that the chief was unable to guarantee the group's safety from his constituents if they returned ashore.

Tanga'eo remembers Agent Hickling serving in Mangaia during the 1940s when it was customary for the resident agent and his wife, even if not trained as educators, to make the rounds teaching in the villages' primary schools because they spoke English.

All interviews were confidential by agreement. Informants are represented by pseudonyms.

Between 6 February and 6 March 2005, Mangaia experienced the effects of five hurricanes that warranted its shore inhabitants having to evacuate as many times to higher ground. At the same time all of Mangaia's residents had the opportunity to occupy the puna (district) halls as an additional safety measure. Over the month, the stress level increased for the islanders whilst lives and plantations were in limbo.

In January 2008, it was reported in the Cook Islands News that during a return visit to her homeland, Mangaia's queen, Numangatini Nooroa Ariki, under pressure from Mangaians living in Aotearoa, announced a public meeting during which she planned to propose for the first time ever, a change in Mangaia's traditional land tenure system (Carr, 2008a, p. 1). According to the secretary of the Aronga Mana, Tuaiva Mautairi:

It was a shock not only to the kavana but to the people on Mangaia. The people were angry when they heard about this change. They don't want any outside influence whatsoever.... (T. Mautairi 2008, cited in Carr, 2008a, p. 1)

According to Carr's Cook Islands News article, this meeting was cancelled by Mangaia's six kavana who then met privately with the queen and rejected her proposal.

A person from Mangaia wanting to seek land for the purpose of building will go and see the head or the arbitrator, of the family. If the request is agreed upon then the building will go ahead.

However, if no agreement is reached, then the matter will go to the next level - before the kavana of that district, the district chief.

If there is no agreement reached at this stage, then the request will move before all six kavana and their decision is final.

Mautairi says that with the decision by the six kavana to stop any proposal going ahead, it is hoped that this will be the last time anything like this will ever happen. (Carr, 2008a, p. 1)


The Crimes [Substituted Section 59] Amendment Bill, 2007 is also known as the 'anti-smacking' law.


"Director of community services Dr Josephine Aumea Herman says over the weekend the case of dengue was confirmed in Mangaia[,] the woman most likely got the mosquito-borne virus in Rarotonga but fell ill on their return to Mangaia" (Greig, 2008b, Cook Islands News, p. 1).
Chapter 2 Literature Review

Introduction

Adoption or fosterage, defined as the care of a child outside of their birth family, can, like the incest taboo, almost be regarded as a human universal. However, again, like the incest taboo, while all societies seem to have developed some arrangements to care for children apart from their immediate biological parents, the details of these arrangements vary widely according to a wide range of factors at the interpersonal, institutional and structural levels of each social unit in question. The previous chapter indicates the extent and scope of the issues involved in the Mangaian institution of tamariki ōngai. Indeed, the upbringing of children and their interpersonal relationships and identity, are shaped by the practice of tamariki ōngai and, at the institutional level, their lineage shifts from one clan to another, a practice governed by the social systems and structures, revolving around early clan warfare and the practices of women seeking to keep their children alive.

An adequate approach to a practice like tamariki ōngai and its current issues requires an examination of both the insights and gaps of a 'universal' approach and a detailed drilling down to the level of the unique cultural practices of the island of Mangaia. Unfortunately, there is a noticeable absence of literature about the influence of adoption and other practices upon the Mangaian people other than the mechanics or process of adoption. However Mangaia's early Resident Agent Frederick Moss wrote:

The adopted members are numerous in every family and are not distinguished from the rest. They have the same rights and are under the same obligations.... This system of adoption is so old and constant that mothers part with their babies apparently without a pang, but its tendency must be to weaken very materially all family affection. (1894, p. 23)

Nearly a half-century later, Hickling also observed a lack of emotional responses when he reported: "The children ... refer to both the true parents and the feeding-parents with apparent unconcern" (1945, p. 83). In 2003, Ron Crocombe and Marjorie Tua'i nekore Crocombe stated that in the Cook Islands, adoption customs, "kinship rights and obligations have not been comprehensively studied" beyond descriptions for several islands nor have these customs been analysed for how they influence islander behaviour over time (p. 19).
Western social science and indigenous reality

Approaching Pacific research with an outsider's perspective raises some concerns as I seek to analyse the impacts, behaviour and issues in Chapter 1. In particular this focuses around the place of outsider academics 'colonising' indigenous knowledges. It is important to deal with this issue first.

Non-indigenous researcher

Wood (2006) usefully identified three major anthropological approaches in the face of challenges to non-indigenous researchers:

1. Dominant western, discipline-based anthropology
2. Indigenous interpretive-based approach
3. Practice-based approach

Nicholas Thomas argued that "claims about conventional styles and approaches in a discipline or subdiscipline can only suppress the field's actual diversity" (1990, p. 139). While Houston Wood (2006) acknowledged that traditional continental anthropological approaches still dominate social science research in Oceania, he emphasised using the indigenous interpretations of the people's own epistemologies and activities and he deemphasised using western interpretations. Wood (2006) explained that the purposes of such research are often, indirectly at least, dominating. Funded agencies depend on research methods that have historically provided administrators in foreign lands with western interpretations of indigenous information that encouraged forthcoming economic aid to the regions being researched, rather than conveying the indigenous belief systems themselves. If, according to Wood (2006), researchers separate the spiritual, political, historical and psychological components, they distort the holistic essence of life that is the experience of the people they study. However, "[r]esearchers who desire an increased diversity in and local autonomy for Oceania will likely emphasize alternative perspectives" (Wood, 2006, p. 37).

Wood suggested that "interpretation-based research" has some weaknesses to consider; he stated that coherence conflicts with diversity and leads to broader rather than narrower interpretations achieved by discipline-based alternatives (2006, p. 37). Indeed, generalising or stereotyping the activities of all members of a culture is tidier than seeing that each individual in the household potentially varies in how they perform a task from their neighbour (Wood, 2006). For this reason, according to Wood (2006), there is the elusive problem of tracking change over time, as well as the researcher being expected to produce more than just dialogue.
Interpretations may not reflect concrete behaviour; values may be embedded in social interactions and thus be hidden from the surface. In addition, with all the subtle exchanges in relationships, it is impossible to decipher the full interplay between the actors unless they are self-reported.

Wood's less controversial "practice-based research" focuses on repetitive and visible actions, for example, daily activities rather than the ethics behind the actions (2006, p. 42). Thus, in contrast to the emerging indigenous interpretative approach, in practice-based research each physical action is interpreted in the context of many types of actions. It is not researched to "answer academic questions [or] formulat[e] abstract descriptions or analysis, as in interpretation-based approaches" (Wood, 2006, p. 42), but rather because they are important to the people who perform the actions and thereby are worth being studied and reported. Wood predicted that future practice-based research of "cultural repertoires" (2006, p. 45), as modified by the indigenous people in Oceania, will focus on informal rather than formal practices. While a blend of the three methods, traditional discipline-based, interpretive-based and practice-based research, is usually evident in Pacific research, Wood valued the superiority of the last as "understanding culture as a dynamic process encouraging research into cultures conceived of as collections of practices" (2006, p. 49).

Theodore Schatzki stated that practices "combine with beliefs and emotions to specify a given action as what makes sense to their possessor to do" (2001, p. 49) or because the actions have a history which gives license, as Michael Polanyi points out:

You follow your master because you trust his manner of doing things even when you cannot analyse and account in detail for its effectiveness. By watching the master and emulating his efforts in the presence of his example, the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art, including those which are not explicitly known to the master himself. These hidden rules can be assimilated only by a person who surrenders himself to that extent uncritically to the limitation of another. (1973, p. 53)

Laurent Thévenot (2001) remarked that people continuously change their conduct in relation to their social practices and that most conceptions of practice overlook the mutual influence that environment and the actor have on each other which leads to propriety in "creative dynamics" (2001, p. 66). Thévenot stated that "some conception of the good [a moral element] governs each pragmatic" engagement that evaluates according to familiarity, regular planned action and justification (2001, p. 59).

The aim in this study therefore, is not to "interpret" the practice of tamariki ʻāngai but rather, because it is important, to report on the practices and provide an account which will be
useful to the people who perform the actions. In short to shed some light on the practices so that Mangaians may use it more effectively to meet their goals.

This chapter will therefore, as a first step, examine the issues around adoption as a 'universal' practice while it will also seek to explain how these basic and general human needs and characteristics are embodied in a specific, cultural and physical environment, which provides the detailed shape and developmental dynamics of the practice of adoption. This second element will require examination of the broad practices of adoption within the general 'Polynesian' cultural tradition, yet again noting how, even within this tradition adoption practices are constructed in a wide variety of ways. Finally, I examine the detail of Mangaian tamariki ōngai identifying the dynamics of the practice and change over time as the basis to inform and develop the research questions initially formulated at the end of chapter 1.

This chapter has the following major sections:

1. Adoption as a human universal from the point of view of constructionist theory seeing it in every setting as a unique cultural practice shaped by cultural and environmental imperatives, using here comparison with modern western 'commodity-form' adoption and its contemporary challenges as one illustration.

2. Adoption in the Polynesian cultural tradition, specifically the Cook Islands and tamariki ōngai in Mangaia, the dynamics and shifts in the practice over time in a specific socio-cultural setting.

3. The questions raised about the current articulation of the practice of tamariki ōngai in Mangaia and how customary adoption is used to achieve specific goals. An overview of adoption within Polynesian culture supplements discussion of the Cook Islands. Due to space limitations, specific different sites appear in Appendix 1. These general descriptions show how following one broad cultural tradition further illuminates the practice.

**Section 1 Adoption as a human universal**

Human care-giving is universal, but the form it takes can vary, being defined quite differently between cultures. Ivan Brady (1976) discussed the importance of researchers validating definitions such as distinctions between fosterage and adoption. In doing so they can understand the social and cultural construction of practices around parenthood and kinship, and not "distort the reality of [fosterage or adoption] by insisting on an absolute distinction where none in fact exists" (1976, p. 15). At the highest level of abstraction Ward Goodenough (1970) looked at definitions and roles of the different parenthoods because adoption or fosterage is about transferring decision-making responsibilities over a child. Jural,
psychic and natural parenthood are defined differently between the sexes to reflect the roles, depending on the eligibility to bear the child and/or disqualifying circumstances attending the birth. Brady (1976) broke jural parenthood into primary and secondary levels and still further into degrees; he also considered the utility aspect of adoption in manipulating identities and flexibility of the relationship, and noted that the duration, formality, explicitness, or exclusivity-inclusiveness of fosterage/adoption can change over time and that researchers should specify temporary and durable changes in kinship identities.

**Human identity, cognition and experience**

Ruth Benedict referred to "the [culturally institutionalised] framework of mine and thine" (1935, p. 7); she stated that throughout history, man has "defended his uniqueness like a point of honour" (p. 3) and yet, Benedict's reference "mine and thine" implies a potential for community building. Identity can thus be both individual and collective. 'Community' can represent either a location or relationship, according to McMillan and Chavis, who described the psychological sense of community that includes elements of "membership[,] ... influence ... [and] reinforcement: integration and fulfilment of needs [and] shared emotional connection" (1986, p. 9, emphasis in original). To these criteria, Patricia Obst, Lucy Zinkiewicz, and Sandy Smith added that awareness of group membership is separate from having a sense of belonging to the group (2002).

Human identity is part of human universals, according to Brown (1999), that comprise those features of culture, society, language, behavior, and psyche for which there are no known exceptions to their existence in all ethnographically or historically recorded human societies. Among the many examples are such disparate phenomena as tools, myths, and legends, sex roles, social groups, aggression, gestures, grammar, phonemes, EMOTIONS, and psychological defense mechanisms. Broadly defined universals [may be invented or occur conditionally and] often contain more specific universals, as in the case of kinship statuses, which are universally included among social statuses. (Brown, 1999, p. 382, emphasis in original)

Steven Pinker argued that genes contribute to emotional individuality as experience shapes the human mind and cognitive responses, and that the roots of identity stem from both nature and nurture (2002). Gary Marcus commented: "Nature provides the rough draft, which experience then revises" (2004, p. 34). Experience mauls identity that defines one's sense of worthiness and entitlement. The early Greeks recognised that humans have "different facets of the mind," according to Harold Gardner (1993, p. 281), and that individuals have "multiple
intelligences" or strengths (1993, p. 279). Gardner gave the example of spatial intelligence that is "observed in all known human cultures" (1993, p. 201). Spatial competence, Gardner explained, is the expertise to understand minute detail in one's environment of which outsiders might not decipher (1993, p. 201), such as Jonathan Haidt's discussion about mariners distinguishing between thirty-two unique wave patterns on the hull of a vaka 'traditional canoe' and knowing what each represent (2008).

Gardner discussed "personal" or feeling intelligences whose development patterns and breakdown are more wide ranging than in other intelligences (1993, p. 241). He divided the feeling mind into intrapersonal intelligence: the ability to read, access and manage one's emotions, and interpersonal intelligence: "the ability to notice and make distinctions among other individuals" and to read their "moods, temperaments, motivations, and intentions" (1993, pp. 239-240, emphasis in the original). Tony Robbins reported there are 6,000 emotions described in the English language (2006). Each emotion, according to Daniel Goleman, prepares the body for a different response; how and whether people display their emotions "is molded by culture," (1995, p. 7). Emotions are sufficiently powerful to "overpower, even paralyze the thinking brain" (Goleman, 1995, p. 78). Goleman referred to "toxic thoughts" (1995, p. 138) and "toxic emotions" which pose "a major threat to health" (1995, pp. 168-169).

Goleman stated that being open to our own emotions helps us to read and appreciate the feelings of others and in doing so, creates empathy in ourselves as we understand the pain they may feel from our perspective (1995). The capacity for empathy begins in infancy, according to Martin Hoffman, a researcher on empathy, and empathic attitudes drive "moral judgments for moral dilemmas involve potential victims" (Goleman, 1995, p. 105). Emotional intelligence manifests in moral judgments and has an impact on how others respond to us; it shapes our future experiences. Human morality is not based on genetics, Marc Hauser argued; it is learned within the cultural environment (2006). Haidt (2008) discussed morality and emotion in the context of culture and explained that five universal moral values that form the basis of our political choices and identify us across cultures include purity and sanctity affiliated with the human body, harm and care, ingroup and loyalty, authority and respect and fairness and reciprocity.

Jacqueline Leckie (1995, p.51) wrote about identity and migration experience of women in the diaspora and social and environmental influences on cognition: "[S]ocial, ideological, and economic constraints can affect English language acquisition for many immigrant women" (Leckie, 1995, p. 61). Furthermore, according to Leckie, "loneliness" and "psychological isolation" are part of the immigrant experience (Leckie, 1995, p. 61).
Gilbert Herdt and Stephen Leavitt (1998) emphasised a facet of the migrant experience that targets Pacific adolescents especially: "Young people have the most direct exposure to agents of social change, such as schools, technological innovations, and popular culture [and] therefore play a disproportionately large role in defining how social changes will be construed locally" (p. 7). The authors explained that "demographics have wide-ranging effects, especially on the character of gender relations and relationships between generations" and that demographic changes from emigration leave behind island-populations that have an average age in the "teens or twenties" (1998, p. 8). The youth are bridging change in sociocultural systems, Herdt and Leavitt argued (1998). The old culture of "traditional village life" runs parallel to "the school as [an] institution and symbolic setting," which in effect creates a "dual cultural system" that requires youth to succeed in both worlds (Herdt & Leavitt, 1998, p. 24). These concepts are important to consider because my informants have experience with western influences in Aotearoa in addition to their relationship with customary adoption.

Pauline Boss, from a traditional anthropological perspective, described 'ambiguous loss' as being part of the human experience that is associated with separation stemming from migration, adoption and the loss of family through unclear goodbyes (2000, p. 39).

The immigration experience provides special insights into how people learn to let go of what used to be in order to embrace the new.... Unless people resolve the ambiguous loss—the incomplete or uncertain loss—that is inherent in uprooting and bring into some congruence their psychological and physical families, the legacy of frozen grief may affect their offspring for generations to come, compounding itself as more ordinary losses inevitably occur. This is the legacy of immigration and migration that lies at the root of many personal and family problems. (2000, pp. 3-4)

People yearn to reconcile loss as part of coping or acceptance and to acquire some benefit from their loss-experience, according to Christopher Davis and Susan Nolen-Hoeksema (2001). How an individual interprets, justifies or explains loss depends on the person's world view about the loss, their spiritual beliefs and their age at the time of the loss (Davis & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2001). In adoption, identity is altered or lost that can initiate up to a lifetime of adjustment for those affected by the change of status. Accruing some benefit from loss is more helpful the earlier it is identified following the person's awareness of their loss; otherwise the world is seen as more punitive to the person (Davis & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2001).

Loss extends beyond the physical domain. "Psychological absence ... especially affects young children ... when parents are emotionally unavailable to their children" due to life's stresses and processing their own losses (Boss, 2000, pp. 57-58). According to Boss, ambiguous loss manifests in an ambush of conflicted thoughts and emotions that derail.

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organised thoughts (2000, p. 61); hence, children being without developed defence mechanisms or coping techniques that their adult counterparts have to help manage ambiguous loss, may be academically at risk in their classrooms from distractions. Boss summarised five contributors to the persistent sense of helplessness experienced from unresolved grief in ambiguous loss:

First, because the loss is confusing, people are baffled and immobilized. They don't know how to make sense of the situation. They can't problem-solve because they do not yet know whether the problem (the loss) is final or temporary. If the uncertainty continues, families often respond with absolutes, either acting as if the person is completely gone, or denying that anything has changed. Neither is satisfactory. Second, the uncertainty prevents people from adjusting to the ambiguity of their loss by reorganizing the roles and rules of their relationship with the loved one, so that the couple or family relationship freezes in place. If they have not already closed out the person who is missing physically or psychologically, they hang on to the hope that things will return to the way they used to be. Third, people are denied the symbolic rituals that ordinarily support a clear loss—such as a funeral after a death in the family. Few if any supportive rituals exist for people experiencing ambiguous loss. Their experience remains unverified by the community around them, so that there is little validation of what they are experiencing and feeling. Fourth, the absurdity of ambiguous loss reminds people that life is not always rational and just; consequently, those who witness it tend to withdraw rather than give neighborly support, as they would do in the case of a death in the family. Finally, because ambiguous loss is a loss that goes on and on, those who experience it tell me they become physically and emotionally exhausted from the relentless uncertainty. (2000, pp. 7-8)

To merge the ups and downs experienced while processing conflicting presences and absences within ambiguous loss, Boss argued, requires a "combination of optimism and realistic thinking ... but first they need understanding and support from their own community—as well as from the professional community" (2000, p. 92). Boss suggested that balancing mastery and a spiritual acceptance is requisite to moving beyond the pain of long-term ambiguity and making sense of ambiguous loss (2000, p. 117) when it then loses its ambiguity. Spiritual acceptance serves the Anishinabe Native American tribe as a coping mechanism in the case of a family having a demented parent (Boss, 2000, p. 17). It is not easy for people to move on from ambiguous loss, and people may find meaning in ambiguity if they are "optimistic, creative and flexible" (Boss, 2000, p. 132).

Jeanne Rothaupt and Kent Becker commented, "When community is the most needed, those who grieve may feel the most isolated" (2007, p. 10). The authors' use of 'may' is important to consider, especially within cross-cultural research because while coping with grief or loss may be a common human experience, how people do so is very individual. Adoption studies routinely include issues of grief and loss of identity and loved ones
Eldridge, 1999; Gray, 2002; Javier et al., 2007), and Camille Wortman and Roxane Silver discussed five myths or assumptions in specifically western culture about coping with loss that can exacerbate a person’s pain (1989, pp. 350-353). These include that it is normal to react to a major loss "with intense distress or depression"; that "distress is necessary"; that an absence of distress indicates pathology; and that it is expected that the aggrieved person will eventually 'work through,' recover and eventually resolve the loss (Wortman & Silver, 1989, pp. 350-353). Biases such as these remind researchers to learn, and not assume to know, what the emotional experience of the informant is and how this response relates to the individual's culture.

Mourning, according to Brown, is another "human universal" (1991, p. 139) although the intensity and sanctions vary across cultures and subcultures. Kenneth Doka wrote that human grief manifests emotionally, physically, cognitively, behaviorally, spiritually and socially (2002, pp. 5-6). Doka discussed ageism in terms of the marginalisation expressed by the community towards the capacity for grief felt by the very old and very young; he stated that circumstances surrounding the loss and the style and cultural appropriateness of grieving also regulate affirmations of social support available to the individual (2002, p. 14). Charles Corr emphasised that the overt act of disenfranchisement goes beyond "overlooking or forgetting" to acknowledge and is "often conveyed in subtle and unspoken ways" (2002, p. 57).

Gordon Thornton and Mary Zanich stated that people "differentiate losses based on the nature of the pre-loss relationship" (2002, p. 86) and they reaffirmed the supportive value of acknowledging the significance of the loss faced by an individual. Robert Neimeyer and John Jordon viewed disenfranchised grief as an "empathic failure" that warrants restorative "interventions through narrative techniques, symbolic actions, and grief-related rituals" (2002, p. 115). Eileen Pesek saw potential value in the role of a support-group to challenge what Dale Kuhn referred to as the "cycle of silence" (2002, p. 123). Rose Cooper wrote that "it is time for adopted people--the chosen children who have had no choice--to be heard" (2002, p. 266).

Cooper stated that if a family requires a young mother to relinquish an infant, it can represent disenfranchised grief when seen by the mother as a betrayal by significant individuals or a reminder to the mother of her inability to return things to "their normal state"; grief can compound if the family marginalises the young mother enough that she leaves to cope elsewhere (2002, p. 272). Others may exhaustively seek ways to appease their adoptive parents (Cooper, 2002, p. 272). Some individuals experience an "identity crisis" when they discover genetic relationships are different than portrayed, such as substantiating rumours that a 'sister' is actually the birth mother to hide the shame or stigma of illegitimacy (Cooper, 2002,
Martha Nussbaum explained that shame and stigma meld and mark people as "undesirable" if they deviate from what families and society determine is 'normal' (2004, p. 217). Nussbaum expressed that depression, disgust, guilt and rage are related to shame (2004, p. 206). Some adoptees grow up feeling "different" somehow, others—"powerless" through low self-esteem from feeling that whatever they did was not good enough even without competition in the home (Cooper, 2002, pp. 268-269).

Louise Rowling elaborated on changing identity issues for adolescents that intensify into disenfranchised grief regarding losses perceived from self and social influences (2002). Rowling explained that the changing interactions within "cognitive, affective and behavioral domains" turn youth insular to "save face" if they perceive that their grief is marginalised by others (2002, pp. 280-282). "Grief processed by individuals (in whatever manner helps them) and acknowledged by self, others and wider society has few long-term detrimental effects" (Rowling, 2002, p. 290).

According to David Crenshaw, children experience disenfranchising grief because adults underestimate both "the extent of the attachments that children form with people outside the family system" and what the loss of these attachments represents to children (Crenshaw, 2002, p. 294). He stated that children's grief reflects more in their actions than verbally because they are afraid to risk "emotional flooding" and experience repeated disappointing responses by others (2002, p. 304). "To deny the impact of loss, according to John Reynolds, is to deny love and humanity" (2002, p. 351).

A common thread in the general human experience of identity (for adoptees and the non-adopted population) is the matter of choice or not having choice, both of which are influenced significantly by culture. Crocombe stated, "All identification varies with purpose" (2001, p. 497). Choice or agency, and will or volition suggests purpose, intellect and judgment that indicate activity at some level, and sidelined consequences. Gary Pendlebury importantly separated thoughts and actions when he wrote, "In right desire and ethical Action there is no relation between thought and Action, what I want and what I want to do, for there is no distinction that requires explanation in terms of relations" (2006, p. 174). Pendlebury argued that people can choose to do what they want to socially without rationality. Immanuel Kant discussed nature, freedom and will (1793, 2001, p. 276), and concluded that there is a "broad gulf that divides the supersensible from phenomena" (1793, 2001, p. 289).

Cognition and communication are part of the human experience and identity. Depending on varying levels of resilience, individuals have choices about how to respond to either self-directed or externally imposed labels that stereotype. Joseph Rogers and M. D. Buffalo cited
nine methods of adaptation to labels: acceptance, rejection, substitution or flight, channeling, evasion, modification, reinterpretation, redefinition and alternation (1974, p. 106).

As the above discussion makes clear, universals, from the point of view of constructionist theory—never actually exist; they are always seen as specific practices constructed in particular settings through the dynamic interaction of specific cultural values and power relationships. In this perspective meaning is constructed and varies from culture to culture and changes over time (Crotty, 1998; Gergen, 1985). Thus everyday understanding is considered to be a social rather than a biological act which cannot be analysed outside of the socio-cultural circumstances of the person (Semin & Gergen, 1990). Meaning emphasises the hold our culture has on us, how it influences the way that we understand actions, behaviour and our own emotions, and gives us our own definite view of the world (Crotty, 1998; Semin & Gergen, 1990).

This returns the focus back to Wood's blend of three research approaches, the traditional, the exclusively indigenous interpretations, and his preferred practice-based inquiry. Practices are embedded in, and are part of, societies. They have their own individual histories and continually inter-relate with other practices. To understand a particular practice, and the lived experiences of individuals within it, it is also necessary to understand the history of the society in which it is embedded. Michael Crotty argued that, "while humans may be described, in constructionist spirit, as engaging with their world and making sense of it, such a description is misleading if it is not set in a genuinely historical and social perspective" (1998, p. 54).

The past consists of particular events that have specific consequences for the present, just as the present has consequences for the future (Crotty, 1998); therefore we make sense of the familiar by digging into the past. As children and adults we learn in the culture in which we are reared; we learn the meaning of actions, gestures, and names that determines the way we see things, including the taken-for-granted things we ignore, or accept as normal or right. Ann Oakley recognised that "[a] way of seeing is a way of not seeing" (1988, p. 27), meaning that our culture directs our behaviour and our understanding of experiences (Crotty, 1998). Thus it can reinforce some of the restrictive and oppressive aspects of our cultural heritage especially gender issues, to which Oakley referred, and beliefs about children and child rearing that Gergen, Gloger-Tippelt and Berkowitz discussed (1990), as well as religious practices, according to Sam Harris (2004).

Particular sets of meanings support "particular power structures, resist ... moves towards greater equity and harbour ... oppression, manipulation and other modes of injustice and unfreedom" (Crotty, 1998, pp. 59-60). It is those cultural meanings that can be seen as the "freezing of social reality" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 118), by which we embark on, or stick to, a
particular path or position, and refrain from seriously considering alternative ways of how to live one's organisational and personal life.

Constructionism is aimed at "understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118). It considers the generation of meaning as shaped by language, social processes, and the cultural context. The value of an analysis informed by post-modern theory of discourse is that it focuses attention on the power relations in an organisation, and the discourses that the dominant group uses to maintain their possession of power. That group may construct reality for members by the significance they give to certain factors, events or disciplines, and what they include or exclude (Opie, 2000).

David Smith and Maurice Blanc saw social phenomena as a "social-transaction" (1997, p. 297) which seems a useful approach in this negotiated context. Anthony Kelly's and Sandra Sewell's (1988) work point to differing logics in the way social reality can be thought about and constructed—ranging from heuristic and binary logics to the synthesis of the Marxist dialectic. Kelly and Sewell's "trialectic logic (a logic of wholeness)" (1988, p. 13) and sustainability is particularly appropriate to dynamic constructionist theory. Instead of seeing a permanent and final 'answer,' as with other conventional logics, triialectic logic sees social reality as interactive, dynamic and changing, without necessarily any final 'answer.' "The challenge of triialectic logic is to hold all three separate factors in tension and, simultaneously, to view them as whole—without letting go of one or making a synthesis of just two" (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, p. 23).

![Diagram of social levels](image)

**Figure 2.1 Fundamental social levels**

In this diagram the three basic social levels influence, and are influenced by each other; each is separate and irreducible to the other, yet cannot exist without the others and the shifting patterns of relationships between them. Sometimes culture (at the community level) is more dominant, at other times family dynamics, and at others, yet again, individual issues
dominate. At the same time, the three levels are evolving as people and their society change. The arrows represent that each level is influenced by the other levels in changing the dynamic relationship. The fundamental support level of the human social world requires two people for potential community building that generate some level of interaction over time in a particular space, the basic "I-You" framework (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, p. 57). Traditionally, this basic link in human interaction has been represented in an axis or dyad. Using a trialectic we can expand this by adding the additional perspective of the 'we' to the "I-You" relationship which becomes an "I-You-We" (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, p. 57) triad that indicates a host of potential shared relationships exist between the two people in each of three dyads in the triad.

In terms of relational patterns in adoption such triadic analysis is clearly an appropriate way to approach the practice. A dyad relationship exists between a birth parent and birth child. At the same time the child is born into wider relationships which can usefully be viewed trialectically. Once an infant is born alive, it has a survival relationship with whoever meets its biological needs that may not be its birth parent. The newborn benefits from social and emotional relationships with community members who interact with the child. The extent to which the primary dyad remains critical to the child's emotional sense of security and well-being and under what circumstances this primary relationship can be exchanged for a similar relationship with a surrogate or adoptive parent depends significantly on the community or 'macro' element. In adoption the macro 'we' replaces the birth parent and sets up another trialectic of relationships unless these are blocked (as when birth origins are withheld from the child's knowledge).

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

Figure 2.2 Macro influence on customary adoption

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Overview of western adoption

According to Irving Leon, "the goal of adoption for all participants is ... to meet societal needs in cultures that support the practice of adoption" (2002, p. 658). It is suggested here that the form that adoption has taken in western commodity cultures is shaped by those capitalist commodity cultures. In the Marxist tradition Friedrick Engels noted that exchange defines a "commodity" (1936, p. 39) and in a commodity society most material goods and resources, including land, can be bought and sold. It is suggested here that the form of adoption in such societies is one where the commodity relationship dictates. Thus adoption is based around a legal fiction that the adopted person is deemed to become a 'natural' member of the adopted family, and thus transferred to that family analogous to the sale of a commodity which then 'belongs' to its new owner; and previous 'ownership' is extinguished. Thus the natural or birth family is kept secret as is the adoption, in law at least. So, in law, the adopted person often does not know about their origins, or even the fact of being adopted. In fact it is a practice which has also changed over time as the penetration of the commodity form became more pervasive. In theory, adoption is culturally accepted; however, there seems to be "a strong bias" against ascribed families (Crook, 2000, p. 43). It is also a form of adoption which denies the fact of adoption through the legal fiction for members of the triad while at the macro and institutional level it is constructed as a major practice in the welfare area to provide families for children and children for families. However practices change as social power relationships change and the dominant social constructions themselves also change. In Aotearoa for example, three recent phases can be identified:

- Pre 1950's adoption defined as important to the welfare of the child so loosely controlled and quite 'open' in its implementation.

- 1955 Adoption Act. The commodity form and nuclear family model firmly established. Creation of the legal 'fiction' of birth to the adoptive family (suppression of the birth parents) and secrecy over biological origins now superseded by legal relations. Many adoptions of children born out of marriage.

- 1970s-1980s challenges from the feminist movement and increasing power of women; development of Domestic Purposes Benefit and very few children being available for adoption – to 1981 Adult Adoption Information Act – partially overriding secrecy; Counter response, facilitated by the continued existence of the 1955 Act, of increased commercial trade in inter-country adoption.
The adoption form embodied in the 1955 Act, as noted in phase 3 above has been challenged from the 1970s, although the competing definitions are still struggling for control as some legislation has changed and some has not. The new views however have led to an explosion of information on the problems and complexities of adoption seen by the new construction of adoption based on new contestation of power relations. The particular commodity form it takes places intense pressure on the micro level through the secrecy of origins and denial.

The role of social-emotional attachment figures prominently in continental adoption studies because the primary care providers and the inherent tasks they perform for the child to survive on a day to day basis tend to transfer from the birth parent to another guardian. Through this process, Michael Rutter and Thomas O’Connor argued, the child develops a richer sense of self-identity said to influence the proclivity to form later relationships (1999). Claudia Jarratt stated (1994) that in the shift to get basic needs met between caregivers, the dependent child separates from its primary relationship which can represent an emotional loss for the child. Depending on many factors, as John Bowlby explained, this change of identity, emotional attachment and adjustment to different situations can trigger anxiety, insecurity and other emotional responses that manifest in predictable behaviours as the child tries to preserve the attachment by using patterns of coping strategies (1980).

David Brodzinsky wrote that "[for] all parties of the adoption triad ... the personal exploration of adoption is assumed to be a lifelong process" (Brodzinsky, Schechter, & Henig, 1992 cited in Brodzinsky, 2005, p. 152). Abundant research and literature is available about adoption complexities and richness from western perspectives (Kirk, 1984; Silverstein & Kaplan, 1986; Verrier, 1993; Eldridge, 1999; Boss, 2000; Crook, 2000; Jones, 2000; Doka, 2002; Leon, 2002; Brodzinsky, 2005; Javier et al., 2007).

According to Silverstein and Kaplan (1986), the "seven core issues in adoption" faced by the adoption triad include identity, loss, rejection, guilt/shame, grief, intimacy and control. Although these topics are also relevant to resilience in non-adopted individuals, the adopted child's normal developmental path to "emotional maturity and self-acceptance" is different than for non-adopted children (Crook, 2000, p. 97). These views represent the modern challenges arising from the feminist movement and rejection of commodity status by women has led to few children being available for adoption. This has led to major challenges to adoption secrecy and the denial of the legal fictions.

Sherrie Eldridge cited the importance of acknowledging and validating with sensitivity, compassion and nurturance, the unique challenges faced in restructuring families through adoption that often go unspoken (1999). "Adopted children need connections, reassurance and
a vision of a firm and defined position in their family and in society" (Crook, 2000, p. 98).

David Kirk's child informant illustrated:

The child who is born into his family is like a board that's nailed down from the start. But the adopted child, him the parents have to nail down, otherwise he is like a loose board in mid-air. (1984, p. 160)

In responding to adoption challenges Leon (2002) suggested that eventually the child will understand his genetic relationship to the adoptive and birth parents and what an adoption reversal or relinquishment represents. According to Leon (2002), relinquishment can be perceived as personal abandonment which can cause bewilderment and shame that hijacks the adoptee's adaptive emotional and role functioning.

Eldridge reported informant disclosures in adoption "look ... at life through a lens of rejection" and vague feelings of being unsettled or unstable, or of something being wrong or missing (1999, p. 8). These sensations can be masked by compliance behaviour or surface through dysfunction as adoptees find and build their identity, Eldridge (1999) explained. Eldridge also discussed the "distancing behaviour" adopted children exhibit in response to unresolved grief and information that "adopted kids wish their adoptive parents knew" (1999, p. 49).

Crisis and disarticulation in western adoption practice has been identified since secrecy in adoption exacerbates adoption loss and impairs self-esteem (Leon, 2002, p. 655), whereas openness demystifies and affirms relationships "by the degree to which each family can accept the permanence of relatedness to the other" (p. 659).

Knowing the truth about the reasons for adoption can ameliorate "toxic shame-based beliefs" held by some, but not all children (Eldridge, 1999, p. 117). Brodzinsky's ten "assumptions underlying openness in adoption" demonstrate "that the need for varying degrees of openness in adoption is constantly evolving in all three parties of the adoption triad and not always in ways that are congruent with one another," which challenges the blanket argument for "greater openness" in adoption (2005, pp. 152-156).

"[S]earching for original history is an effort to establish identity" (Crook, 2000, p. 130), if only "one generation back" (p. 79). The adopted child may be curious about shared physical resemblances (Crook, 2000), where the birth parent is located or if she is well (p. 35), "where they began," and if there are other siblings. Crook's teen informant states: "The only reason I would like to meet her is because I'd like to know who my father is...." (2000, p. 35). Teens
resent their adoptive mothers, Crook wrote, for withholding important information or they feel "betrayed" if given inaccurate information about the circumstances of their birth (2000, p. 39). Adoptees who learned late about their situations found the rejection by the birth parent difficult to understand, Crook asserted; one informant reported, "Someone dumped me when I was a baby and I couldn't understand why" (2002, p. 39).

Louise Lamphere argued that during the twenty plus years that kinship research in anthropology appeared dormant, it was refocusing toward "exploration of reproduction and sexuality, the analysis of new forms of family, and the impact of colonialism and transnational forces on populations across the globe," with a current emphasis on ideologies, narratives and conducting fieldwork among research subjects (2001, p. 42). Leon discussed the changing profile of nuclear families, and emphasised active parental nurturing and the child-centredness role of parenting (2002). He described the "goodness-of-fit theory" (2002, p. 660) and physical and temperament congruence in adoptive families. Leon linked the birthmother's losses to expectations of parenting and having autonomy and ability to achieve those expectations (2002). Even if infertility increases the stress level in custodial parents, their motivation from being "screened" and selected tends to make them a "highly functional subgroup of parents" (Leon, 2002, p. 655). Reframing adoption from being the 'last resort,' Leon explained, will change the representative sense of loss (2002, p. 661). According to Boss, "[a]lthough the birth mother is more conscious of the actual separation than is the baby given up for adoption, both can be affected by ambiguous loss" (Boss, 2000, p. 35). Merry Jones wrote about many situations in advance of, and consequences of, relinquishment that birth mothers can face privately and in subsequent relationships (2000). Michelle McCollm emphasised that in comparison to birth mothers, fathers are underrepresented in literature and marginalised in decision options (1993, p. 45).

Judith Gediman and Linda Brown iterated that in the mother's mind, finding information about the child given links the mother's past to the present (1991, cited in Griffith, 2000, p. 61). Some children wait until they can search independently to find and meet their birth parents so as to not "hurt the adoptive parent" and, according to Crook, the outcomes of reunions are unpredictable (2000, p. 138). "Meeting a birth mother," Crook stated, "is like meeting yourself" (2000, p. 133).

This brief general review of adoption literature reveals the complexities involved in socially constructing western families, and also identifies the construction of adoption in commodity exchange societies which has placed major stress on members of the triad at the personal level. Increasing rejection of the commodity status has foregrounded issues of identity attachment, loss and grief and leads to rearticulation of adoption practices for women and
children within western countries, while at the same time globalisation and further spread of commodification has tended to expand the reach of commodity adoption. It is still highly contested as, at the same time, delayed marriage and childrearing has led to significant fertility problems and major demand for children. The surge in the development of intercountry adoption heightens both the secrecy and commodity elements and arguably, intensifies disarticulation, often making contact with birth families impossible.

Adoption practice as a universal in western commodity societies can be seen to have taken specific forms which are now being challenged as differing social groups have been able to make their meanings and constructions of the world relevant, if not yet dominant. It is suggested here that the interactive construction of adoption practice is a reflection of social relationships at all levels. This perspective can be explored for traditional adoption in non-commodity Polynesian societies.

Section 2 Adoption within Polynesian societies

Overview of general Oceania literature

"The ancestors of the Polynesians did not enter Polynesia empty handed or empty headed" (Hiroa, 1945, p. 13). The Mangaian explain that they brought with them their traditions that they adapted, replicated and transmitted. The well-documented custom of informal island adoption continues to be one of the signature practices throughout the Pacific Islands.

Identity is construed according to myriad factors that are closely linked to adoption.

Because adoption involves the study of kinship, it is important to consider that a universal construct of kinship has been hotly debated, according to Peter Schweitzer, because beliefs of people in different cultures vary about how people conceive relatedness (2000a). Schweitzer argued that social data should be gathered and analysed relative to the informant's context or definition of kinship with all its subtleties, symbols and values, or outcomes may be invalid.
and that kinship reckoning can have inclusive or exclusive functions and strategies, suggesting activism on the part of the participants (2000b). Joan Silk explained that "[i]n Oceania genetic relatedness is an important criterion in the selection and treatment of adopted children, a basis for conflict among adoptive siblings and an influence upon the jural nature of adoption transactions "(1980, p. 816). Silk emphasised that "asymmetries in the degree of relatedness of parents to their biological and adopted children" may underlie "unequal treatment" and that exploitation of adopted children is "inversely proportional to the degree of relatedness between the adoptive parents and the adopted child" (1980, p. 810). Furthermore, Silk advised, the degree of relationship between the parents and the child manifests positively in the amount of land bequeathed to the child—that biological children are expected to be favoured over adopted children in matters of inheritance (1980, p. 810).

Richard Barrett wrote that "the ability to bestow meaning on things or acts and then to live according to those meanings, is the distinguishing characteristic of all human life" (1991, p. 55). Culture is comprised of the symbols and conventional understandings according to which people live that influences their behaviour and in so doing, conserves the interconnectedness of their social institutions (Barrett, 1991). "Culture is ... not seen as standing for the consensual, collective, coherent and integrated, but may also be interpreted in terms of contradiction and (hidden) conflict, dominant ideologies, class and gender bias, and so on" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 121). Hilary Weaver discussed key areas of culture to understand in work with Pacific Islanders that include "spirituality, family networks, values, gender roles, balance, and harmony" (2005, p. 197).

This does centre on the traditional anthropological focus on kinship and, according to Firth, kinship socialises the bearing of children into relationships (1957). However, "[a] scientific definition of a kinship tie between individuals means not only a specification of the genealogical bond between them and the linguistic term to denote that bond but a classification of their behaviour in many aspects of their life" (Firth, 1957, p. 577). Firth wrote about the "plasticity" of Polynesian descent systems that is conditioned by "residence ... labour [and the] system of land tenure" (1957, p. 597).

According to Firth, adoption is an institution which is "current in one form or another in [Polynesian] communities[ and] is evidence of the adaptability of family life to social needs" (1957, p. 597). Firth stated that while there is variation between the Polynesian societies regarding "[t]he degree of absorption of the child into its new group [and] the extent of severance from its own group ... [c]oncerning the attitude of the parents at parting with their child, the adjustment of the child to its new parents, its personal relationships with its adoptive brothers and sisters, the regulations which govern their sexual union, the economic and social
contacts maintained between the adopting group and that of the adopted," there is insufficient data to compare (1957, pp. 595-596). Yet, these personal relationships, Firth argued, "represent the core of the institution [of adoption] and provide the clue to its meaning" (p. 596).

David Schneider distinguished "biological kinship" from "social kinship" (1987, p. 189). Linda Stone noted that "kinship systems humans create can be based on anything" (2001, p. 10). Through all the trends in theoretical debates, Mangaian people traditionally remain self-determining in their choices about family, including the sharing and claiming of children. They generally "do what they want to" (M. Reilly, personal communication, 15 July 2009). The traditional leaders respect the families' jurisdiction over the adoption domain. Feinberg and Watson-Gegeo discussed indigenous leadership attributes:

Effective leaders claim legitimacy largely on the basis of descent from divine chiefly ancestors; but they must demonstrate their claims by showing poise and dignity, and guarding their communities' material well-being. The most effective leaders hold their followers' respect by virtue of their wisdom, competency and indisputable benevolence as well as their auspicious ancestry. They are supported by their people out of admiration and commitment, not just fear of sanctions. (1996, pp. 31-32)

Marcel Mauss (1988) explained the Maori perspective on the meaning, scope and 'recycling' of gifts which includes children and obligations to give and receive: A Maori possession carries its owner's spiritual essence that bonds the donor and gifts to the recipient over time. 'Even when abandoned by the giver, it still forms a part of him [and t]hrough it, he has a hold over the recipient, just as he had while its owner, a hold over anyone who stole it... (Mauss, 1988, p. 9). The recipient is then compelled to return to the benefactor something equivalent or of greater value so as to receive authority and power over the original donor.... [People are forced to give] because the recipient has a sort of proprietary right over everything which belongs to the donor... The pattern of symmetrical and reciprocal rights is not difficult to understand if we realize that it is first and foremost a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups that behave in some measure as if they were things.

All these institutions reveal the same kind of social and psychological pattern. Food, women, children, possessions, charms, land, labour, services, religious offices, rank—everything is stuff to be given away and repaid. In perpetual interchange of what we may call spiritual matter, comprising men and things, these elements pass and repass between clans and individuals, ranks, sexes and generations. (1988, pp. 10-12)

Mauss (1988) helps clarify in my western mind, not only how and why parents are able to exchange children, but also the past prevalence of the transactions in Mangaian society. This
fluidity and the separation it represents become even more understandable with insight from Maurice Godelier (1991) about "Big Man" societies:

> It is not possible to replace human beings, living or dead, by objects or living things without first reifying social relations.... For social relations to become reified, one precondition must be fulfilled; people must alienate themselves by their representations, they must become strangers to themselves by their thought processes, they must use thought to institute distances which separate them within their society. But by alienating themselves by means of thought, people also produce their social self, since they produce some of the concrete organising principles of their society, their reality. What can it be, then, that drives persons to invent themselves by becoming alien through thought and alienated within society, trapped between representations which become fetishes and social relations which become things?" (p. 304)

In other words, people create their own reality; they must separate themselves mentally and shut themselves off from their society so they can reinvent themselves. They must lose themselves to find themselves. This may be what is expected of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai who are left to find in their own minds, their 'place' in society.

**Parenting rearing and roles**

Brady (1976) discussed the adaptive utility of fosterage and adoption as resource management throughout Oceania—that the practice strengthens or creates alliances and solidarity and provides structural continuity in kinship descent or property group alignments. "The primary purpose of adoption was to meet the needs of the adopting parents rather than the well being of the child," according to Griffith, who added that "[t]he welfare of the child is a totally modern concept" (1997, p. 1). Crocombe (1964) looked at primary and secondary lineage rights, contingency, proprietary, and usufruct rights, all with regard to land access that is relevant to adoption studies.

Brady (1976) identified the adoption triad as consisting of the adoptee, the primary jural parents and the adoptive parents. According to Brady, relations between the triad members make up the three adoption dyads in the "kinship identity set": adoptee and primary jural parent, adoptee and adopter, and primary jural parent and adopter (1976, p. 18). Keith Griffith warned that the construct of a triad is inadequate in that it does not necessarily represent cohesiveness or equal power between the three components in light of its consumer-driven nature: "[D]ifferent pressures and legal standings" influence individuals and if the triad focuses "on the nuclear family model," the framework may not fit the situation (1997, p. 41).
Polynesian practice

Jane Beaglehole Ritchie, who grew up in Polynesia, and James Ritchie wrote that "[m]isunderstandings concerning adoptive practices and attitudes may become the basis of some inter-ethnic ill feeling" if negligence or promiscuity are implied; however, Polynesian adoption is seen as "affirmative, positive and sensible" (1979, pp. 35-36).

A Polynesian child belongs to everybody and vice versa, whether he is an adopted child or not....

It was rare for the natural parents to be pointed out as the cause of a child's bad behaviour....

Caring for a child is a cooperative effort of the relatives or of the community at large....

I know of some adoptees who run away to their real parents when they get old enough to know. Others don't seem to care--they've happily taken on two or three homes with the full knowledge of who their real parents are and who their adoptive parents are. (1979, p. 27)

The authors compared Polynesian adoption to western methods and stated that the ubiquitous and normal Polynesian practice of adoption is done between "close relatives" and is a "family and community matter" that eliminates "intermediaries" and interference by social agencies as seen in the west (1979, pp. 33-34). Families with children can adopt as can single parents, and people are not declined due to financial or health situation or personality (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979). Polynesian people, Ritchie and Ritchie (1979) explained, distinguish between fosterage and adoption similarly as in the west with the foster children retaining their lineage by birth and the birth parents retaining some control over the child, whereas the adopted child can claim lineage through either set of parents; Polynesian birth parents abdicate all control over the adopted child.

According to Ritchie and Ritchie, Polynesian adoption protects the child as it is a mechanism to "diffuse caretaking" and welfare responsibilities which "develops great social sensitivities" (1979, p. 76). The child is thereby provided with options to creatively avoid tensions in a single household, Ritchie and Ritchie purported (1979). Grandparents especially seek the companionship of grandchildren, but when they die, the birth parents "tend to resume parental authority" (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979, p. 34).

An adopted child is presumed to have the rights and status of a natural child--whether a person is one or the other is not supposed to make any difference. We are not so sure of this, for we have spoken to many adopted Polynesians who felt abandoned by their natural parents, particularly if the adoption took place, as sometimes happens, in childhood rather than infancy and especially if the adoptive parents were very old when they took the child and died before the full span of parenting to adulthood was complete. The emotional significance of the individual...
of being an adoptee, while it may well be less traumatic because the fact of adoption has been known to them all their lives, may still be stressful especially as social change removes the real securities of village, family and group within which the Polynesian adoption system functioned. Indeed the dislocation caused by death of aged adoptive parents may be deeply resented. (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979, pp. 35-36)

Polynesian village illegitimacy is "of relatively little importance," and infertility is "generally ... not shameful"; however, cultural expectations are that other kin should compensate with gifts of children (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979, p. 33). Parents are ready to keep their children, but are "culturally required" to give children when asked by relatives (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979, p. 34). Adoptive parents do not expect "kudos" for acquiring a child, Ritchie and Ritchie stated, and there is generally no stigma for birth parents to give a child, instead, the couple is "usually considered generous" (1979, p. 34). Polynesian families are less selective about physical attributes of the children they adopt than in the west, and agreements can be done prior to the birth of the child (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979).

Collectively, Polynesian adoption practices refute the western fixation about attachment issues as being ethnocentric. This concludes a general review of Oceania adoption literature. Now follows a literature survey similar to what Jared Diamond described as "environmentally related diversification [in] human societies" (1997, p. 66), in this case, customary adoption practices throughout the Cook Islands and Mangaia.

**Section 3 Cook Islands**

This survey of adoption related writings about five of the fifteen Cook Islands begins with the northernmost island, Tonga Reva or Penrhyn, and works south to Pukapuka, Aitutaki, Rarotonga and lastly, Mangaia.

**Tonga Reva/Penrhyn**

Nihi Vini (2003) described adoption on Tonga Reva or Penrhyn. On Tonga Reva the word *rave* means 'adopt/do it,' *raverave* means 'serving,' and "*hangai* means feed," although it encompasses nurturance, food and comprehensive education (Vini, 2003). Vini repeated the preferential status of the adopted child over natal children (as on Aitutaki), and that such status occurs without arousing animosity (2003). On Tonga Reva, according to Vini (2003), infant or adult adoption can include kin or non-relatives, as well as individuals from other islands, and is privately arranged without ceremony. Requests to adopt are made pre-parturition and are not usually spoken about thereafter (Vini, 2003). Tonga Reva's practice of
informal island adoption includes protocol for negotiating the arrangement, and has inclusive and exclusive strategies that improve status for the adoptee and support the local island community and beyond (Vini, 2003).

Pukapuka

Pukapuka is situated over 1150 km northwest of Mangaia. Ernest Beaglehole's vignettes about life on Pukapuka refer not only to rules and expectations, but also to tensions that arise from the customary practice (1944, pp. 161-163). If an adopted child, forbidden to visit his blood parents, disobeys the surrogate parent, the child may receive a "beating" (Beaglehole, 1944, p. 161) as punishment for "ingratitude" (1944, p. 162). Beaglehole wrote that some natal parents would lure their shared out child back to them, even though this action was considered inappropriate (1944). Pukapukans generally believe that the 'feeding child' becomes the foster parents' child or belongs to the adoptive parent and that it is not good if the child prefers the birth parents over the adoptive parents, according to Beaglehole (1944). Children were adopted for companionship and "because one hoped that in old age the adopted child would be kind and good to his foster parents" (Beaglehole, 1944, p. 162), an early system of aged-welfare. Another advantage of the custom, Beaglehole argued, was that if a parent remarried, relatives would welcome their children from previous unions (1944). Even if expectations did not universally match the outcome of the practice, fostering children was still valuable to new couples and to the aging Pukapukan community (Beaglehole, 1944). This same author also wrote about adoption in Aitutaki.

Aitutaki

Less than 300 kilometres north-northwest of Mangaia is Aitutaki, another outer island in the Southern Group of the Cook Islands that literature correlates with practising customary fosterage/adoption. Beaglehole (1957, pp. 164-166) documented that adoption was common here and discussed arrangement-options: Sometimes a baby would be spoken for prior to or at birth, or after weaning. If the infant stayed with the natal parents until weaning, the adoptive parents were expected to provide good quality food for the birth mother to eat until the child shifted to its adoptive home, and at that time, the adopting parents named the child and provided a feast to mark the occasion (Beaglehole, 1957).

Names were important and exclusive to some families, Beaglehole noted, and natal parents would defer in this regard to the wishes of the adoptive parents (1957). Beaglehole explained
that the child was generally related to the adoptive father, but non-relatives could be adopted with full consent of the child’s paternal and maternal families. According to Beaglehole, *tamariki 'āngai* children were said to be favoured, and if they had lived with their *metua 'āngai* from birth, ‘feeding children’ would expect to inherit “land, property and status from the new household” as would any natal child (1957, p. 164).

From Beaglehole’s (1957) description, we learn that *tamariki 'āngai* on Aitutaki had special status; protocol existed for kin and non-kin adoption; and that heir-entitlements were provided for natal children and ‘feeding children’ depending on length of time that the latter lived with their foster parents.

### Rarotonga

The islands of Tonga Reva, Pukapuka, Aitutaki and Mangaia (along with ten other islands) are considered outer islands in reference to Rarotonga, the capital and largest of the Cook Islands. Rarotonga lies approximately 140 km west-northwest of Mangaia. ‘Johnny’ Frisbie described customary adoption in her interracial family living on Rarotonga in 1930 (1959, p. 37-38), after Johnny’s father returned from a visit to his native United States:

Papa found his first-born had been adopted by his grand-aunt, Piki-Piki. Piki-Piki was a scheming but very likeable scrounger who refused to give back Charles. This practice is not unusual in the Cook Islands, but Papa was apoplectic, and shouted and threatened her life. Still, what could he do?

"Ropati, Ropati!" Mama soothed him. "I was very sick when Mataa was born. I could not give him my milk, so Piki-Piki adopted him. Everybody does that here, and we shall have another baby soon. Don’t be mean to Piki-Piki, please!"

For many years after Papa and Mama had left Rarotonga, old hunchback Piki-Piki would hustle Charles Mataa into the taro patches the minute she heard news of a ship’s arrival. She would hide in the mountains until the ship had left, or until she received news that Ropati Piritipi (her way of saying Robert Frisbie) had not paid a visit. This old Piki-Piki woman possessed the firm belief that Papa, or a sort of secret police sent by him, would someday kidnap her adopted son. Papa might have, but he stayed away from Rarotonga as often as he could and when we settled there in 1943 Charles was a grown man who loved his grand-aunt very much.

Fourteen years later, when her father decided to return to Pukapuka, her mother’s birthplace, Johnny observed (1959, p. 143): "Papa had a big quarrel with Piki-Piki about her not allowing Charles to sail with us. She never let our older brother out of her sight for fear that we might kidnap him" (Frisbie, 1959, p. 143). Frisbie described a subsequent visit to her brother, Charles, prior to his launching into adulthood:
Old Piki-Piki fussed over us ... fixing special taro foods and killing a few of her choice hens. But she was not a very happy woman, for soon her adopted son would sail away on the *Maui Pomare.* (Frisbie, 1959, p. 165)

Another author, Josephine Baddeley (1982), wrote about earlier traditional adoption practices in Rarotonga and explained that adoptions were more formal and ritualised than today: Before, community signified their approval to the transaction by attending a feast. Baddeley cited one genealogical record of a natal family physically removing all of the adoptee's possessions from the birth parents' home, "symbolising that he no longer belonged to his natural parents" (1982, p. 124) which suggests the notion and transference of ownership and identity.

Baddeley (1982) explained that early Rarotongan customary adoption occurred both in- and outside of blood lines. The author provided an example of the latter, transacted between the *ariki* and the missionaries, creating a protective relationship (without transfer of land), known as *tama u'a* (1982).7 People of rank practised adoption which gave credence to the community practice (as it extended safety to immigrant clergy) and possibly set the standard for non-elite islanders. Baddeley (1982) also argued that adoption was preferred within the kinship lines. She added that to be considered official, adoption required "consent of the *kōpū tangata* [extended family] involved" (p. 125) for two reasons: First, because a child *belonged* to the *kōpū tangata,* not just the parents; and secondly, the extended family held the land rights that would be depleted by an additional person—the adoptee, who was entitled to birthright land inheritance. An emerging concern was sustainability of a growing community with access to increasingly limited land.

Crocombe explained that some adoptees retained primary rights in both their original and adopted lineages and that the "marginal status of adoptees often led to dispute, and rights acquired by adoption have always been a matter of contention" (1964, p. 57). This contrasts with Beaglehole's (1944) depiction of Pukapukan 'feeding children' having special status without animosity. Further examination might reveal variance between 'official' reports and reality, another point to consider in research.

Baddeley (1982) described that to maintain peace between descent groups, Rarotongan chiefs enlisted two alliance mechanisms: adoption and marriage. It appears that the alliance benefits for the chiefs outweighed issues of land depletion, and early inter-lineage adoption had considerable political influence (Baddeley, 1982). The practice expanded along with a web of rules: According to Baddeley, close friends cement their relationships by adopting *tamariki 'āngai 'aka'oa* 'feeding friend,' one another's child as a replacement for the parent; grandparents qualify to ask for a grandchild as a replacement for the grown child, and in turn,
children are expected to repay all the years of care from their parents by donating a child to the grandparents; adoption provides children for the childless, and siblings of the parents also had priority in their requests for a 'feeding child' (1982). Needs or tikanga 'rights' were subject to the authority of the kōpū tangata over all children in their membership (Baddeley, 1982). Baddeley described another factor in the practice of adoption: tua tamariki, the conceptual allocation and actual naming of birth children between each of the parents' kōpū tangata with the firstborn belonging to, and being named by, the father's tua 'side' and subsequent children being alternately allocated (1982). Tua tamariki could adopt whom (Baddeley, 1982).

According to Baddeley (1982), if all criteria were satisfied, adoptions were negotiated prior to birth which immediately activated obligations for the potential metua 'āngai 'adoptive parents' bearing gifts to the metua 'ānau 'birth parents.' But the latter did not acquiesce easily to such bidding and sought some level of assurance as to the commitment of the potential adopters (Baddeley, 1982). Children were not shared haphazardly and yet, declining another's request to adopt risked recriminations from both the community (social pressure to not be greedy) and their tūpāpaku 'ancestral spirits,' who would intervene on behalf of the requestor and cause the sought after child to become ill with maki tūpāpaku 'ghost sickness' until adoption arrangements concluded in the potential metua 'āngai's favour (Baddeley, 1982).

So early Rarotongans, according to Baddeley, practised cautious generosity to appease mortal values and they reckoned with dangerous spiritual sanctions that could threaten the health and life of their infant (1982).

Rarotonga's inhabitants developed early strategies to graciously decline, delay or defer sharing their child without offending the requesting party, for example: allowing another to name the child or the looking after the child until such time that the child was old enough to choose for himself or decline the request on his own (Baddeley, 1982). There was no race to share out their children in the wide spread practice as might appear to the casual observer; Baddeley also maintained that the majority of adoption initiators were the potential metua 'āngai rather than the metua 'ānau (1982). Regardless of who was the initiate, Rarotongan tamariki 'āngai was about relationships (Baddeley, 1982). Baddeley's arguments reveal that early Rarotonga had an organised, stratified society that valued ownership, entitlement, obligation, land, and sharing, and in some cases, not sharing children, and they had in place traditional rules that governed their practices (1982).

The advent of the missionaries, literacy, and European ideas make it "very difficult to discover what the traditional practices were" (Baddeley, 1982, p. 121). According to Baddeley's writing (1982) subsequent rules were written that interpreted cases and
misinterpreted old customs, as illustrated with Rarotangans pitting Maori custom against land court decisions. Adoption registration or tamariki rētīta occurs under Rarotonga's Land Court jurisdiction (Baddeley, 1982). Although the more common form of Rarotongan adoption is de facto, for certain purposes people will resort to legalisation through the Land Court to commit both the tamaiti āngai and metua ānau to the finality of the adoption and permit the adoptee to legally inherit land from metua āngai (Baddeley, 1982). The latter is important because after working on the metua āngai's land for years, Baddeley explained, the tamariki āngai would no longer be welcome on the metua ānau's land, reflecting the belief that people should be entitled to land they maintain (1982). Tamariki āngai versus traditional land allocation/ownership becomes problematic if the kōpū tangata has not been approached for permission prior to the tamariki āngai (Baddeley, 1982). Later in Baddeley's article, she suggested that de facto adoption merits its own specific legislation (1982), an idea that is explored during this research project.

The modified version of customary adoption that Baddeley wrote about in 1982 is about integrity of families. Contemporary tamariki āngai warrants publicly recognised reciprocal obligations and allegiant behaviours on a wide continuum that is highly individualised, depending on expectations and negotiations between natal and adoptive parents (Baddeley, 1982). The tamariki āngai continuum of tika 'anga can range from no change in status quo, to full transfer of all jurial rights, Baddeley stated (1982). In tamariki rētīta, the child becomes a full member of, and inherits land from, the adopter's family (Baddeley, 1982). Similar flexibility extends to the amount of background natal information that is given to the adoptee, as Baddeley noted: Some āngai parents choose to withhold the child's adoptive status, not easily managed in a small community where secrets are few (1982). According to Baddeley (1982) such variation affords considerable latitude towards the needs of families, and those needs generate myriad contemporary reasons for the practice. Adopting parents might wish to help a family unable to afford an additional child, to relieve gender imbalance in either family, acquire additional labourers, or as a strategy to exclude members of their kōpū tangata from inheriting land, adding a different spin: Adoption can be used to obstruct another's entitlements, apart from those of the adoption triad (Baddeley, 1982). The flexibility and ambiguity of customary adoption seems to at least partly account for its durability over time.

In 1940, Beaglehole wrote that "culture is not static" (p. 40). Baddeley's 1982 article supports the idea about social challenges influencing tamariki āngai on Rarotonga. In the past, having numerous children was seen as an asset, whereas in today's economic world, extra āngai offspring may be a liability for wage-earning parents. The flux of rules, values, obligations and outcomes alter families and customs, according to Baddeley (1982). Many
tamariki 'āngai are aware that their metua 'āngai did not ask to adopt them, but were obliged to take them in as kin, when the children were being neglected (Baddeley, 1982). Baddeley held that feeling unwanted sometimes creates behaviour problems that parents are ill-equipped to address (1982). Baddeley (1982) suggested that the way children are treated may present difficulties in their later life: Some harshly treated children rebel and run away while others, who were spoilt, refuse to recognise authority and also rebel (Baddeley, 1982). Baddeley advised that many tamariki 'āngai may not be warmly received into their 'āngai families because relatives "are not sure that they will be recompensed for their effort in bringing them up" (1982, p. 135).

**Mangaia**

Crocombe and Crocombe (2003) explained that Mangaia has aspects of its culture and dialect that are distinct from the other fourteen islands in the Cook Group. Mangaian residents spoke candidly to me about their custom of, and experience with, tamariki 'āngai/feeding children/informal island adoption/fosterage, when I first visited in 2003 and subsequently moved to the island (T. Piiti, personal communication, 25 March 2003; L. Marii, personal communication, 28 January 2005). Although I saw informal island adoption manifest in the routine lives of my neighbours between 2003 and 2006, there is no written literature about the current practice of tamariki 'āngai on Mangaia, or analysis of its effects on the lives of the people influenced by this tradition.

There are, however, writings that provide information about early Mangaian adoption customs following European contact in the early 1800s up until 1945. As with Hiroa (1934), more recent writers rely heavily on earlier Mangaia-based writings. Burton Mack recommended that "[i]f the new rhetoric is actually a rearticulation of the old rhetoric," the writer should consider the underlying cultural context of the original document (1990, p. 16). Chapter 1's historical-cultural context of Mangaia builds on Mack's requisite that all literature has a historical and cultural existence (1990). In this thesis, continuity exists between the adoption literature from the 1940s and my research sample, as the older tamariki 'āngai informants remember Resident agent Hickling being on the island during their childhoods when Hickling documented Mangaian adoption practices (1945) and together with his wife, taught English in the village-schools.

Hiroa states that "in the study of a vanishing culture, a picture of what the culture was is required before it can be determined what has vanished and what remains" (1945, p. 1 26). Prior to 1824, traditions, genealogy, legends and lore were transmitted orally in Mangaia's
stone-age society. Christian missionaries brought literacy and began extensive documentation of Mangaia's traditional cultural practices. The earliest indigenous writer was gifted Mangaian intellectual, historian and genealogist, Mamae, a tamaiti 'āngai, raised by his grandfather in a life of privilege: "He alone was allowed to eat with the renowned warrior Koroa, dipping his morsel in the same cup of salt water or rich fish-sauce" (Gill, 1894, p. 318, emphasis in original). Mamae's writings, according to Michael Reilly, explain that combat-oriented "tribal identity and alliance-making" orchestrated "transitory human relationships" (including adoption), based on "complex and fluid ... arrangements" (2003, p. 64), evidence that precontact Mangaian people were organised and their early cultural practices were deliberate, goal-oriented and had utility.

One of Mamae’s ecumenical colleagues, early European missionary William Wyatt Gill, also documented oral traditions and information in the 1800s with assistance from informants who remembered precontact times. According to F. Max Müller (Gill, 1876b, p. xii), "the great advantage of Mr Gill’s collection [of writings] is that Mangaia has kept itself freer from foreign influences than almost any other of the Polynesian Islands" which Gill credited to geographical remoteness "and the extreme jealousy with which they were guarded." Gill’s extensive descriptions and reiterations in later texts about Mangaia and its culture reflect the emotional investment that he and his family felt for Mangaia and the people (M. Reilly, personal communication, 12 June 2008).

Gill described that having offspring is considered a "greatly coveted gift" in Mangaian culture (1880a, p. 12). However, Gill (1979, p. 4) reported that this adoration can have a negative component:

When children are small they are spoiled by their parents; but when of a useful age all this disappears, and many of them have a very hard life. The curse of native family life is adoption; this makes discipline almost impossible. A cross word will make the youngster run off to its adopted parents, who sympathise where they ought to scold. I have known parents take a present of food to the runaway, and humbly entreat his return; but all in vain! These adopted parents, however, will resolutely set themselves to discharge the duties of real parents in teaching the youngster the arts needful in after life.

Gill had first hand experience with the practice of 'tamariki 'āngai in an arrangement that did not require a change of residence for his child (1979). In 1815, according to Gill, warrior chief Rakoia’s beloved fifteen-year-old daughter Enuataurere drowned tragically off the coast of Tamarua (1979, p. 28). Years later, Gill’s only daughter was formally adopted and named by Rakoia, both a renowned poet in his day and Tamarua’s chief (1979, p. 28). Periodically, Rakoia would cross the island, using his spear for support, bringing food gifts to Gill’s child,
and chanting a song he wrote memorialising his deceased daughter; the last stanza reads:
"Enuatauere now trips o'er the ruddy ocean. Thy path is the foaming crest of the bellow" (Gill, 1979, p. 28). Memorialising loved ones through naming was associated with the practice of tamariki āngai. The early custom allowed families considerable flexibility about residence requirements regarding the adopted child in relation to the ānau family.

Gill's reference to "greatly coveted" offspring (1880a, p. 12) described those born within stable relationships whose parents lived together, according to Hiroa (1934, p. 91). Having children within the bond of marriage has been important to Mangaians from before the advent of Christianity (Hiroa, 1934, p. 91). Hiroa wrote that children born outside of marriage before western contact, brought shame to Mangaian families: Illegitimacy was considered "a bar sinister in [one's] pedigree" and resulted in adoption by a relation (1934, p. 95). The child might be "taunted with his birth [by peers, however, as an adult] he could rise to a position of power and authority, but he could not very well boast of his ancestry" (Hiroa, 1934, p. 95). Traditional adoption saved early Mangaians from poverty and death by providing a father for the child born outside of marriage, according to Hiroa, plus the practice provided a replacement for a grown child who left an older household (1934).

Adoption was an early social mechanism for resource management. Having children awarded status to married women, in that wives without children were considered "food-waster[s]" (Gill, 1876a, p. 30). Hiroa wrote that Mangaian families coming from "good stock" were more likely to add to their political clout in their community "if they established strong families" (1934, p. 110). Hiroa also referred to a sense of entitlement by blood relatives "who consider that they have a claim on the children" (1934, p. 97). Crocombe cited "no information available with regard to sex preferences in adoption, though accounts of adoptions by ranked families usually refer to male children" (1964, p. 57). Hiroa reported that male children were universally desired to perpetuate the family line and as labourers to maintain food lands (1934).

The levels of formality varied in Mangaia's early adoption practice. Gill (1880a, p. 138) recorded that Teora arranged the adoption of her last surviving warrior son, Manaune, into Mautara's hostile, but victorious tribe: "[The warriors] had heard that some one was to be formally adopted into the tribe, without knowing whom. For so important an occasion, they put on their war head-dresses and covered their persons with many folds of twisted native cloth" (Gill, 1880a, p. 138). Gill also wrote that "[c]hildren, unless distinctly adopted into another clan, always follow the father" (1979, p. 6). Gill's use of the words 'formally' and 'distinctly' in the two aforementioned quotes suggests multiple levels of formality in the
practice. Saifullah Syed and Ngatokorua Mataio confirmed that "[i]t was common to provide for a relative (particularly a child) for a period without adopting it fully" (1993, p. 49).

In 1945, Resident agent Hickling described two forms of Mangaian customary adoption, *tamaiti motu* 'child cut' and *uanga pa'u* 'descendant substitute':

> The first is an old expression which is still in use, which signifies adoption in the truest sense, or a child actually born to the adopting father. A *tamaiti motu* cannot claim anything from his true parents as a right although he may inherit any property willed to him. This child might also be more loosely referred to as a *tamaiti angai* (a feeding-child).

*Uanga pa'u* are rather more involved. If there were two brothers (or brother and sister) and one of the brothers had no children of his own, but had adopted a child from his own wife's relatives, and this adopted child did not have a child of his own, but has adopted a child from his adopting mother's side, such a case is termed *uanga pa'u*. In many cases the family of the brother who had children of his own is privileged to claim the land of his barren brother, but in some cases the *uanga pa'u* inherits. (p. 84)

Tribal identity and alliance begins at birth in this patriarchal society, and pre-missionary women were adoption strategists who interrupted the early practice of human sacrifice: Although the preference was that the child's name be linked with the father's lineage, if it was the case that the father's lineage "was devoted to furnish [human] sacrifices, the mother would seek to save her child's life by getting it adopted into her own tribe, the name of her own tribal divinity being pronounced over the babe" (Gill, 1979, p. 1). In Gill's (1880a, p. 216) version of "TUKA'S LAMENT FOR HIS FRIEND ATA," he translated the third line in the "First offshoot": "Na tama vaine ia Tane ê!"6 as "Are they not adopted into the tribe of Tane?" affirming the link between the *tama va'ine* 'female side' and adoption. Ideally, the adoption strategy interrupted the deadly protocol, however Gill described the case of Makimaki, adopted into the safety of the mother's side, but murdered for sacrifice by her husband's friend. Adoption was not a failsafe policy for life insurance.

Mangaian fathers did not passively abdicate their infants' lineage claims. Rather, a father would "as a point of honour" pronounce his tribal god's name over the infant when the umbilical was severed, making the child eligible for sacrifice later, however, without the mandate (Gill, 1979, p. 1). And, according to Gill, it was Mangaia's practice that newborn babes, including those adopted, were washed in a font fashioned from a large *kape* 'giant taro' leaf (1979, p. 1).

Mangaia's early tradition included child and adult adoptions (Hiroa, 1934). Adult adoptions also merited ceremonial ablutions "in the sacred pool of his mother's tribe to purify him from the taint of his father's god and tribe" (Hiroa, 1934, p. 186). Although the "sharing of children could be claimed and relinquished at any stage, as the mother's family decided" (Hiroa, 1934,
there was the expectation that parents—birth or adopted—were to instruct children "in manners and deportment and the correct attitude to other members of society" (Hiroa, 1934, p. 88). Early Mangaian adoption had considerable age-flexibility that came with protocol and responsibilities.

References in literature illustrate that tamaki 'war' contributed to Mangaia's early practice of tamariki 'āngai: The practice of tamariki 'āngai provided a safe-haven for defeated warriors and their children who were considered "fugitives" until "the drum of peace had sounded" (Gill, 1892, cited in Hiroa, 1934, p. 98). The "Foundation" stanza in the following pre-European Mangaian death chant by Tuka, circa AD 1817 (Gill, 1880a, p. 39) entitled "UE FINDING HIS GOD TANE" also links adoption and tamaki:

Terau oki to tama rä rire
I ravea'i e Tanè nei,
Ei koatu i Maungaroa na Ue,
No Vara nei te pia.
Ei vari au ki Maungaroa ra ē!

Terau, too, was thy son,
Adopted by the tribe of Tanè.
To pray at Maungaroa on behalf of Ue
(i.e., the tribe of Tanè),—
He the priest of (the tribe of) Vara
My boast is of Maungaroa!

In the second line, Gill translated the root word rave for adopt, rather than the more contemporary tamariki 'āngai and the lesser used āama 'iā 'child of the thigh.'

In the "Foundation" stanza of Potiki's 'LAMENT FOR NAMU; 'circa. AD 1790, rave is translated as "pitied" (Gill, 1880a, p. 111). In Gill's account (1880a, p. 111), Namu, a young lad from the Ngariki, a tribe designated to provide human sacrifices, escaped the attackers when the Tongaiti murdered his father, and the following transpired:

E piri ake Namu i te rau puka;
Noo mai paa i te makitea.
Eiae ra tau ai ē?
Raumea oki te rave
I te tarangaora i noo ei!

Once Namu wandered in the forest;
His home was in the rocks.
Who then succoured him?
'Twas Raumea that pitied him;
His life was secure in his hands.

Namu went on to live a long life before a brutal death (Gill, 1880a, p. 110).

One final translation linking rave to war and rescue is found in the "Foundation" stanza of Temaru's "THE CAPTURE OF VAIAA: 'A DEATH-TALK" composed around 1791 (Gill, 1880a, p. 144). Here Gill translated "Kua rave a Teuanuku" to mean "it was Teuanuku that saved him" (1880a, p. 144), referring to the young fugitive, Vaiaa.

Gill's (1892, cited in Hiroa, 1934, p. 92) description of sanctions against marriage between close relations includes a Mangaian quote that gives insight into the cultural meaning behind "'āngai": "If related couples suffered misfortune or disease, the elders of the tribe would declare it to be the anger of the clan-god (kua kai te angai)"; in other words, the
misfortune/disease generates from the one who looks after, protects, nurtures 'āngai,' such as the district's god. In the context of early Mangaian adoption Gill's translations widen our understanding of traditional adoption to include expectations for "clan-god"-like supervision geared toward pity, nurturance and protection for the constituents.

To understand Mangaia's history concerning the inter-generational pattern of brutality is to also understand *lex talionis*, the pre-Christian "law of[. or ]duty of revenge" that Mangaians honoured: "If the person or persons escaped during the offended man's lifetime, he gave the same injunction to his children at his death: thus it was handed down from generation to generation, until the lust of revenge was satiated." In this way, *lex talionis* (Gill, 1885, p. 234) promoted war and adoption.

According to Reilly, Gill's late nineteenth century writing "rather dramatises the violence and savagery—in effect [Gill's] motif for pre-Christian Mangaia" (personal communication, 21 August 2008) which more recent authors have incorporated. However, Reilly conceded that the Mangaians' responses to early missionary landings were "increasingly violent" and one encounter was "very aggressive" (2009, p. 95). John Williams described early contact with "the natives [who] were all armed, some with stones in their slings, and others with their spears poised, ready in a moment to defend their island against the expected invasion" and that in that same encounter, the wives of the European teachers were seized and treated with "great brutality" (1837, pp. 79-80). Even so, Crocombe may be overstating reality in his description of Mangaian warfare over resources as being "endemic" (2001, p. 205).9

Whatever the frequency or intensity of the interchanges, it is noteworthy that Mangaian adoption supposedly shifted allegiance during *tamaki*: "[T]he duty of an adopted son would be to fight alongside of his adopted father" (Gill, 1979, p. 6), against a natal parent. However, it was not always the case, according to Hiroa: "Sometimes blood overruled the law and sometimes it did not" (1934, p. 105). Hiroa stated that "[t]he sons of Mautara were always suspicious of [their 'āngai sibling] Manaune and made disparaging remarks about him, for they felt that in any battle he would side with his [birth]father's tribe" (1934, p. 61).

Early Mangaian literature describes wartime patricide. During the 33rd of Mangaia's 42 battles, the aforementioned Manaune proved patriotic toward his 'āngai clan following Manaune's recent formal adoption, when his *metua 'ānau*, Rurae, admonished him: 'Kill me quickly that your adoption may be sealed with my blood' (Hiroa, 1934, p. 62), because killing the father would prove to the community that Manaune's allegiance was to his adoptive family. According to Gill's account (1880a, p. 139) of the same event Manaune not only killed his birthfather, but also his father's nearest kin: "Many were laid low by his spear. As a punishment, [Manaune] was long afflicted with insanity, until he had made atonement to the
gods." Spiritual sanctions moderated the expectations for 'āngai-d warriors to prove their loyalty to their metua 'ānau.

A balance to the potential weakness represented by blood-loyalties for 'āngai-d warriors is the practical strength of additional numbers. However, a description of Pakuunga killing his birthfather during Mangaia's next to the last great battle around 1821 at Areava (Hiroa, 1993, p. 10) illustrates friction between brothers when faced with patricide:

In a battle between the Ngati-Vari [sic] and Ngati-Tane, Poito's two sons, who had been shared to the Ngati-Tane, Poito's two sons, who had been shared to the Ngati-Tane, fought against their father's tribe. In the battle they approached an enemy who was fighting valiantly. The elder son cried out to his brother, "Let us engage elsewhere. It is our father Poito." The younger son took no notice. Poito, recognizing his opponent, made a mere pretence of striking at him and allowed himself to be killed. The younger son, though literally obedient to custom, is not admired in Mangaia for his action. (Hiroa, 1934, p. 105)

Hiroa described that the father, Poito, and his elder son understood the gravity of the situation (1934, p. 105). In Hiroa's account, Poito chose to honour the protocol-technicality releasing adopted warriors from killing related foes if they merely feign or stage a response, in this case, to the attack on Poito by his younger son (1934). However, Poito's younger son breached the appropriate etiquette calling for a response with war mimicry, and instead, slew his birth father (1934). Poito sacrificed his life that his son would live; the example of Poito and his sons also illustrates that Mangaia's early custom provided avenues to technically assist the adopted warriors to prove their loyalty to their metua 'āngai short of patricide (Hiroa, 1934). The people had protocol; however, they also had feelings.

Another example of strengthened numbers through multiple adoptions in one family, only without the element of patricide, is the case of Kie's three sons, Muraaai, Tamarua, and Metuaii, whose adoptions occurred in the generation after Manaune and strengthened the Ngāti-Tāne tribe prior to the death of their father, Atatoa. The poet Tuka's dirge rehearses the adoption of Kie's three sons in this fragment from Gill's 1894 version (p. 299) of "Tuka's Lament For His Friend Ata":

Na'ai ra e ranga?
Na Tamarua, na Metua-iviivi,
Na tama va'ine ia Tane e!

E Mura-ai aura koe e vavao e!
Kia 'u'una atu ite mata ra i te metua e —.

Who shall obtain revenge?
Tamarua and Metua-iviivi,
The children allotted on the female side to N'Tane!
O Mura'ai never forget,
Thy father's face was hidden away.

Atatoa, a pava of Kē'i'a and leader in the Ngāriki ivi: must have been revered in life, because Gill recorded four "laments" devoted solely to the man whose three sons were adopted out of the family, plus a lament to Ata and his father.
"TAUPEPE'S LAMENT FOR ATA" (Gill, 1880a, pp. 218-220) is the longest of the "Ata" dirges and it is rife with references to Māngaiā war-related adoption and adoption related emotions. In this chapter, I present only the "Tumu" or "Introduction" stanza, but discuss the entire Lament that appears in Appendix 5 of this thesis:

Ka tuku ra nga tama e kei te te metua.  
Ei rave ake, e Tetonga e; akamoeria te ivi  
To tama kai kino ra, e Ata ē!

Go, my sons, to your new parent.  
Adopt them, Tetonga. Take to thy bosom  
This poor orphan grandson, "little Ata."

The author translated tama kai kino 'son with bad or poor food or resources' in the last sentence as "poor orphan grandson" (Gill, 1880a, p. 218). The lament's "Introduction," "Foundation," and first three "offshoots" lead up to the deaths of Atatoa and his birthfather, Tukua (Gill, 1880a, pp. 218-219). The last sentence of each stanza mentions Atatoa's grandson by name, "little Ata" (Gill, 1880a, pp. 218-220). In the "Introduction" stanza, Atatoa releases or directs his sons to seek their adoptive parent and encourages the adoptive parent to nurture his grandson. In the "Foundation," the father acknowledges that he was loved by his sons, but they should put aside their feelings. However, the devoted grandfather invites his cherished grandson to look affectionately at his grandfather before getting on with life (and Atatoa dying).

In the "First Offshoot," Atatoa tells that he has not abandoned his beloved children, but has provided for their safety, knowing that his demise is near (Gill, 1880a, p 218). The "Second Offshoot" reassures the sons and grandson that Atatoa is resigned to the inevitability of his chosen fate; Atatoa says goodbye to his progeny and reminds them that they are much loved, and again, the admonishment to remember his grandson (Gill, 1880a, p. 218). The "Third Offshoot" encourages a positive perspective in the future, whilst Atatoa grieves over losing his children and grandchild who live far away from him as he goes to his "last sleep" (Gill, 1880a, pp. 218-219). Atatoa counsels one son to look after a sister sibling. The 'offshoot' portrays Atatoa as being able to observe his widow lovingly ministering to her mortally wounded husband, and Atatoa alerts her that the children will grieve, but he directs his grandson to 'get on' with life.

The "Fourth Offshoot" begins with Atatoa reminding a son to be content with the inevitable (Gill, 1880a, p. 219). Atatoa again implores the metua 'āngai to look after his tamariki, and then Tauapepe described the tandem deaths of Atatoa and his birthfather, Tukua, by the opposition. Thereafter, the sisters, brothers and the namesake-grandson lament their father and grandfather's bloody demise. The "Fifth Offshoot" covers the aftermath of the graphic finale, with a prediction that the tribe would remain divided in something comparable.
to a last breath awareness of future strife, and the grief that Atatoa expects his children and beloved grandchild to feel over "the slaughter of their forsaken father" (Gill, 1880a, pp. 219-220).

"Tauapepe's Lament For Ata" is important because it reveals emotions from the perspective of Atatoa, a father and grandfather, about losing family to adoption and life to war, and bidding farewell to loved ones: The lament shows the author's view of how it was, how it could be or how it should be. The obscurity of this emotional factor in literature by western authors could lead to an unfair assumption by non-islanders that war-prone Mangaian men were insensitive brutes, irresponsible about their tamariki being dispersed to metua 'ängai. However, "Tauapepe's Lament For Ata" is a dramatic early example of the Mangaian link between adoption and tamaki, and sacrifice and family devotion.

Devotion, or lack of it, is a major theme in tamariki 'ängai, emphasising reinforcement to alleviate insecurities. Rank accretions through adoption came with a caveat. Because Mangaian warfare was described as frequent and adoption shifted allegiance, loyalty was questionable unless lineage was direct and through the male line, otherwise a child could be put to death to eliminate potential disloyalty. Hiroa states that the double entendre, "'Angaingai a tama, te tama a te tua'ine. (Feed the first-born son, the firstborn son of a sister.)," euphemistically disguised a policy that a sister's progeny should be destroyed to ensure tribal patriotism: "Women of rank have sometimes stipulated that their children should not fight against their tribes in the event of war with their husbands' groups," because adoption could compromise allegiance (Hiroa, 1934, p. 106), as in the case of Poito's younger son killing his father (p. 105). Strategies evolved because treacheries were routine and unpredictable, and adopted warriors were both an asset and a liability.

Hiroa suggested that some of what appears to be the Mangaian male's penchant for strife that encouraged adoption had a spiritual component:

The concept of the exclusive warriors' spirit realm, embodied in verse and song, flattered the vanity of living warriors and exercised a great influence upon them. Aged warriors induced their relatives to give them positions in the battlefield in order that by being slain in battle they might join their warrior friends in Tiairi. Ikoke, son of Mautara, on hearing of the violent death of his brother Takuru, said, "I nunga i te puokia maue e aroearate e iei." (On the warrior's resting place we shall meet later on.) To accomplish the meeting he took care to die on a field of battle. The reaction of the concepts of the upper and lower spirit realms upon the people was to breed valiant fighters who were not only fearless of death on the battlefield, but rather welcomed it. (1934, p. 206)

According to Hiroa, Mangaian war was a way for the old soldiers to reunite with their deceased warrior friends and family that required the younger soldiers to fill the ranks in
replacement (1934). The soldiers' faith fortified them to the end. Furthermore, according to Gill, the people believed that it was more honourable to die together on the battlefield if death was inevitable, than to be "cut off one by one" (1880a, p. 198).

If Hiroa's comment above is accurate, then it seems that Mangaian wives and mothers appear not to share the same commitment to losing their sons on the battlefield, because they strategised adoptions for their boys into the winning clans. How could this be accomplished amid what is portrayed as virulent animosity in a culture that Gill marked (1880a, p. 144) as holding females "in low estimation"? Hiroa explained: "Married women were the only ones who could move freely between tribes, their own and their husband's, during a state of war" (1934, p. 105). This meant that the wives were deployed as the logical adoption facilitators, since they were, in effect, mobile and impervious demilitarised zones."

In their role, women ensured Firth's statement that "adoption in Mangaia is a means of redressing the exclusive emphasis on military supremacy as the criterion of social advantage" (1957, p. 595), and Bernd Lambert's argument that "in Mangaia adoption served to mitigate the effects of chronic warfare" (1964, p. 232). Equally significant, I believe, is that adoption's early importance and the women's role during strife redressed as well, what Gill described as Mangaia's holding women 'in low estimation,' mentioned previously. Control over limited and valuable resources contributed to the frequency of Mangaia's wars and war-related adoption. Widowed mothers and fatherless sons enhanced their survival rate if the sons were adopted into the winning clans since Mangaian women were considered by the triumphant kōpū tangata 'tribe' as 'spoils' of war (along with land and titles) (Hiroa, 1934). If adoptions were not arranged before battles concluded, children were absorbed into the victorious tribes as slaves or with menial status forced on them until their valour was war-proven (Hiroa, 1934).

Whether the adoption occurred pre- or post-war appears to be less important to the outcome of an adopted child, than the young warrior's loyalty displayed on the battlefield. Hiroa's example of Manaune (whose adoption was pre-war-arranged) illustrates this as Manaune was granted lands by Mautara, his metuc 'āngai, only following the battle at Puku-o-toi, even though protocol stipulated that pre-war adoptions "absolutely" severed the adopted child from his father's tribe (Hiroa, 1934, p. 98-99).

Even if the test of trust and loyalty was satisfied during conflict, early oral pedigrees omit family members acquired either through pre- or post-war adoption, which indicates that 'feeding children' were not fully integrated into their adoptive families. One reason for this segregation may be that lineage was not absolutely erased with adoption, making the insecurity more understandable in a culture where acts of treachery were happenstance. Indeed, Mangaian wives, were known to be extremely loyal to fugitive husbands in that they
arranged clandestine meetings to provide food and strategised protection for them (Gill, 1934).

Mangaian literature indicates that the practice of *tamariki 'āngai* contributed to the mobility of individual ramage alignments. Sahlins highlighted several "unusual feature[s] of the Mangaian ramage organization" that include "exogamy of the tribal groups and the lack of genealogical system embracing all the large order ramages, or tribes" (1958, p. 172). Sahlins explained:

Certain tribes traced decent from the reported original settler ... but others maintained traditions of descent from immigrant groups. The lack of genealogical unity was reflected in the lack of overall overlapping stewardship.... There was perhaps more mobility of individual ramage alignment in Mangaia than in any other Polynesian island. (1958, p. 172)

The custom of *tamariki 'āngai* compensated for what Sahlins described as Mangaia's "lack of overall overlapping stewardship" (1958, p. 172).

Hiroa described how proven loyalty merited the transference of rank jurisdiction to a Mangaian *tamaiti 'āngai* warrior and the path of subsequent title succession, in the case of Motu'anga receiving the title of *pavaka*vana 'chief':

Motu'anga who went to [i.e., was adopted into] his mother's tribe of Ngati-Tane, was given the position of *pava* over Veitatei after the victory over his father's tribe of Ngati-Vara. He was succeeded by his son Koroa-rua. On the death of Koroa-rua, his son Kiri-iti was too young so the position went to his granduncle Pakunga [Pakuunga], who was a subsdistrict chief. After the death of Pakunga, the title went back to the senior line to Kiri-iti and later to his son Aramamao, the present holder. Before Christianity, the title would have gone out of the family with a change of government due to defeat in war. (1993, p. 29)

Considering this quote and Hiroa's perspective that war was inevitable (which may be inaccurate according to Reilly [personal communication, 21 August 2008]) and given Mangaian spiritual values, I argue that both *'āngai* alliances and blood-loyalty resemble a peace-keeping clause during early Mangaian warfare.10 Whatever the intensity of those interchanges were in actuality, I posit that the threat of a blood curse and adoptive relationships *potentially* encouraged peace between Mangaia's 42 documented battles because over time, through military power-shifts and adoption's influence, a person's spiritual lineage publicly blurred even though genetic lineage remains intact.

However, Goldman (1955) writes that ties weakened by adoption cut "kinship solidarity at the class line" and led to the stratification of Mangaian society (1955, p. 684). Gill connects the power of relationship to interrupting the required human sacrifice—"the price of peace"
—before the drum of peace was beaten, the new paramount chief appointed, and feasting permitted, in Vaitamana's speech as an elderly man:

[A] day or two after the battle of Rangiura, when Makitaka became supreme lord of Mangaia. I was then a mere youth, and, passing alone over the hills, fell in with two armed men, Patiki and Tavare, who were in search of a suitable sacrifice. Patiki seized me by the arm, and said to his companion, "This will do." But to my great joy, Tavare released me, declaring that I should not die, for I was his near relative. They passed on, and I fled home as fast as my legs could carry me. (1885, p. 105)

It is only the nearness of Tavare's genealogical connection with Vaitamana that saved the lad from sacrifice, and several days later, the young girl, Taike, was sacrificed instead (Gill, 1876a, p. 345).

Besides tamaki, Mangaia's population was impacted by the effects of hurricanes, periodic drought, frequent famine, plagues and epidemics. Resident agent Hickling wrote that adoption was used to "mark an event of importance," or as a bargaining unit to improve a person's chances for recovery from an illness (1945, p. 85). "It [also] seems accepted that the inheritance of land has an underlying significance in almost all cases [of adoption], but a matter so intricate and important could not be covered adequately in these notes" (Hickling, 1945, p. 84). This is even more significant considering that Mangaia's disaster recovery lagged from being one of the "least fertile" in soil of the Cook Islands, although Mangaians were reputed to be "among the most industrious of the Cook Islanders" when people had to cultivate food to survive (The Cyclopedia of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands, 1983, p. 2). Land represented food to the eligible inhabitants and food meant survival. The institution of tamariki 'āngai served as an efficient social safety net for the isolated islanders.

Disasters prompted people to absorb survivors which modified identities. Adoption provided a parent, usually an uncle, for an orphan. Kinship affiliation, and the nature and extent of authority were directly linked to land use and entitlements. But survival and reorganised entitlements had a price: Gill elaborated on shifted identity and linked adoption entitlements directly to accountability and behaviour, when he wrote that "[t]he adopted son possesses land only so long as he goes with the clan, obeys the commands of the elders, and fights (if need be) against his nearest of kin for the tribe into which he has been adopted" (1979, p. 6). Heir-entitlements through traditional adoption brought obligation and reciprocity, a significant recurring theme found throughout Polynesian writings.

Literature reveals that the pre-European practice of traditional Mangaian adoption is persistent over time, occurs within kin groups and outside of kin groups, and is motive-driven, responsive, and flexible in scope. Such qualities present a strong argument for cultural
adaptation being driven by environmental conditions and pressures, and testify to the tenacity of Mangaia's people.

However, there is more to the tradition: Gill described Mangaia's *tapu* of primogeniture which appears to be the original impetus for the custom of *tamariki ‘āngai*:

The firstborn, whether male or female, was especially sacred ... He (or she) ate separately; only the grandfather or grandmother might taste the food of the little one. The remainder of the food was put into a different basket, so that it might not be touched by other members of the family. The very door through which the first born entered the paternal dwelling was sacred, no one else passing through it. (1876a, p. 46)

Gill referred to this *tapu* in the legend of the male twin gods, Rongo and Tangaroa, wherein it is alleged that Tangaroa should have been born first, but in the womb he deferred to Rongo (1876b, p. 11). According to Gill (1876b, p. 11), the twins' mother, Papa, was aware of the intended birth order and upheld the *tapu*: "[A]s parents they dared not taste the food or touch the property of Tangaroa, the eldest by right. The mother had her own way." In the legend, beliefs overrode the reality of birth order. It is interesting to note that Papa honoured what should have been the birth order, by allotting the lesser available, but red—the chiefly colour—food to Tangaroa, of which she could not share, and she gave the more plentiful non-red foods (and power) which she could share to Rongo. Eventually Tangaroa became so incensed about Rongo's larger food heaps compared to his own, that Tangaroa left to be the "tutelar divinity" in Rarotonga, never to return to Mangaia, Rongo's territory (Gill, 1876b, p. 11). This illustrates that from the beginning of beliefs relating specifically to Mangaian legend, family tensions existed over status and entitlements.

According to Gill (1876a, pp. 92-95), between 15 June 1824 and September 1825, the missionaries abolished the centuries-old food *tapu*: "Now for the first time, husband and wife ate together at meals and parents tasted food with their first born. The oppressive restriction thus broken through had prevailed throughout the South Sea Islands, although no better reason could be assigned for it than that "such was the will of the gods" (Gill, 1876a, pp. 94-95). Although Gill explained that the *tapu* is the original reason for the continued widespread adoption practice seen throughout the other Cook Islands and Polynesia, when missionaries lifted Mangaia's primogeniture *tapu* designating care of the firstborn to birth parents, remnants of the earlier practice continued.

When the new religion changed Mangaia's polytheism to monotheism, it eliminated the need for adopting newborns to save them from potentially being sacrificed due to the birth lineage. This review of literature shows that Mangaia has a reputation for remarkable adoption related practices, many of which are still relevant.
Section 4 Summary and research questions

From this survey of the literature six points stand out about Mangaian customary adoption:

1. Mangaian tamariki ōngai occurs for a variety of reasons that evolve over time.
2. Lineage remains paramount in the protocol.
3. The adoption triad exists in every arrangement of tamariki ōngai.
4. Warfare strongly influenced the early practice of Mangaian customary adoption.
5. Tension exists between what is traditional practice and what is culturally approved.
6. There can be major differences between community cultural expectations, family and individual expectations because of the social alterations as a result of adoption.

The figure below illustrates the Mangaian adoption triad, the child in relation to the genetic parent metua ōnau and the social parent metua ōngai. The utility of the universal relational pattern is clear, even if the content of practice is culturally defined.

![Diagram of Mangaian adoption triad](image)

**Figure 2.3 Mangaia's adoption triad**

The diagram of the Mangaian adoption triad conveys the connectedness of the participants in the relationship, but not the relative power relationships between the members. The hazard of using a diagrammed structure is its innate flatness, in that the representation omits the power differentials and thus the vulnerabilities between the members that must be managed in the course of interpersonal relationships. This illustration masks the dynamics of who is able to construct and impose their construction of adoption. This can be well illustrated in a very different form of adoption to that being studied here.

What is achieved by comparing aspects of western adoption to traditional Polynesian adoption in several Cook Islands cultures? Summaries of island adoption practices add to the context of contemporary traditional Mangaian adoption research, considering that there were contacts between the Cook Islands and of course, Polynesia. This overview provides examples of how five Cook Islands cultures construct their adoption practices to give them agency over
their resources and future and it provides a more systematic understanding of Mangaian traditional adoption; Mangaia is fortunate to have abundant early documentation by individuals who were invested in the island's social history and its hybrid of traditional adoption.

Adoption-related issues can resemble a delicate, even hallowed, emotional minefield, yet in terms of indigenous descriptions to compare and contrast with Mangaian 'voices,' little concrete material is available. As my sample population recedes into their busy lives, in some cases changed through their informant experience by renewed appreciation for surrogate parents, or by the choice to rehearse or reprocess old wounds from the 'what if's' that fell short of their ideal, I am left with the challenging and controversial two-fold choice of whether to take the easier, safe, and almost mechanical convention of avoiding discussion about emotions altogether like the unmentionable 'elephant in the living room' with traditional activities focused research, or risk reporting experiences with sensitivity so as to do no harm to the trust and emotions behind the voices of my informants and Mangaian society in this interdisciplinary research.

Whilst some of my literature review may seem superfluous, it does provide a social-emotional balance of considerations that I find helpful when culture and emotions collide; it helps me to evaluate what made the differences in informant-responses to experiences reported and social resilience in general, just as there is no one precision tool designed to end all further needs. I believe that the reviewed literature may also be helpful for Mangaian scholars to consider in future indigenous adoption studies, to expand the current sparse portfolio of material especially related to emotions and Polynesian adoption.

The scene-setting of Chapter 1 and this literature review develop my research objective: to document Mangaia's customary adoption by exploring and describing tamariki ōngai which should show how the people have adapted their early practice to meet their contemporary needs. How has the practice of tamariki ōngai changed over time? It is clear that the practice, in a time of periodic clan warfare and human sacrifice, changed with European contact and missionary domination—and it continues to involve changing outcomes in the contemporary period of outmigration. This chapter is a window on the indigenous knowledge created by Mangaian people about their hybrid version of informal adoption. I develop this not only from an ethno-anthropological vantage, but as a social worker, to learn from informant interviews what the patterns are for best practice within the tradition's flexibility and wide scope.

Given the general history and assertive nature of the people, their institutionalised mistrust in cultural systems, and the issues and challenges raised in Chapter 1, the key issue becomes how the Mangaian experience their practice of customary adoption. What are the key issues
in terms of incentives and constraints that have emerged from the practice and protocol? Do tamariki 'āngai feel they have control over their future that is in line with non-āngai-d individuals, or will my findings show imbalance in the system and barriers to achieve equitable outcomes? If there are issues of imbalanced power, how do Mangaian families manage the disincentives that cause problems on Mangaia between tamariki 'āngai and non-āngai-d members of Mangaian society? How does the practice of tamariki 'āngai influence Mangaian identity on Mangaia and for Mangaians living abroad? How does the practice help Mangaians who have never lived in Mangaia to know their identity?

This examination highlights the importance of Mangaian families pro-actively managing their informal adoption issues because failing to do this has an impact on their wider society. Consciousness about the issues identified promoting best outcomes will be raised in Mangaian and even other Cook Islands' communities as well for how individuals influence their tradition and the sensory experiences of others. Mangaian communities at home and abroad will increase awareness and understanding about how Mangaian identity between the two localities is affected by migration and informal adoption. This understanding could open dialogue between Mangaia's populations at home and abroad to address behavioural difficulties encountered through migration and customary adoption. How information from this research is used or shelved by the Mangaians is for their people to decide as it is about their legacy and practice.

Now I present my methodology used to compile an overview of Mangaia's customary adoption.

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1 The countries discussed in Appendix 1 include the apices of the triangle, Aotearoa, Hawaii, and Rapanui, followed by Motane and 'Uapo in the Marquesas, Niuē, Rapa, Samoa, Maupiti, Murifenua, and 'Piri' in the Society Islands, Tikopia, Tokelau, Tonga, Rangiroa and Manihi atolls in Tuamotu and Tuvalu.

2 There is an adoption family "Meetups" website for Mangaians available through 'Internet Explorer' at http://adoption.meetup.com/cities/ck/mangaia/. This website is unused as of 30 June 2009.

3 Attachment' refers to human behaviour that results over time through proximity and consistent, emotionally nurturant symbiosis between a child and a preferred caregiver. For a comprehensive definition of attachment theory, see Bowlby, 1980, pp. 38-43. There are wide intercultural differences about when attachment begins; one western author, Nancy Verrier (1993) believed that infant attachment begins in utero as the foetus hears the mother's voice.
and heartbeat. (See also Bowlby, 1980; Belsky & Nezworski, 1988; Main & Cassidy, 1988; Karen, 1994; Cassidy & Shaver, 1999; Gray, 2002.)

4 See Appendix 3 for a translation of adoption issues into Mangaia dialect.

5 Hiroa posited that the idea of women's position being 'lowly' may stem in part from Mangaia's early maninitori wedding ceremony in which the bride's family prostrated themselves in a "human carpet" for the groom to walk on to get to the bride's house (1934, p. 91).

I believe, however, that the marriage custom has a slightly different meaning than that of kinsmen's support and finds its appropriate origin in alliances through marriage with subjugated tribes in order to gain strength and assistance. The prostration in the maninitori ceremony seems to be an acknowledgement of inferiority and an act of fealty that is associated with subjugation. The reciprocal part of the ceremony was doubtless a later development, for with patrilocal residence the walking of the bride over the backs of her husband's kinsmen does not acknowledge the idea of inferiority; she is being admitted into the tribe with which she will take up her residence. (Hiroa, 1934, p. 91)

6 Note the early diacritic substitution for the macron.

7 According to Tanga'eo, W. W. Gill's incorporation of Rarotonga dialect reflects the time he spent time on that island.

8 The term tama 'ū'ā has several conflicting origins: Mapu Tai'a stated that early missionaries "became known as the Tama 'Ua (children of the lap, or adopted children) of the ariki," which evolved to include all adopted children (2003, p. 270). Frederick Moss (1894, p. 23) wrote that "[t]ama ūā (children of the thigh)" on Rarotonga refers to an unrelated adopted child who must be "formally admitted" to the family and risks being cast out of the family "at any future time." However, Aratangi argued that the term tama ūā was not imported from Rarotonga to Mangaia, but rather originated on Mangaia in reference to The Gospel being brought from Oneroa so that the Ivoiruan parishioners could worship closer to their homes, because managing the distance of approximately 8 miles between Ivoirua and Oneroa's meetinghouse created hardship (personal communication, 21 July 2006).

9 Michael Reilly argued that Gill wrote from the perspective of a cleric in the religious movement at the time, which can explain Gill's over-emphasis on Mangaia's warring tendencies and how this ceased soon after the arrival of The Gospel (M. Reilly, personal communication, 21 August 2008). Considering Gill's speculation that appears in Chapter 1 about Mangaians settling on Mangaia approximately 400 years prior to the European missionaries, and given Gill's "complete" list of 42 battles up until 1828 (1880a, pp. 224-226), this would average to approximately one battle every ten years, which may not qualify as endemic. Or perhaps other skirmishes or encounters were insufficiently intense to warrant a change of regime and thus were omitted from Gill's list. I personally wonder if it may be that the reaction towards the exocannibalistic practices of the early Mangaians enhanced their reputation for violence. Still, Firth referred to Mangaia as "continually rent by war" (1957, p. 590), and Taikoko, Crocombe and Ko'ai wrote that Mangaia "experienced probably the most frequent warfare over resources not only in the Cook Islands but in much of Polynesia." (2003, p. 151). Gill implied that there was some glory in death on the battlefield when he wrote about the spirits of those who ignobly 'died on a pillow' who then had to linger "disconsolately" to join Rā, the sun-god on the annual journey to descend to the "under-world" (1979, p. 200).
Reilly added this comment:

Polynesian chiefs could be violent but not all the time. I remain convinced that peace, prosperity and fertility were the end goals of society—indeed in Polynesian societies there were chiefs who primarily aspired to peace and not war—Mautara, I think, is the great example of that—whereas Ngauta followed the 'way of the warrior'—it's significant that Mautara was *p'i'a atua* [spiritual leader]..... (M. Reilly, personal communication, 21 August 2008)

Reilly further argued there being an advantage for peace for the *atua* in that peace-time, offerings such as food, would be more generous (personal communication, 21 August 2008).

In general, the Mangaian people maintain that their ancestors were warring people, as did Goldman in his *Status Rivalry and Cultural Evolution in Polynesia*:

In Mangaia ... bands of enemy warriors might resist indefinitely from the shelter of its many caves. Food shortages and limited economic elasticity equalized contending rivals. Even more important may have been their political doctrine of warfare. Because they felt land shortage as their main problem, Mangaian victors failed to organize for their own benefit the crop production of defeated tribes but, instead, dispossessed them from fertile taro lands onto unproductive scrub lands. This may have been the least efficient way to strengthen the victor's economy. Moreover, since their goal was to displace an enemy from his land, there was little basis for a negotiated peace. The enfeebling wars went on. (1955, p. 685)

While it is true that Gill's evangelising efforts were significant and the fruits of which are very apparent today, and it is true that Mangaia had long periods of precontact military stability, particularly under Mautara who Hiroa acknowledged "is supposed to have ruled more than 25 years" (1934, p. 65), Mangaians earned the general Polynesian reputation that Goldman described as not being "gentle warriors" (1955, p. 693). "Tribal history of course includes more warfare by nature of recollecting certain deeds requiring balancing retribution but the achievement of peace [was] sign of [a] greater chief [such as] Mautara, who used marriages to ensure alliances and so avert fighting (because people were related)" (M. Reilly, personal communication, 21 August 2008).

10Reilly pointed out "that Mangaian leadership over a place was given to someone genealogically affiliated to the defeated—this seems to recur as also chiefs married into defeated—presumably emotional connections restrained ensuing rule over defeated was easier for all parties? I personally wouldn't say easier but rather that it puts a different dynamic" (M. Reilly, personal communication, 21 August 2008). (See footnote 4 in Chapter 1.)

11After living among the Tallensi of West Africa between 1934-1937, Meyer Fortes reported that this tribe observes primogeniture and that the ancestors installed "obligatory avoidances" that are "not to be trifled with" (1974, p. 84). One injunction forbids the first-born son beyond age five or six from eating with the father "out of the same dish," lest the child inadvertently "scratch the father's hand, and this which would cause the death of one of them" (Fortes, 1974, p. 84).
Chapter 3 Methodology

Introduction

This chapter covers the research methods, design and processes undertaken in research about an ensemble of practices known as tamariki 'āngai or informal island adoption as conducted by the people of Mangaia, Cook Islands. The interdisciplinary study combines anthropology, social work and Maori and Pacific studies to examine and interpret what Mangaia's 'feeding' tradition is and how do the Mangaians make it work for them and their families. My objectives are fourfold:

- Document and record the Mangaian custom of tamariki 'āngai as understood and practised by Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaian people visiting family in Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Present implications stemming from the Mangaian cultural practice of customary adoption.
- Highlight the complexity of Mangaian social development in relation to tamariki 'āngai.
- Raise consciousness about the practice within the Mangaian communities.

Conceptual framework

The basic conceptual framework for this thesis is a scaffold of theoretical philosophies around the nature of social knowledge, the place of meanings and ideology and the role of social science, especially where outsiders interrelate with indigenous research methodologies. I shall take each of these in turn, beginning with the last.

Western social science and indigenous reality

To reiterate briefly from the literature review, Wood (2006) outlined three broad approaches to research in Oceania that include traditional western discipline-based research, indigenous interpretations and concrete activities-based research. Elena Antonacopoulou viewed "practice-centred research" as a "compass" for "[u]nderstanding relationships and connections [that] calls for a focus on what relationships are and who the key actors are; it also calls for an examination of how these relationships are formed, why they are formed, where they are formed and when they are formed" (2008, pp. 166-167). I situate this study as a
blend of practice research as it is replete with what Teun van Dijk described as "act, action and interactions" (1997, p. 7) and indigenous-interpretations because the Mangaians hold that their practice is historically important and remains so in their society.

This adds an indigenous research element through the exercise of the communities' "ownership" over shaping their future practices, according to William Whyte (1989, p. 368) which leads to what Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 117) labeled "survival" in her holistic research agenda for indigenous studies:

![Indigenous research agenda](image)

Figure 3.1 Indigenous research agenda (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 117)

Using a simplified metaphor of ocean tides that set time and "represent movement, change, process, life, inward and outward flows of ideas, reflection and actions," Smith included four compass directions or "processes" of healing, decolonisation, transformation and mobilisation "that clarify the tensions between the local, the regional and the global" across four tides that include self-determination, development, recovery and survival (1999, pp. 116-117). According to Smith, the first process of "healing," includes physical, spiritual, psychological, social, collective and restoration (1999, p. 116). "Decolonization" covers political, social,
spiritual and psychological aspects of Smith's four processes (1999, p. 116). Smith's third process of "transformation," addressed psychological, social, political, economic, collective and change (1999, p. 116). Finally, "mobilisation" encompasses local, national, regional and global, according to Smith (1999, p. 116). It is Smith's idea of holism, leading to the mobilisation of any changes that Mangaians wish to make, that I want to achieve in my research framework.

Graham Hingangaroa Smith's Gramscian discussion on Kaupapa Maori theory and empowerment and ownership is pertinent. Smith explains that Kaupapa Maori theory has emerged in the last several decades as "an influential and coherent philosophy and practice for Maori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis [that assists] Maori in developing more meaningful change" and autonomy in their lives:

'Theory' ... is considered to be an extremely vital component in any transformative praxis towards reform. Indeed theory and praxis stand in dialectical relation to each other. Praxis, as 'action and reflection' represents theory at 'work', and in 'action'. Theory in this sense is simultaneously applied and developed. With respect to transformative social action, praxis connects theory to the 'people' in that theory is developed out of the actions and reflections of the 'people'. This is an important point in developing transformative action - that the theory and praxis are indeed 'owned' and supported' by the people. Organic intellectuals work to assist the people to realise their own theories and praxis. (2002, pp. 453-454 emphasis in original)

In this sense this study seeks to play the role of the organic intellectual.

**Social science knowledge**

As stated previously, this thesis is an interdisciplinary hybrid; it is broad-based in using both a constructionist and the positivist approach in qualitative case-study designed research. In the constructionist view people, in this case, indigenous people, construct their own unique realities according to what seems reasonable in their experience; and by having a relationship with the practice, they can define their own problems, whether or not this leads to a solution (Crotty, 1998). The strengths-based perspective in western social work practice is, according to Dennis Saleebey (1996), oriented to develop the positive aspects of people's lives rather than dwell on the deficits. The positivist view is that external reality is discovered "through a series of increasingly good approximations to the[ir] truth" (Bernard, 2006, p. 3).

Martyn Hammersley argued that constructionism and activism threaten social science; however, this can be ameliorated if the researcher relies "on the notions of plausibility and credibility" (2002b, p. 19) which is understood when phenomena are explained by the indigenes. According to John Searle, social reality within a scientific ontology requires
elements of "function, collective intentionality, and constitutive rules" (1995, p. 13), all of which I seek to describe in an overview of Mangaia's customary adoption practices. Informal adoption serves many functions to meet individual and collective goals according to protocol adapted and replicated by the people in their cultural context that is, however, not entirely independent of their geographic context. In this research I seek the truths and social reality that Mangaians construct about their 'feeding' tradition that develops out of dynamic interactions between specific cultural values and power relationships that are relative to the observer.

My thesis incorporates what Richard Thorpe and Robin Holt regard as "management research [regarding] aspects of [personal and] social life that are broadly concerned with the production and distribution of material wealth through some form of social organization [that] can include ... a multitude of things, from physical objects ... to human emotions such as dissent or expectation" (2008, p. 1). In the ethnographic examination and description of tamariki āngai, Thorpe and Holt's (2008, p. 1), "production and distribution of material wealth" can be likened to Mangaian families that manage their children as a cherished resource in the context of their culture with its land-eligibilities.

This study incorporates Flyvbjerg's 'phronetic approach' in terms of the knowledge sought through the research method which focuses on "ethics and power" or goal-directed practice in the public forum. It considers what the goal of management is, its desirability; who does and does not benefit and by which "mechanisms of power"; and finally, what, if anything, can done differently to improve the outcome (2008, p. 153). Phronetic social science is about "who's doing what to whom" (Rorty, 1994, cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 140), whilst "[t]he goal of the phronetic approach becomes one of contributing to society's capacity for value-rational deliberation and action" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 167).

[Enter into a dialogue with individuals and society and ... assist them—after they have assisted the researchers—in reflecting on their values. The aim is to make moral debate part of public life. (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 63)

Flyvbjerg clearly and succinctly outlineds the strongest argument for my research approach. In the case of Mangaia's tamariki āngai, the critical nature of communicating constructively about difficult issues helps people to pro-actively manage their adoption practice. This is important because how they manage this particular custom significantly and especially influences their society and practitioners and the Mangaians 'back home.' Elise Huffer and Ropate Qalo (2004) introduced Flyvbjerg's (2006) approach in the Pacific context: "Not all Pacific ideals or ways of being are appealing or beneficial to contemporary society, but they must be allowed to be brought to the fore, discussed, and understood" (Huffer & Qalo, 2004,
Huffer advocates for "collaborative research" between researchers and communities that emphasise a "self-reliant approach" in "community initiatives ... that provide people with faith in themselves and their ways, and, more importantly, they create functional groups of people who are productive (2005, p. 132).

**Meaning and ideology**

This thesis is therefore directed to both study of practices and action with respect to Mangaian customary adoption. However, the critical third element is meaning and interpretation that comprise ideology. Ideology, van Dijk stated, is a "bridge between discourse and society" (1997, p. 25). Because my research examines class, political economy, cooperation and resistance, and changes in social order stemming from the practice, Marxist ideology comes to mind, the foundation of 'critical' theory (Hammersley, 2002b, p. 10).

However, more usefully, Foucault, who was not a Marxist and who was opposed to Habermas and critical theory, believed that in discourse, "power and knowledge are joined together in a starting point for an opposing strategy," that power exists within relationships and through discourse, power is produced, reinforced, exposed, transmitted and undermined or it is sheltered in "silence and secrecy" (1978, pp. 100-101).

Returning to Wood's emphasis on indigenous interpretations, E. Cathrine Melhuas saw the researcher as a "reflector" of the reported rather than being an autonomous, disconnected reporter (2002, p. 164). Mats Alversson and Kaj Sköldberg labeled the "reflective empirical research [which considers] the perceptual, cognitive, theoretical, linguistic, (inter)textual, political and cultural circumstances" that both create and influence the context (2000, p. 6) of the practice.

My multi-faceted framework takes inquiry beyond voyeurism, in that it strengthens and supports communities, and thereby turns my scaffold into a buttress. If I remove one element from my framework, the overall strength diminishes; for example, the advice from Flyvbjerg (2001) is helpful in cross-cultural discussions when he explains that dialogue and debate differ from directives for action or "showing how things can be done differently"; Foucault purported, according to Flyvbjerg, that "'solutions' of this type are themselves part of the problem" (2001, p. 103). While my inquiry does facilitate communities and families to focus on their informal adoption practice and discuss its directions, it is clear that there are no 'directives'; Mangaians are themselves, self-directed in their interpretation and management of complex issues.
Samuel Fleischacker stated, "Cultures usually, and perhaps inevitably, have room within themselves for disagreement and change" (1994, p. 181). He also explained that "our interest in caring for others and our interest in tolerating what they do are shaped by our own local tradition, our own beliefs and history" that become the basis for resolving "specific conflicts of interest" (1994, p. 178).

Hammersley wrote that because "social and educational research does not have substantial impact on policymaking and practice that engineering and strong enlightenment models promise," researchers should clarify the "different demands that can be involved in the requirement that research be useful or effective" (2002a, pp. 51-52). I seek to understand the experience of the practitioners (including that of the adult 'feeding children' transacted as part of the meaning of the tradition), and organise and interpret the collected data into an information base to benefit the Mangaian community in ways that they control.

My methodology incorporates western concepts in my research scaffold. However, I argue that the increased perspectives are complementary to indigenous research methods and represent a strength rather than a detriment that narrows and limits my vantage. Being aware of many perspectives and beliefs helps me to be an open-minded resource to the Mangaian who have the experience of life both in the western world and 'back home.' The Mangaian practitioners continue to remind me of the extent of their customary practice in the changing world. Finally, trialectically, I am an outsider describing a practice that has sensitive and controversial aspects that invite Mangaian scholars and communities that are increasingly exposed to western influences, to respond to, explore and expand this overview of their tradition that has served them for centuries.

With the above conceptual framework in mind, I administered my research questions, and within a rich mix of indigenous and western approaches, I undertook my study.

**Research questions**

Flyvbjerg summarised my goal: "It is a demanding task to account simultaneously for the structural influences that shape the development of a given phenomenon and still craft a clear, penetrating narrative or microanalysis of that phenomenon" (2001, p. 138). In addition, the people and their customary practice have changed dynamically over the span of ages within my sample population. To this end my research questions seek the themes and patterns in Mangaia's customary adoption in the context of their history, politics, geography, and their independence while also considering the incentives and dilemmas in the practice for the participants. As an outsider, I want to discover from the informants what the practice means to
the Mangaian people. What is their knowledge about their choices and motivation? What are their management goals in their practice? What are the key issues which give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations, considering the incentives and dilemmas in the practice and given their history and their independence? Can the practice be shaped to achieve the goals or outcomes that contemporary Mangaians want?

My role in the research is to compile and organise this information and return to the Mangaian people a picture of their constructed practice and meanings in terms of social relationships so that they may determine for themselves if and how the findings that they own may be incorporated into their future practice of informal island adoption.

Research design

This multi-method approach was designed to be comprehensive and a self-conscious discussion of informal and diverse practices as described by indigenous Mangaian people living in Mangaia and Mangaians in the diaspora. My goal was to provide a snapshot of narratives from my informants, followed by four 'uipa'anga as group-interpretations and responses, and feedback and interaction. This would provide a contemporary sense of the practice here in several locations and would identify trends and changes compared to descriptions in the early literature. The multi-method approach is designed "to reduce bias and to improve convergent validity," which Julie Cox (2008, p. 222) advocated to substantiate the researcher's claims. H.E. Maude (1971) argued for using multiple methods to balance written and oral histories.

In terms of specific methods I used participant observation, interactive interviews and 'uipa'anga 'formal meetings.' Lisa Anderson (2008, p. 150) defined "participant observation" to include several components that relate to my research:

- The participant-as-observer, who forms relationships and participates in activities but makes no secret of an intention to observe events.
- The observer-as-participant, who maintains only superficial contacts with the people being studied (for example, by asking them occasional questions).

I participated in both roles in preparation of the formal study to establish trust and rapport, as well as further my appreciation for the shape and patterns of the culture. After I began my formal study, I administered the interview schedule to thirty-two informants affiliated with the
Iningai triad. Finally, four 'uipa'anga involved Aotearoa communities in group settings to undertake analysis and interpretation through group collaboration.

Description of the project: Overview

To prepare for involvement in discussions about Mangaian customary adoption, especially on the basis of living several years in Mangaia and assisting with the compilation and editing of a Mangaian dictionary, I examined tamariki 'āngai related ethnohistorical literature regarding Mangaia and similar societies located within the Polynesian triangle and its apices. I consulted local historians and archived records in Wellington and Auckland. I then used a two-step process of participatory interactive interviews and discussions in English and Mangaia dialect with Mangaian people who reside in Aotearoa and Mangaian residents who travelled to Aotearoa.

I chose an interview approach to data collection because of the intimate nature of the topic from my experience in discussing adoption with Mangaians when I lived there, from the historic oral nature of Mangaian society until 180 years ago and from my previous experience from working with people involved in formal and informal adoption in a western setting. Furthermore, oral "discourse is a form of social action," according to Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1998, p. 279), and I view my research as having at least the potential to raise consciousness through interactive interviews and conversation. Foucault was interested in discourse for "the fact that words were spoken ... in relation to their original situation, they left traces behind them, they continue to exist, and they exercise, in that very subsistence in history, a certain number of manifest or secret functions" (Foucault, 1967, cited in Bellour, 1998, p. 289). However, Foucault also stated that "discourse is not life" (1991, p. 72); whereas, according to Flyvbjerg, "regular, daily practice is" and therefore, "discourse must be disciplined by the analysis of practices" (2001, p. 134), which, again, touches on the value of mixed-method research advocated by Houston Wood (2006).

A narrative, according to Donald Polkinghorne (1988), is a vehicle to make human experience meaningful in that it provides a window into the inner life of an individual and how the person constructs and defines identity that includes status and reality. Jaber Gubrium and James Holstein believed that over time, people rearticulate their inner life that continues to develop distinct from and parallel to the changing community and world (2009, p. 9), hence the narrator's "status and story reflexively unfold" (p. 160). Maude noted that oral (and written) sources can be manipulated through "suppression, additions," and emphasis (1971, p. 89).
which in turn distorts assumptions and inductive premises in the analysis of qualitative data, something I need to consider in the analysis phase of my research.

In analysing narratives, Gubrium and Holstein considered environmental conditioning and expectations from how the information is applied and what it might achieve eventually (2009, p. 25). In assessing the robustness of historical narratives which my informants provided, Thomas advocated "encompass[ing] the differing perspectives of historical actors, the caprice of their partial and interested accounts and their incompleteness of understanding" (1990, pp. 143-144), in other words, their individuality and variable outcomes.

I addressed my findings to four Mangaian 'uipa'anga that the community leaders directed. Flyvbjerg discussed the value of community gatherings: "Meetings can generate interactions resulting in additional information and in ideas that may prove useful in the decision-making process" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 160). I maintained contact with my Mangaian adjunct professor who monitored my findings and reviewed this thesis.

**Phase 1**

**Process**

In the initial phase of the investigation, my role as a formal researcher was to familiarise myself about adoption literature in the context of Oceania and Mangaia as a baseline. I examined Mangaian literature, archived records, Cook Islands newspapers, and non-Mangaian adoption literature to provide a baseline-context from which to investigate, a list of topics about which other similar researchers had written. I listened to the Mangaian people telling me of their practice and what this tradition represents to them in their relationship with the custom. The baseline also sensitised me to understand more about the perspectives of my informants and to verify what my informants understood about their practice historically that informed their individual frames of reference and gave me a general foundation of information upon which to build.

I then examined the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai through the administration of my research instrument, an interview schedule, to a total of thirty-two Mangaian adults in Aotearoa New Zealand, ten of whom were Mangaian residents visiting in Aotearoa. I alone verbally administered the interview schedule to the informants in English/Mangaian dialect and transcribed their narratives, providing confidentiality through the use of pseudonyms. In no case did I disclose the pseudonym of any informant to other informants or to my supervisory staff, which includes my Mangaian adjunct professor.
Discussion

I reviewed the permission form with the informant and it was signed prior to commencing the interview. I requested each person choose a pseudonym which would not be linked to the individual by anyone reading the finished thesis. Only the pseudonym appears in their transcript and in the thesis with their data. All but one pseudonym was self-selected. I was asked to choose one pseudonym and suggested a Mangaian term that was accepted. In the several cases when the selected name was already chosen by another informant, I added a number to the pseudonym to distinguish between the informants. One individual chose a pseudonym that included a number. Pseudonyms preserve "external confidentiality" of my sample population from at least those who are not intimately affiliated with the informants, as Martin Tolich described (2004, p. 101).

Participation by the informants was completely voluntary and without monetary compensation. The interviews lasted a minimum of one hour on a single day to several hours over several sessions. All but two sets of interviews occurred in private homes; the other two occurred in a hotel meeting-room. Interview sessions usually had two recording devices, one digital and one audio, working simultaneously. One session was halted and rescheduled because of equipment failure. All but two sessions were arranged by me in advance and the two spontaneous sessions were arranged by another informant. The sessions seemed sacred and it was routine, however not universal, for the informants to begin the session with a prayer. Our sessions were interactive and unrehearsed, and reminded me of joint-exploratory ventures in that I could freely ask questions to clarify my understanding as the interview developed.

In transcribing the audio-tapes, I held to the original grammar. I contacted the informants to clarify questions and sent copies of their manuscript to them. I solicited changes to the transcripts, although no changes to data were requested.

Choice of sample population

Recruitment of the sample population included adult volunteers over age twenty and was done through snowball-networking and personal referrals. I sought to cover the continuum of experiences that represented what the Mangaians had told me informally when I lived there. My original intent was to interview twenty informants; however this snowballed to include interviews with twenty Mangaian community members residing in Aotearoa and twelve Mangaian residents during their travel in Aotearoa New Zealand. The sample population came from households that had or have at least one member of the family who was/is either a direct...
participant of the Mangaian tamariki 'āngai adoption triad, for example, an adoptee, adoptive parent, or donor parent at one time, or who is a sibling or child of a member of the 'āngai triad. These informants included non-professionals, professionals and retired professionals, governmental/clergy/educational or medical staff over age eighteen with no upper age limit. The age range of the adults interviewed represented nearly a half-century and almost three-quarters of a century of adoption-related expertise.

**Research instrument**

The research instrument was a semistructured interview schedule that centred on a list of Polynesian traditional adoption related topics that was administered in English/Mangaia dialect about the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai. The same research schedule was administered to both of the sample populations, the Mangaian residents of Aotearoa and Mangaian residents visiting in Aotearoa New Zealand. The topic list that follows derives from the literature review phase of the research as these broad topics were addressed by authors about adoption.

**Semi-structured interview schedule**

1. Mangaian kinship definitions
2. Evolution of the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai
3. Current protocol in the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai
4. Motivators and inhibitors to the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai
5. Impact of the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai on its people
6. Impact of the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai on transference of rank, power and inheritance

**Phase 2 Analyse data**

**Process**

I analysed data holistically and thematically from my two sample-groups, Mangaians residing in Aotearoa and those visiting Aotearoa. I looked for patterns, profiles, types, dynamics, functions, and mechanisms within the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai. I incorporated the Mangaians' interpretations of their practices and synthesised inductive and deductive logic to highlight individuality, autonomy and variability in my informants' reports about their customary adoption practices.
The deductive model is considered a scientific approach that begins with a general theory to explain some phenomenon and develops a hypothesis that can be challenged and proven or guaranteed. Irving Copi and Carl Cohen defined a deductive argument as one that "claims to provide conclusive grounds for its conclusion; if it does so it is valid, if it does not it is invalid" (2005, p. 660). I tested general principles, corrected and reformulated statements and retested particular premises to prove my conclusions to be both valid and sound according to what I understood my informants to assert in the interviews and according to what has been documented in literature. For example, from the literature review, I conclude that lineage is the basis for land entitlement by Mangaians. If 'Abc' has known heritage that is acknowledged by other Mangaians, then, 'Abc' by rights, is entitled to a portion of Mangaian land. This argument is both valid and sound because the premises are each true, as is the conclusion.

According to David Thomas (2003, p. 2), in "a general inductive approach [to] qualitative data analysis" commonly used in the social sciences, the researcher looks for premises "to develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes which are evident in the text (raw data)," without necessarily proving conclusions, however, meeting some threshold of adequacy in experimental evidence and case observation. An example would be: based on the negative personal experience of 'Abc' as a tamaiti āngai, all tamariki āngai have negative experiences. This is clearly false because informants strongly report otherwise. Hence, the researcher would have to re-formulate the inductive argument.

In my research, I looked to see the practice through the eyes of my informants, not to refute them, but to understand them and their adoption tradition through my cultural limitations in what I accept as their authentic experiences. My goal was to emphasise the 'voices' of the informants to substantiate my thesis.

**Discussion**

The first step in this process was that I administered the interview schedule and transcribed the audio-tapes myself. I began transcribing and coding before I had concluded all of the interviews because I wanted to provide a copy to the informant as soon as possible following the interview. In this way, the informants had a record of what was said that could be modified if the informants desired. None were revised for data content, although one individual requested English grammar revisions as a language tool.

By the time I was ready to code the transcript-responses, I had been with and listened to the informant and their cadence and intonation throughout the recording and had observed their body language during the process; I had listened to the recorded interview from which I transcribed the discourse and I had proofread the document before sending a copy to the
informant. Therefore closely reading the transcripts for coding purposes became the third review of the raw data.

On the advice of my three core supervisors, I manually coded the thirty-two interviews using handwritten notes in the margins of the transcripts rather than using a computer program. I noted in the margin the concept that was being discussed that I did not limit to my list of broad topics. Rather, I was open to whatever I could find which included precise definitions and descriptions, categories of phenomena such as values and variabilities, dynamics of relationships, processes and agency, strategies and manipulations, capacities and limitations, territorialisation, differentiations, repetitions, absolutes and ambiguities, rationalisations, biases, interpretations, assumptions, objectives, language patterns, explanations, and structural premises and arguments upon which to identify linkages and reasons that lead to conclusions about what the informants are telling me. In short, I was looking to define what my informant was saying. I did this because I felt that these different components measure the influence of the practice on the practitioners and indicate if a reverse relationship was also apparent.

Next, I entered the data from the transcript margins onto an Excel spreadsheet that was divided into categories for the phenomena, the informant's pseudonym and on what page of the interview transcript the data appeared. I alphabetised these categories and combined the duplicates which reduced down to an index of 1106 different components in the practice that were addressed by the informants. This highlighted more patterns and served as the basis for managing the information outlined in my data chapters which I eventually wrote.

Although I did not know personally most of the Mangaian residents of Aotearoa that I interviewed, I did know many of their relatives and neighbours in Mangaia from living there for several years. By interviewing my former neighbours who had come to Aotearoa, with the uniform list of suggested topics, I was able to triangulate for accuracy and to ensure that I understood the use of the language between their interviews and their history they had shared with me during my several years in Mangaia.

**Phase 3 Mangaian community awareness: 'Uipa'anga**

**Process**

I assisted Mangaians residing in Aotearoa New Zealand to present four 'uipa'anga focus-group meetings as not only a complement to the interviews with my informants but to triangulate my findings and raise community awareness about the influence of their practice on the wider Mangaian communities in Aotearoa and 'back home.' In these 'uipa'anga that
Mangaian or Cook Islands community members arranged and directed, I presented study findings and addressed questions from the Mangaian and Cook Islands' community, honouring the confidentiality of my informants through the use of pseudonyms.

Discussion

The four 'uipa'anga did not necessarily occur in communities where Mangaian had been interviewed; however, 'uipa'anga did occur on both the North and South Islands. The four 'uipa'anga took place in a church, a school and community halls and were not necessarily restricted to only Mangaian participants. The geographic locations of the 'uipa'anga were determined by availability of the communities according to their calendar. Cook Islanders tend to be socially active and community minded. In one case, the 'uipa'anga was cancelled unexpectedly due to a funeral and rescheduled several months later. Each 'uipa'anga lasted approximately two hours and was not necessarily the sole programme for the community that day.

Due to community scheduling, the Phase 3 'uipa'anga actually overlapped with my Phase 1 fieldwork interviews. Hence, the first several 'uipa'anga occurred before Phase 2 was complete. I have been invited by my initial 'uipa'anga site to provide a day-long conclusion about my findings when I deliver a copy of my thesis to them.

During the discussions cultural distinctions were made so that the reported protocol was at least acknowledged to be considerd Mangaian, even if not exclusively Mangaian. The meetings were not recorded to ensure that people felt safer to respond more openly than if the discussion was recorded. Furthermore, transcribing group proceedings can be challenging when discussion includes several individuals talking simultaneously and enthusiastically.

In all four communities that hosted an 'uipa'anga, this was the first time that customary adoption had been a topic for community-discussion. I discussed the incentives and dilemmas in the practice that stem from the relationships and protocol, and how the people manage their choices regarding the tradition. I compiled data from the four 'uipa'anga which I analysed holistically and thematically as with the interviews. Participation in the 'uipa'anga by the communities was completely voluntary and without monetary compensation; however a small community donation was contributed toward the cost of heating the facilities wherein the 'uipa'anga occurred.
Phase 4 Complete thesis

On the surface this is straight forward: read the literature, identify and develop the
direction of my inquiry, listen to the people, organise and present the data—very tidy and
sanitised. However, over time, I was convinced that because there is an absence in
contemporary Mangaian and Oceanic-cultural literature about adoption related emotions that I
saw expressed by my informants and those who attended the 'uipa'anga, it would be helpful to
gather further information in the dialect about adoption emotions to strengthen my findings
and serve as my linguistic cross-reference. Since I conducted my interviews and the
'uipa'anga primarily in English, I requested four of my informants to briefly summarise in
Mangaia's endangered dialect, their first-hand feelings about giving or acquiring a child in the
practice of tamariki ʻāngai. My reasons to do this were fourfold:

1. To identify and/or account for losses in translation between English and Mangaian
dialect.
2. To ensure that I understand the emotional aspects of giving offspring from a
Mangaian dialect perspective.
3. To compare with the English language interview transcripts conducted previously.
4. To establish a baseline for future documentation about Mangaian emotional
aspects of giving and being given in the practice of tamariki ʻāngai.

Next I wrote my thesis. By then I was familiar enough with the different 'voices,' that in
reviewing the interview transcripts, I recognised identifying 'signature'-speech patterns that
other Mangaian readers could link feasibly to specific informants. To offset this potential
breach to what Tolich labels "internal confidentiality" (2004, p. 101), I removed those
grammatical patterns as well as any names cited within the quotes used in the thesis. In many
cases, I neutralised gender identifiers. I replaced quoted names and places with [***] or letters
[Xxx] and [Yyy], etc. to distinguish different people mentioned in the same quote. I
considered possible nuances and ramifications in particularly sensitive quotes to limit the risk
or damage to the Mangaian population. As 'metua' functions as plural or singular noun in
Mangaia dialect, I generally used 'parent' rather than 'parents.' I completed the thesis and
provided a copy to my Mangaian adjunct professor, and cultural stakeholder, Rev. Pāpā
Aratangi, for critical review of my data and interpretations to ensure cultural relativism. His
approval sealed my findings.
Ethical concerns

This research was approved by the University of Otago's Human Ethics Committee on 15 December 2006 under the project reference code 06/176 (Appendix 16).

According to Schneider, an unbiased description of a culture is not possible (1987, p. 153). Allen Macpherson wrote:

Verification, reliability and bias are addressed by acknowledging prior assumptions, by making the researcher's role in the project clear, by describing how codes were developed, how links were made and how concepts were defined and applied. By exposing the process of interpretation for review, the researcher invites the reader to believe that the approach adopted is consistent with the aims of the research, and that the interpretation applied, while not necessarily the only one available, was at least conducted in good faith. (2008, pp. 188-189)

My prior assumptions about pro-parenting stem from my training as an adoption social worker, having been raised in a home with a parent that was raised by relatives other than the biological parents, and having lived in Mangaia for several years during which time I made preliminary inquiries about the practice sufficient to learn that the people's experiences varied widely and that there might be reasons behind the incentives and dilemmas in the practice. I discussed my background with my informants and the 'uipa'anga at the beginning of the interviews and community sessions as an introduction to establish rapport so that they understood that my interest in their adoption practice was more than casual.

As discussed earlier about the reflexive nature of interviews, I am aware of the influence I have on my informants from being an outsider to their culture and the lens through which I listen and observe. Although Mangaia was my home for three years, I can, of course, never be of Mangaian heritage by birth. By my appearance, I represent the papa'ā, the oppressive coloniser. On the other hand, I spent 15 months during those three years helping a team of Mangaians develop a dictionary of their dialect. The Mangaian people know that I am invested for some years in recording their culture.

Because of the political nature of this topic and the emotions that discussion can incite, adhering to the guidelines set out by Wood (2006) about indigenous practitioners defining their practice continues to be critical. However, several of my informants and others participating in the 'uipa'anga asked me if I would compile recommendations or suggestions in this thesis. Because of their inquiry, I did, however, only as neutral considerations for families to discuss. I proposed to gather and organise this cultural information, however, not to proselytise, persuade or coerce about the political outcome of the information. Mangaians
own their heritage and can examine or debate in their homes and or communities or choose to not to do either.

**Project Outcomes**

Project outcomes include documenting and recording this significant Mangaian cultural tradition to encourage future Mangaian scholars to expand the findings. The research increases awareness of how adoption traditions are practised and perceived in and by the Mangaian communities, and awakens new appreciation for the tradition's viability, variability and durability. The data will be organised and the information then returned to the families to promote discussion about how their tradition is managed if there are ways that the people might want to pro-actively shape the future practice. Outcomes include heightened Mangaian community pride through the interactive process, strengthened families in Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaia, and greater community resolve and solidarity between the families 'back home' and those in diaspora as this aspect of Mangaian culture is discussed in private conversations within Mangaian families and communities.

**Cultural Safeguards**

Since this study looks at the experiences of people who have a personal relationship with informal adoption or the informant has a family member who has a close affiliation with the practice, it is important to ensure that sensitive cultural safeguards are in place. Firth cautioned about research repercussions: "More than any other scientist the anthropologist is dependent on the confidence of his human material, and must be always faced by the quandary of how" to convey the data accurately and, simultaneously protect the informants and not alienate the Mangaian people from their practice (1957, p. 9). "No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes" stated Ruth Benedict (1935, p. 2). "He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking" (Benedict, 1935, p. 2). As a papa'a researcher, I applied the methodology referred to in the literature (Wood, 2006; Smith, 2002; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Smith, 1999; Smith & Blanc, 1997; Watson-Gegeo & White, 1990) to ensure that the Mangaian 'voice' resonates throughout this thesis; that the findings reflect the Mangaian 'voice' that I heard; that the silences are understood and accurately interpreted and recorded; that confidentiality by the researcher continues to be honoured throughout and following the process; and ultimately, that Mangaian cultural dignity is strengthened and promoted.
As stated in the ‘discussion’ of Phase 1, the names of my informants are protected through the use of pseudonyms. The names of people mentioned within the narratives have been removed along with many gender references in an effort to increase both internal and external confidentiality in a relatively small population. Other identifiers have also been neutralised in the discourse without altering the utility of the data.

All of my informants were aware that I spearheaded a community project back in Mangaia of a dictionary and that I was interested in eventually publishing a text in English and Mangaian dialect about their informal adoption practice. My inquiry into their 'āngai tradition is more than a casual interest. The informants and the community members that attended the 'uipa'anga were aware that my original plan was to conduct my field interviews on Mangaia with the blessing of Mangaia's elected mayor, however, I shifted to Aotearoa. This improved discrete anonymity due to the logistics of life on a small island.

The project's cultural supervisor and adjunct professor, Pāpā Aratangi, from Mangaia was involved throughout the research project. Rev. Aratangi reviewed and approved this thesis prior to its submission to the examiners. Otago Supervisor Shayne Walker (Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kahungungu) was also involved.

**Conclusion**

Chapter 2 explained what this study is about, that is the approach to the illumination of the practice of tamariki 'āngai. This chapter has sought to explain how the qualitative study that centres on three disciplines has been carried out using a practice based conceptual framework with indigenous interpretations through my own western lens as an outsider to the culture. The multi-method research design included collection and analysis of Mangaian cultural artefacts and documentary data, along with formal interviews. I used interpretative analysis through a relational framework, engaging in 'uipa'anga for participatory understanding. My analysis was conducted in terms of a trialectic of the protocols interacting with incentives and dilemmas. Finally, the ethics of confidentiality and privacy which sought to protect the informants from both the inside and the outside was also one of 'ownership' of the results by the Mangaian people as a resource they may wish to use to manage tamariki 'āngai to achieve the outcomes they desire in the future.

It is in the context of this methodology and the first two scene-setting chapters that I now turn to the beginning of my data chapters and define the practice of tamariki 'āngai. It is important to know about the protocol and what a practice represents to the people (Chapter 4)
prior to looking at the incentives (Chapter 5) and the dilemmas (Chapter 6) that emerge therefrom and then analysing the relationships (Chapter 7) that arise from the protocols.

\[1\] A summary of the 'uipa'anga sessions appears on pages 141-144.
Chapter 4 Tamariki 'āngai

James Spradley (1980) admonished researchers to discover how their subjects define their world. This chapter is the first of the 'data' chapters and it defines what Mangaian tamariki 'āngai is and how it operates in Mangaia's cultural and political agendas, beginning in the twentieth century. Section 1 covers a definition; Section 2 provides a legal perspective from 1902; Section 3 provides an overview of contemporary guiding rules as it incorporates informant reports from individuals who have been practising the tradition since the 1940s. Section 4 examines transference of mana, inheritance and rank, the more durable aspects of Mangaian customary adoption that seem less likely to evolve.

Section 1 The evolving definition

Tamariki 'āngai is the Mangaia dialect term for "informal island adoption." Vern Carroll's "working definition of adoption" is "any customary and optional procedure for taking as one's own a child of other parents" (1970, p. 3). It is important to understand a cultural definition in a cross-cultural context, in that families' interpretations and practices vary in the extent to which they choose to adhere to or modify their customs. Because of this, the practice is diverse; what it symbolises to the people is also diverse and describing a "typical" 'āngai situation is difficult. Definitions compiled from my sample population of Mangaians living in Mangaia and New Zealand include contradictions about what tamariki 'āngai is or is not and reveal the independence and individuality of the people, and the adaptability, durability, utility and consumer-driven nature of their tradition.

The tradition is a mechanism that socially replaces the birth parents with a parent or parents who provide care 'as if' the biological parent. Tamariki 'āngai can socially replace their metua 'āngai if they outlive the adoptive parent, but only to the extent that family members of the metua 'āngai continue to accept the tamariki 'āngai and subsequent generations stemming from the tamariki 'āngai into their close kin circle following the death of the adoptive parents. Depending on the people involved, this situation can become tenuous over time. The term tamariki 'āngai loosely covers a repertoire of parenting situations wherein the individuals responsible for the children are not the birth parents. The scope of the tradition changes over time as the needs and desires of the people change. For instance, in former days warfare provided an impetus to adopt in order to survive, whereas the contemporary situation is likely to stem from adulterine children born abroad.
"The core issue is agreement through the generations of the family" (Elena). This agreement is called the tikanga Mangaia or 'akon'anga Mangaia (Tanga'eo). The tradition of tamariki 'angai is about a culturally 'licensed' agreement that transfers rights and responsibilities over a child to a person other than the biological parent of the individual, and thereafter, everyone lives with the "consequences" of that action (Elena). The tradition is "an interface between power or mana and love" (Elena), specifically, the power or mana of the adoptive parents over the child and the love of the birth parents for the child. 'Akono'anga Mangaia have built-in ambiguities which can lead to misunderstandings; however, Smith and Blanc argued that there is utility in flexibility that contributes to negotiability, "compromise [and] coexistence" (1997, p. 295).

Tamariki 'angai is about both giving and receiving tamariki, sometimes in the same household although this occurred more so in previous generations. It was an early form of child trafficking between families for various reasons such as love, cultural expectations, balancing gender in a household, labour and aged welfare. In Mangaian tamariki 'angai, each component of the adoption triad represents a potential resource to the other, although power relationships between members vary individually by situation.

"[K]in-altruism," is a term used by Richard Dawkins (2006, p. 93) that describes what Elena refers to as the "honourable" intent of tamariki 'angai over time. The Mangaian practice unites "the tamariki 'angai with extended members of the family...." (Tiotio). Mangaian tamariki 'angai is about the whole family rather than the whole community, but circumstances may shift attention to the whole community if a family appears to be going through a rough time (Mata). When the community does rally to help, it may or may not be appreciated or accepted by the family. Tamariki 'angai is "always about food, when they feeding you food like the parents do" (Mako). 'Feeding children' or adopted children, tamariki 'angai, have 'feeding parents' or adoptive parents, metua 'angai.

AJ proports that the tradition has socio-political roots:

And when they talk about those ... 42 battles that we've had on Mangaia ... it's all to do about that and to comfort one another over our belonging from the thirteen original tribes that were there ... but what used to be the dominant are still cringing from what happened in 1824 in the Battle of Putoa. To this day, they still cringe but we, the kids of today don't fully understand it, but I think the passive forgiveness from that is the adoption process. You take that, that's the part I wanted to share with you. (AJ)

Te Ruru A Rama equates the essence of adoption to an umbilical cord that links a child to the family and family land in several ways: "[T]here are two types of tamariki 'angai. One is
those who are legally registered or adopted into the family ... Then there are those who are not legally adopted, but they still come under the category of tamariki āngai.

Today Mangaians consider ōhāita 'registered' adoption as 'formal adoption' but still generically refer to the adoptees as tamariki āngai. There is debate among my informants whether or not grandchildren living with grandparents are defined as tamariki āngai. Some consider grandparents looking after grandchildren being outside the technical definition of tamariki āngai. Tipani2 explains the issue of nurturing rights and access to grandchildren by the grandparent:

What I think is a tamariki āngai is from other parents ... yeah, I would say, that's my grandchildren. I wouldn't say that's my tamariki āngai. I have a right to 'feed' them.

Ora elaborates about cultural rights associated with the practice of tamariki āngai:

[When my mum died, the kids she didn't name outside the family, stays with the grandparents ... Yeah, they weren't given to the family to name so they stay in within where my grandparents are—I mean, assuming, oh well, we might as well say my grandparents 'feed' them, I mean, look after them ... without being technically āngai-d. You know, to me, that's a different uh—it's not a āngai. It's, when I look at it, it's their love for their grandchildren; it's a love that they pass on from their son to their grandchildren.

Ora's quote refers to Mangaia's customary practice of tu'a tamariki 'conceptual division of siblings' and tōa ingoa 'naming,' in relation to tamariki āngai. By emphasising the innate love grandparents have for their grandchildren stemming from feelings for their birth children, Ora suggests those feelings differ from feelings adoptive parents have for their tamariki āngai.

Conversely in the grandchildren versus āngai debate, Manu qualifies that 'tamariki āngai' does include nurturing of grandchildren by grandparents:

I think the ideal one would—a good example would be me. That's an ideal tamariki āngai, you know, brought up by the grandparents and grew up with the grandparents. Yeah, I think that's my ideal.

The ideal Mangaian tamariki āngai situation is individual and may vary between families and individuals:

I think looking back, I think that was the ideal of tamariki āngai, especially in our family, because our grandparents were very, very good to us. They, I mean they were there to protect us and provide for us, food and things like that, even clean our clothes and do most of, I mean, most of the things that we can't do. I think that's the ideal tamariki āngai; I mean for our family. I don't know about the other families. I think it is different for each family. It's different. Of course our parents, uh the only
time they tell us off or give us a little spanking is when we disobey. If they ask us to do certain chores and we fail to do them, so they get upset sometimes. (Miro\textsuperscript{1})

Tiotio gives this distinction in the definition of tamariki 'āngai: In the case of surviving children, it is not considered tamariki 'āngai when older siblings raise younger siblings after their birth parents have died. Instead, that would be a matter of being brought up by a sibling if no one else intervenes to 'āngai the orphan.

Analogous to the definition of Mangaia's custom is the intention behind the tradition and implications that stem from the practice.

*Te ako* (Tanga'eo translates to:) The intention is honourable in the practice of adoption by Mangaian families.

To understand the contextual meaning of tamariki 'āngai, you must "[a]ccept the good and the sad parts ... When I open my [coco]nuts, it's rotten" (Tanga'eo), even if the intention is honourable. "[A]s [the tradition] is intrinsic to our Cook Islands culture, you can't help but know it (both its dark and bright sides) even as an insider ... so many issues, the intense love, the intense fighting, the sadness and tears which adults carry with them in their hearts forever" (L. Williams, personal conversation, 10 Decembe: 2008).

The custom of tamariki 'āngai significantly complicates life and identity because on the surface, the practice may seem perfect, but underneath, lie the imperfections that people are good at covering (Tanga'eo). However, the imperfections are what make the tamariki 'āngai so strong in the future as they adapt and independently manage the adversities that emerge from the practice. Over the years, the term tamariki 'āngai has implied situations that span from children spoiled by indulgence to children destined for abuse (M. McMath, personal conversation, 3 October 2008), referring to the physical, emotional and sexual aspects (Elena, Tanga'eo). Mangaia's practice of sharing children within families has been going on for generations and represents a way of preserving and keeping the family blood lines close (Tanga'eo).

Terms associated with the practice of tamariki 'āngai deserve scrutiny. Brady (1976, p. 154) emphasises informant testimony: "There is no way to determine the differences between an unregistered formal adoption and an informal or ambiguous adoption except by informant testimony." Step-children—those children borne of a spouse by another partner and generally raised in another home—are not considered tamariki 'āngai by the step-parent (Vakev.ake). The same applies for Tanga'eo's situation in that the birth mother was widowed when her children were young. She remarried and produced a second family that lived across the road from her first family. Tanga'eo never heard [the mother's second husband] refer to his step-
children as step-children or as *tamariki 'āngai*. Rather the father would introduce them as his children. Likewise, the half-siblings, even today—decades since the father in the first family passed away, make no verbal "step" distinction. Tanga'eo explains that it is an individual response that stems from these factors: how an individual is raised, emotional ties between family members, and the age of the *tamariti 'āngai* at the time of the *metua* 'āngai's death and remarriage of the surviving *metua*.

Tania disagrees with Tanga'eo: "My *metua 'āngai* is my step-mother." Tania's father's second wife raised Tania as her own—with love and fairness—in the household with Tania’s birthfather. In a third perspective, regarding conversations with people outside the family, Angelia equates 'step' relationships with 'āngai relationships and refers to the *metua 'āngai*, an aunt and uncle that raised Angelia, as "step-parents." Angelia also distinguishes "step-cousins" through 'āngai affiliations from "cousins." Tipani refers to *metua 'āngai* as "god-parents," another argument for researchers to understand the terms used by informants for accurate reporting.

Older Mangaian recognise the term *manu 'āngai* 'feeding bird' as synonymous with the term and practice of *tamariki 'āngai* and nurturing (Atuke). Fostering is another synonym for *tamariki 'āngai* (Poro) but, may suggest government intervention or social worker involvement (Miro2) or more of a temporary situation, such as *tamariki no'o 'ūā*. It is important to note that there may be a contentious difference of opinion between *metua 'ānau* and *metua 'āngai* about the status of the same child and the intended duration of the placement (Te Ruru a Rama).

**Kinship**

Exploring the Mangaian practice of *tamariki 'āngai* requires understanding how the people reckon kinship and therefore identity to appreciate the "rules." My informants explain that apart from mythological beginnings, Mangaian people believe that a *tamariti 'child'* is conceived from shared genetic material between a man and a woman, the *metua 'ānau* 'birth parents.'

Mangaia dialect is less precise than English to convey familial affiliations: In early times, *taeake* 'friend' represented aunts, uncles, cousins and distant others, until the relationship could be explained in detail (Elena). Aforementioned constructs have the same meanings as in *papa'ā* cultures. *Tua'ine, tungāne, teina,* and *tuakava* indicate sibling relationships and age differences that adults also use to convey incest boundaries to the youth: "*Tungāne tēnā no'o:* that means, they are out-of-bounds...[or] this is [***]. *Tungāne no'o,* so instantly you know
that he's related and therefore so you can't go out with that person" (Elena). 'Akapapa'anga restrictions on a small remote island where everyone is related presents challenges that directly influence tamariki 'ängai.

**Section 2 Legalities**

Crocombe (1964) provided an historical summary of Mangaia's land tenure status for marginalised tamariki 'ängai:

Ideally, an adoptee's rights were specified at the time of adoption, but the ideal was not always achieved in practice. It was customary to call together all those whose land rights would be affected by the adoption and to obtain their consent. This was done by making the announcement at a feast prepared for the occasion, for it was (and is) accepted custom that any person who had partaken of a feast without raising any objection to the arrangement announced there was considered to have concurred in those arrangements. If neither the adoptee nor his children exercised rights in the lands given them, they reverted to the source from which they came. An adoptee could leave land given to him by his foster family only to his own issue and if he wished to devise it to others the consent of the donors was required.

Most commonly an adoptee was given a piece of alluvial gardening land and some taro swamp land, but this did not satisfy all his needs and he obtained other produce from those parts of the mountain-sides, the rocky foreshores, and the lagoon in which his host lineage held rights. His relationship with them was one of constant interaction, and his land rights cannot be regarded in isolation.

Adoptees sometimes succeeded in holding primary rights in their lineage of adoption as well as their lineage of origin (especially if the two lived close by), and in the same way that a family could set aside land as a marriage portion for a woman who married out, so also could they set aside land for a child who was adopted out. As with the marriage gift, such land was more often used by one of the issue of the donee than by the donor himself. Apart from lands specifically reserved for him the adoptee normally retained contingent rights in the lands of his natal lineage, and thus if his natal family was at any stage left without direct male issue, or any other atypical circumstance arose, he could reassert primary rights there. This marginal status of adoptees often led to dispute, and rights acquired by adoption have always been a matter of contention. (pp. 56-57)

Before Rarotonga's Land Court, Mangaians had no written adoption although there were different levels of formality. "[I]n the old times," after colonialism changed Mangaian society from verbal to literate, if the grandparents wanted to adopt the grandchild, "they just go to the registrar's office with the mother, if the mother allows the parents; then they will have to write down ... something and they can adopt, that is, when you adopt a 'feeding child' ... That is one way for people to know that child is yours" (Miro1). Resident Agent Hickling documented this activity in a 1945 article (p. 83):
At the time of registration, the question is asked, Koai te metua tane? (Who is the father?) and the answer is given Ko ... terare noku te ingoa (So and so is the father, but I give it my name).

If the child is illegitimate the mother's name is given, and concerning the father, the answer Tamaiti ngangaere ua (child from the bush)—this in preference to using a more literal expression which is disliked, tamaiti puti. The person registering will say, Ko ... te metua vaire, terara noku te ingoa.

In "reference to the forty-nine illegitimate children adopted by the parents of the mother" that Hickling wrote about in 1945, he stated that "in only two instances was the adoption later disputed, and then in both cases by the actual father of the child, in one case because the mother refused to marry him, and in the other because the mother had become pregnant to another man, and was neglecting the baby" (pp. 83-84). Confusion stemmed then, and still stems, from semantics and Mangaians not understanding the difference between foreign concepts of registering births and registering adoptions that were unknown in pre-colonial Mangaia.

Today, Mangaians wishing to formally register adoptions travel to Rarotonga and spend $71.00 for an adoption application that appears under one metua 'āngai's name. Rarotonga's Land Court convenes on an as needed basis: An adoption application pends until the number of cases on the docket warrants a sitting.

Inano values altruistic informal adoption: "[Adopting] children is not for money; it's for love....I think that is why they don't do those register things...not for the money." Mako emphasises the normalcy of retaining informality and the strength of the metua 'āngai's affection and commitment:

[I]t's just the thing to do, I think ... that's what's it's all about ... they're still your children ... well someone else carried them, but they're still your children, so why register them? To them it's still the same thing ... it's like getting married: It's just a piece of paper that the law's eyes say that that's your child.

Tania and Maiata both explain that some Mangaians  rētitata their tamariki 'āngai and others prefer informal status because rētitata secures inheritance. Tamariki 'āngai are disadvantaged to claims for land if they are not rētitata, and without land, a Mangaian is devalued (Angelia). Maiata explains that rētitata protects tamaiti 'āngai against kōreromotu being marginalised in some Mangaian families following the death of the metua 'āngai.

Miro 2 defends rētitata by suggesting that there are reasons why birth children of the metua 'āngai may reject a tamariki 'āngai claims for land required to build a house. Maiata cites some of these reasons imbedded with protocol and expectations: If a tamaiti 'āngai has been absent for many years from the 'āngai family's lanc; the type and frequency of contact the tamariki 'āngai maintained with islanders during the absence; following island protocol for
calling a family meeting in which to request land and the humility expressed by the ta maiti 'ängai therein; what has been happening to the land in the individual's absence; who has been looking after the land in the individual's absence; and how many other people are in the family circle, eligible to request a portion of the land in the future.

[I]f you are from outside the circle, the penalty later in life will be if you ... are trying to claim things ... inheritance and all that. The ... birth children or closer-knit children ... with that circle, have a right to step in and say, 'Oh hang on ... I know you are just ... a tamariki 'ängai, but ... the decision will be ours.' Yeah. I think that's the penalty ... if they are greedy. (Manu)

Mangaia's finite land is family owned, not for sale, and in high demand by Mangaians, fueling ownership strategies for the next generation of tamariki 'ängai.

Foregoing réitia provides options for future circumstances while it stimulates insecurities. Maiata introduces the idea of risk management and a wait-and-see stance with youth in general: "[Y]ou may predict what your children may be ... but sometimes ... they don't turn out to do what you expect of them ...." People, including tamariki 'ängai, change their minds. Tumunu explained that you cannot guarantee outcomes regarding loyalty and affection.

In 1902, papa'ā administrators organised the Cook Islands Land Court that reduced the power of traditional chiefs. However, three of the fourteen outer islands, Mangaia, Mitiaro and Pukapuka, continue to resist having a land court system in favour of customary land practices. Constitution Amendment No. 9 Act 1980-81 preserves their right to conduct land cases in traditional tribunals "unless the customary authorities request otherwise" (Crocombe, 1987, p. 62). Although this thesis focuses on informal/ unregistered adoptions, land court records are included and discussed for three reasons: Mangaians tamariki réitia literally adopted children are considered tamariki 'ängai; Mangaia's adoption practices involve land redistribution (Te Ruru A Rama); and the records provide an historical perspective into past practices.

"On Mangaia, the families are the Land Court," according to 'Uipa'anga3. However, Mangaians have the option of registering tamariki réitia in Rarotonga's Land Court. The effect of tamariki réitia is that children become legally 'as if' they are born to the metua 'ängai, and jural parenthood is transferred from the metua 'āncu to the metua 'ängai. In colonial times, adoption matters were presented in chambers on Rarotonga or a judge travelled to Mangaia to conduct business. Contemporary Mangaians formalised adoption hearings occur solely on Rarotonga. The Cook Islands Adoption Act of 1915 (see Appendix 9) continues to regulate tamariki réitia. Now follows excerpts extracted from early Cook Islands Native Land Court minute records between 1922 to 1974 that describe tamariki réitia protocol.
Cook Islands Native Land Court minute records

Land court records from 26 July 1922 indicate that Mangaian legal adoption formalises arrangements that may have existed informally for years. It may have an impact on land allocation and include unrelated children that cause tension in families over land; perpetuity of land rights following adoption is negotiable. On 15 October 1944, an adoptive parent related only by adoption to the mother of the petitioned child is granted the adoption which does not affect lands. The record indicates that the child is now 16 years old but was 12 years old at the time of the application for adoption. Also on that day, court records include an application for land succession by the adopted child of a person who died without issue, and sworn testimony that explains the protocol: "Speaking of adoptions—adopting father dying calls aronga mana to his bed & says he wants to give land to his adopted child, aronga mana will see it is done."

Other testimony that day explains how Mangaian informal adoption is arranged: "If I have a child and someone came along ask for it & I consent, child would go and not come back again to natural parent."

In 1956, court records refer to a family meeting held regarding adoption. The record lists the attendees and refers to the child's "feeding parents." The case record includes one challenged objection and that the adoption was granted, but it "excludes land succession because of distant relationship and family attendance at meeting." In 1958 the Court rules that there is no need for a birth father of children born out of wedlock to legally adopt his children after he marries the children's birth mother, and his name appears on the children's birth register as father. On 20 November 1958, the Court defers to a family meeting and excludes land in another adoption order involving a toddler by its adoptive paternal great aunt. "We have the baby since birth. Because look after it well." The quote suggests that the adopting parents were mindful of their treatment toward the child affecting their eligibility to register the adoption.

On 9 March 1959, the Court amends a succession order to include a tamaiti 'ängai family member omitted from the birth family's genealogy. The applicant testifies, "I cannot explain why [***] left me out of the family." Other individuals testify on the applicant's behalf including the 'feeding mother':

I have known the family for a long time and I remember the occasion when [***] was born. I know all of their children. I dont know why the birth of [***] was not registered.

A sibling also testifies:
[***] is my full sister. I remember when she was born. I was about ten years of age at the time. We have always thought of [***] as our sister.

In cases dated 12 October 1959, a father testifies during one of his two adoptions:

My wife is not joining in the adoption. We have no children of our own ... [The child] will not succeed to my father's lands but ... will succeed to the lands I get from my mother in Mangaia. My two brothers, [Xxx] and [Yyy] have agreed to this. I have not discussed matter with [Zzz] ... who is [abroad].

The court granted both adoptions deferring to the petitioner's request confining land succession solely to Mangaia through the paternal grandmother's mother's line. A 26 March 1962 case heard on Mangaia includes the following testimony from a different perspective on family input and protocol:

[Child to be adopted] is a close relation of mine and has a right to land and property in my name. My family have no say in this matter of adoption [sic]. I have one sister only. Father is dead, mother is living. I do not know of any custom of consulting family of adopting parent. I am about 35 years of age. I do not remember any previous adoption orders in this Court ... Our wish is that child is to succeed to all our property equally with [another child] ... we do not propose to adopt any more children. We want these two to share our property when we die.

Another case on 26 March 1962 conveys what seems to be a classic motive for réti ta: "I think putting through court people will recognise these children as ours." In a third case from 26 March 1962, an application to adopt a child is dismissed because the adoptive father is separated from his wife with no intention of reconciling. However, Judge Fraser rules that the application "may be re-instated if applt re-marries." In a fourth Manganian case of the same date, both of the adoptive parents agree to the adoption before Judge Fraser adjourns the matter to hear consent of the natural mother in Rarotonga. The record defines inheritance protocol: "feeding children succeed to feeding parents, not real parents." On 9 May 1962, the same judge dismisses an adoption case because the child to be adopted was beyond the fifteenth birthday.

On 30 July 1971, a case was heard on Mangaia wherein grandparents adopted grandchildren. The adopting father explained, "I understand that the grandchildren will rank equally with my daughter on succession to me." The biological mother of the children testified, "I want my children adopted by my parents because they are not legitimate children and also so that they can succeed to my father's lards." The judge dispensed with the usually required fathers' consents to the adoptions as the birth mother testified that "none of [the fathers] have signed the birth register, or have acknowledged or made any claim to the children." The case was then adjourned to Rarotonga to allow the "applicant's wife to give
evidence and for [***] to appear in order to give her consent, as she is over 12 years of age."
An entry on this date shows that four adoption orders cost $4.00 total and no names changed.

On 13 June 1972 court records indicate that an intermediary acting on behalf of the applicant "who is in Mangaia" states: "I produce a signed affidavit (sighted & attached to application) which shows that the husband of the applicant although wishing to join in the adoption, debars himself for reasons of family objection—he does not object to [water mark damage] (his wife being the sole adoptive parent. [water mark damage] (cousen [sic] of mother & birth certificate sighted.)" The Court responds: "The affidavit sets out the conditions of succession if & when lands (customary) are investigated - all documents appear to be in order, and as it may be some time before any land court holds a sitting in Mangaia, the court waives any irregularities or non appearance of applicant & grants the adoption." The adoption order changed the child's name.

Rēitia occurs in families varying in size. On 28 March 1973 in Mangaia, an adoptive father testifies: "Child has been with us partly & partly with natural mother. We now wish to adopt. We have only one of our own." On the same day parents of six children ages eleven to four, adopt the father's year old niece who has lived with the adoptive family since birth. Emigration appears as a motive for adoption on 7 March 1974, as the adoptive father testifies:

I have had this child since he was nearly a year old. I have other children (two) I live in Mangaia but am leaving next week for N.Z. My other children are going with me. I have a wife who is the natural mother of [***]. [***] looks on me as his father & I wish to legalise the adoption.

The adopting father also requests that his adopted son's name be changed.

These records show that adoption and blood relationships do not guarantee land rights and that it is easier to lose a family member than to reinstate one's position. Rēitia provides a sense of eligibility, permanence and identity to the 'āngai relationships that may or may not alter the children's names. This concludes adoption discussion from Rarotonga's Land Court records.

The Cook Islands Adoption Act of 1915 remains in effect in 2008 (see Appendix 9).

**Section 3 Protocol**

Informant reports about how Mangaia's tradition has developed into contemporary protocol for tamariki ʻāngai, continue to emphasise values, eligibility, ownership and expectations. On the one hand, the practice is durable: "It's that Mangaian thing in us ... the 'feeding' chain ... I don't think it'll ever be broken from way back" (Manu). Yet, as stated in the definition, the custom is dynamic; how it is expressed is changing and trends will continue to change as
creative, independent Mangaians adapt to evolving needs in a modern world. "[This] generation is changing and going into different things and won't go back, no way" (Poro). Piecing together details of historical practices from an era of silence can be problematic, because "we never asked those things...." (Angelia). In addition, segregating past practice from current guidelines is difficult because Mangai's history is closely interwoven with the present, and to a great extent, the custom remains flexible.

Values of the community become the basis for logic utilised by individuals having earned or been given authority to make the rules or protocol of a practice. This section examines the evolution of contemporary traditional tamariki ōngai guiding rules and process in terms of initiation, negotiating concessions or adjustments and additional support. Samuel Fleischacker writes that moral codes relative to human actions are "action-guiding" codes that represent a "collection of values or ideals" (1994, pp. 15-16). I include protocol regarding the transference of rank, mana and inheritance in Section 4 because tamariki ōngai rules about these are less flexible than other rules in the tradition (Tarofan).

**Acquisition rules**

Indivduals manipulate rules which result in norm variation, according to J. van Velsen (1967). Tamariki ōngai is practised similarly across Mangaia's villages (Rangimōria 5 11114). "There's no rules" (Arera). "[A]nybody can adopt" (Tiotio). There is "no rule about who cannot adopt" (Tiare). The parents of the child are the decision makers (Tiotio). The agreement is between the two sets of parents (Angelia), and single individuals can be metua ōngai (Manu).

There is also some flexibility about who one adopts; however, Firth noted that before the Europeans came, "[t]he striking thing about the Mangaia custom is that adoption appears to be confined solely to a transference of children from the group of the father to that of the mother" (1957, p. 590). This tendency in adoption direction still exists, even in the event that absolute paternity is not established; there is always a reason for why an adoption occurs and usually the decision stems from a web of cultural practices (Elena). Mangaians with the authority and/or self-determination to do so, have developed new protocol or modified existing protocol to meet their immediate needs. Mangaians "never give their kids to any other people—only their own bloodline..." (Tupuai), however, other informants confirm that some adoptions do take place between non-relatives (Mako; Tiare Māori; Tipani2, Vakevake). In Atuke's case, the metua "are friends that days and having a good time and whatever, and I was given." The scope of source options extends from proximal to abroad (Angelia). "[* ***] was only nine
months when my grandpa came over to New Zealand and took [***] to the island, so there were three of us fed in the islands" (Tipani). There is no limit to the number of adoptions. Tuna recalls a household having five different tamariki 'āngai from as many homes, whereas Arera personally felt that having one 'feeding child' was enough. People can change their minds as circumstances change. Tiotio's caveat is that an individual is not considered a tamariki 'āngai if raised by a sibling. However, Mako describes a metua 'ānau that was adopted by a half-brother. The age of the tamariki 'āngai at adoption depends on the circumstances (Mako), and reasons for adoption are infinite; for example, gender preferences can factor in agreements (Mata).

Inquiry

"[W]hen someone in the family is going to have a child, you go and ask" to 'āngai the child (Maiata). Solicitation can be either by the metua 'ānau or the prospective metua 'āngai. Tiotio illustrates the latter: "First of all, I have to discuss with my wife, and if she agrees with that I prefer, so then we have to go and ask for the parents of that child ...." "[J]ust [ask] the couple giving me the baby" (Mata), or in the case of separated spouses, permission is needed by one birth parent (Manu). It is atypical to ask other members of the mother's family for the baby (Tarofan).

[Y]ou can ask them or whoever you feel want to ask ... I mean they will ask, because if they want to give their child to you, they will tell their grandparents, that somebody have asked for this child, and what do they think? If they say yes, then it's alright or otherwise if the parents say yes, they don't need anybody else. It's entirely up to them, but if they know there will be a friction, they will ask. (Miro1)

"My mum asked my grandparents that she want to take me, because she hasn't got any children for two years, but she have a child then after" (Ora).

Inquiries can be pre- or post natal and may depend on whether the arrangement is voluntary or crisis driven, such as if the metua 'ānau are incapacitated. Maiata stalled a pressured request: "[T]hey been after it, they want to, as soon as it's born they want to take it away, but I didn't let them, because I wanted the child to nurse her ... so I gave her to them when she was three months old."

I asked for her before she was born. I asked the father if I could have her as my adopted child ... both of them agreed that I could adopt her. And since then, she haven't gone back to her parents—after three months—after birth. I've adopted her and still she's with me (Tiotio).
Mangaian metua 'ānau assess the capability of potential metua 'āngai and choose the "best option" (Manu). A metua 'ānau's major concern is "[w]hat are they going to do with my child?" (Arera). Miro1 illustrates, "Because you are my relation I allow you to," and adds, "I think then they will have to look at it and discuss it and come to a conclusion whether it's a good thing or ...." "You have to know that person and trust that person" who may not necessarily be a relative (Poro). Maiata refers to a sense of duty to share with other siblings who have no tamariki.

The closer the relationship, the more strength the request carries and the greater the obligation to comply (Miro1, Miro2). Part of the strength of the request stems from tu 'a tamariki, but here again, the flexibility of this Mangaian institution depends on the birth parents (Tiotio), following their legal union (Vakevake). Tu'a tamariki can influence who names the child, and naming a child identifies an individual as a strong contender for eventually claiming the child as a tamariki 'āngai (Vakevake). "Some people—they ask before; some people, after; if it's born, they will go and see the hospital and say, 'I want to name the baby’" (Rangimóitia 511114).

In a crisis, the grandparents step in to help (Manu). Ora illustrates the influence of grandparents, tu'a tamariki and tapa ingoa in crisis adoption: "The thing is, because when my mum died, the kids she didn't name outside the family, stays with the grandparents." Allocation may be uneven between the father and mother's sides with one side receiving an extra tamaiti. Vakevake recalls, "[T]hat's the family I feel [for] because they got more kids to look after."

Naming a baby and providing its access to a grandparent, weakens parental rights to retain and raise the child (Angelia). However, the privilege and responsibility of naming an infant does not guarantee that the child will automatically be shared with the individual who provides the name and desires to raise the child. Metua 'ānau have defensive strategies to keep a tamaiti 'ānau, such as not returning to Mangaia with the infant born abroad, or honouring a relative with a namesake, but retaining custody of the infant (Angelia), or allowing other relatives to provide a name only (Tarofan).

Names connect tamariki 'āngai to lineage and thereby qualifies land access and reciprocity associated with lineage membership (Tania). An example of linking naming, land access and reciprocity is the option of naming a child after a metua 'āngai, if in so doing, the 'feeding child' receives a piece of land to ensure family stability on that land in perpetuity.
Concessions

Following initial consideration of expressed interest between metua, concessions or adjustments are negotiated and developed to construct the terms of a pre-adoption agreement that focuses on needs and expectations in a proposed working model of the relationship. Rosa Rosnati described this "adoptive pact" as a "relational modality" that accommodates differences and belonging in acknowledging and respecting the child's origin (2005, p. 193). The spirit of Mangaian pre-adopt covenants is expressed in Esther Goody's framework for parenting roles designed to "reproduce the social system" which begins with the premise that the critical task of parenting is about "social replacement" (1982, p. 13), that is, imbue a child with sufficient resources to eventually replace the parent when the parent is deceased or to "[d]elegate the rearing roles which they would otherwise fill themselves" (1982, p. 19).

"It's you make the rule and your sister or brother who give it to you" (Arera). 'Feeding children' agreements are verbal and difficult to rescind in Mangaia (Tarofan). Voluntary adoption can be pre-arranged (Angelia) or done post-parturition (Tipani2). Crisis-driven arrangements swiftly serve emergent concerns, such as the death of a metua ānau (Tiare). Manu explains that "normally everything is agreed before birth; yeah. I think the only people who can do things after birth, are the grandparents" (Manu).

Tiotio illustrates agency in managing circumstances:

We have to decide whether, when the child grow up, they don't want to claim that—reclaim that child again. Because if they are going to reclaim it, I'll say I won't, I won't do that. I won't adopt that child. If they—I have spent a lot of time looking after the child and then later on they want to reclaim the child, and then she has grown up, he has grown up, and then they want to reclaim their right as a biological parent to take the child back into the biological family, so I won't adopt that baby. That's the concession we are going to make.

Tiotio discussed plans to ōngai with the household members in advance; they were happy to receive a child not closely related and willing to help with care-giving.

The following excerpt from an interview with Miro1 and Miro2 describes how the metua ōngai deflect problems from arising later following the informal adoption:

I: Would you say that there are any specific rules as far as who all people have to ask besides the birth parents, in the kōpū tangata, that you must ask to be able to have a tamariki ōngai?

Miro1: Yeah, the brothers and sisters, we can ask them if we want to have tamariki ōngai, or I mean cousins, distant cousins, or you can ask them or whoever you feel want to ask ...
I: [Is there anybody else that you must ask for permission?]

Miro1: Hunuh.

Miro2: Yes.

Miro1: Who?

Miro2: I think for some, the parents of those, of that, I mean the parents, grandparents of the couple for some.

Miro1: I mean they will ask, because if they want to give their child to you, they will tell their grandparents, that somebody have asked for this child, and what do they think? If they say yes, then it's alright or otherwise if the parents say yes, they don't need anybody else. It's entirely up to them, but if they know there would be a, uh friction, they will ask.

I: Is there any particular programme that you must follow to make sure that your tamariki 'āngai situation is considered OK in the community, in other words to mark it officially, do you have to do anything like that?

Miro1: Ummmm.

Miro2: No.

Maiata describes concessions as a metua 'ōnauc. "[W]hen they took [***], they said, 'No more contact with uh, we don't want you to take money,' or whatever to take care of the child; they'll do it themselves." As a metua 'āngai, Maiata illustrates proposed concessions: "I talked to them and explained the situation, and I said, I'm free; I don't have any work, and I can look after; I'm prepared to look after the baby for you, and if they ever want at any time, I can always bring [***] to them." As a prospective metua 'āngai, Tipani2 warned the metua 'ōnauc during the negotiation phase: "You can't go back and get him. You give it and don't think about it...."

Tarofan initially stipulated parameters for the metua 'āngai: "[I]f you don't register the baby by the time you pass away, I want my baby." Children cannot be legally adopted retroactively or vicariously following the death of a parent: "So therefore, they can't claim my father's land because they're not registered under him; they are just taking his name" informally (Poro).

The age of the tamariki 'āngai at adoption depends on the metua's agreement (Tipani2). In voluntary adoptions, options range from the first day of life to several years old. "[W]e went to the hospital and get her and bring her to our house, and the baby" (Tumunu). "[W]hat they said, when I was born, say, one day, they look after me, the day one" (Tuna). "[H]e was four
when he came to me … I used to go there and visit him" (Tipani2). "[O]ne was already, say maybe probably nine, ten years when he came into our household" (Tumunu).

Logistics may or may not permit nursing the infant which figures in concessions (Tiotio). Ora describes an arrangement between the metua 'ānau and metua 'āngai: "[Y]ou put the name for my [child], I'll look after [***] until [***] knows how to get things and I will send [***] to you." If living close enough, tamariki 'āngai may be returned to the metua 'ānau for a feeding and then go back to the metua 'āngai's home.

Support

As negotiations progress, supporting the infant and metua 'ānau begin, depending on the resources of the metua 'āngai (Arera). Ora illustrates: "[T]here's a lot of things exchanged during that period, that's like my metua 'āngai bring the food to feed my biological mum so that she can have the food for me, yeah. Those are the process they went through … there was food exchange, clothes and everything" (Ora). "I used to support the baby. I gave nappies and milk, and I support the baby when the baby was out" (Tipani2). Maiata described support received "only when I was nursing the child":

You know, sometimes they bring fish and, because we do that sometimes in our custom. When a parent is looking after your child, then you take food for the mother so there would be enough strong milk for the baby. That sort of thing they did when I was feeding, but then after that, they didn't.

Contrasting Maiata's example, Tipani2 illustrates an exceptional case of extended support for the metua 'ānau that lasted several years until custody of the tānaiti was actually transferred:

I'm giving that support to him because he can get any … No money to support the baby. So I got money, support the baby, buy the milk, buy the clothes, buy the nappies. But it's good at that time, not these disposable nappies—the cloth nappy.

Declining

Negotiations for acquiring a tamariki 'āngai can be derailed at any stage including post-placement (Tania), for myriad reasons. Arera declined due to advanced age. After naming a grandchild, Te Ruru A Rama declined the invitation to 'āngai the child, knowing the difficulty metua 'ānau may face in the future. A daughter declined a grandmother's request for a tamariki 'āngai because the daughter's husband is not an islander (Angelia).

It is easier and more advantageous to adopt if closely related or arranged between good friends (Tiotio). Metua 'ānau are free to decline a request to adopt without reprisals: "No
problem, because it's up to them to decide if they want to give the child to me to adopt" (Tiotio). Other individuals may be devastated when promised children go to another home (Tumunu).

Reclamation and relocation

Although the intent of the initial negotiations may be for a permanent placement of tamariki 'āngai, the duration of the 'āngai arrangement can change with circumstances. Mangaian 'feeding children' may experience multiple placements during their 'āngai careers and placements are modifiable for various reasons such as outmigration (Inano). Tamariki 'āngai may return to their natal family when change occurs in the 'āngai household: "[W]hile my ... uncle was alive, I used to stay there, and when my uncle died, I'm back home again" (Tanga'eo). Tumunu knew grandparents who acquired more tamariki 'āngai than they could afford to feed, so the metua 'ānau reclaimed several tamariki 'āngai from the metua 'āngai.

My informants indicate that metua 'āngai may have a concurrent plan in case they are no longer able to look after tamariki 'āngai. It depends on the age of the metua 'āngai looking after the 'feeding children,' but "[m]y parents did have a plan; I think some parents do have a plan and some don't, but my parents did before they died" (Miro2). "[M]aybe they had [a plan] in their heart, but they never explain or told me what they had in mind when they pass on; I mean for me, they never spoke of it ...." (Miro1). Metua 'ānau Vakevake had "no such thing, no, like that, yeah; to me, yeah, they growing and they looking after them by the [grand]parents." Tumunu's contingent plan is that "my children will always come back to me—yeah, automatically." Manu explains their family plan: "The plan is there, his friend was his son, and then when his son passed away, it was me and then that was it." Inano's family plan is that the younger generation in 'āngai family assumes responsibilities for their aging metua 'āngai. Neighbours can intervene offering a safe haven alternative placement option for a displaced tamaiti 'āngai (Atuke).

Depending on individuals, children may have input about the alternate placement: "I remember when we were just going back home from New Zealand, uh, [the spouse's] mom told us about the granddaughter they were raising at the time, and she said she asked her ... and the granddaughter said, 'I want to stay with Auntie' ...." (Miro1). However, "[s]he can't really because her real parents are still alive, and by right, she should go back to her birth parents" (Miro2). Protocol can override the 'feeding child's' volition. Children may even develop their own plan for relocation, such as returning to their biological parents if mistreated in the 'āngai household (Tiotio). "Sometimes, kids, when they're young, they took
off, but as they grow up, became a human being, knowing their mind, and sorted, they understand; they start to come back" (Tanga'eo).

Children may be reclaimed for various reasons, such as perceived mistreatment by the metua 'āngai (Manu) or the metua 'āngai remarries (Tipani). In the past, children were not always told prior to permanent relocation abroad (Elena; Tipani). Noo knew and described evading reclamation and relocation:

[W]hen I was told that I was to come over here, I hid. The day we were supposed to go catch the boat to go to Rarotonga, I hid...I wouldn't come out [because] I didn't want to leave my grandmother ... I think that as soon I knew that I was one of the ones coming over here, I mean, I look forward coming to see [family], but I didn't want to leave my grandmother. So I hid that day I was supposed to come.

I inquired about what happened next in their interchange, to which Noo replied: "Oh, Grandmother knew where I was. I can't remember the exact words she said to me, but I had to leave" (Noo). So ended Noo's days as a tamariki 'āngai.

Manu reminds that during a much earlier era (Gill, 1979, p. 28), it was common practice to not require a change of residence for the tamariki 'āngai. However it appears that this has changed in contemporary Mangaia, making the tradition less transparent.

Illegitimacy

For a child born from an unstable relationship that is considered legally 'illegitimate,' "it's normally the mother's parents" that will come and get the baby (Poro), but alternatively, it can be "the child's father's family" (Manu). An illegitimate child takes the mother's father's surname (Poro). The 'feeding parents' may arrange to raise the 'feeding child's' firstborn and illegitimate child as their tamaiti 'āngai (Tania). However, an illegitimate child can be raised as a 'feeding child' alongside the mother (for example, as siblings requiring no change of residence), or as her child; the birthmother decides who has jural authority over the child (Tiotio) if she is of mature and sound mind. Tiotio distinguishes an illegitimate grandchild living in his home as his "grandchild"—not as a tamariki 'āngai. Grandparents may delay decisions affecting status of a child until later to ascertain what direction circumstances are going with family members as they mature.
Adoption and mana

Tamariki āngai has a spiritual side in that Mangaian adoption is like an umbilical cord connecting the individual to family land (Te Ruru A Rama). A ‘feeding child’s’ mana is situational (Maiata) and depends on eligibility and the individuals involved. 'Uipa'anga3 explain that it depends on how a child is loved—if a couple has no tamariki ānau ‘birth children’ and strongly desires children, then the mana of the ‘feeding parents’ transfers to tamariki āngai.

Mangaian adoption can marginalise mana; Manu cites a power differential in the same home between birth and adopted children: "Tamariki āngai has got that power, but birth children have got more power." Mana’s connection to tamariki āngai is particularly evident during inheritance or land acquisition, explains Manu. Much depends on the families who adopt, how they raise their children, and if the deceased parents’ wishes are honoured beyond the grave (Te Ruru A Rama). 'Uipa'anga3 explains that a child's mana decreases if the aunties and uncles intervene and claim the mana of the ‘feeding child,’ unless the metua āngai calls a meeting and informs the 'uirangatira that his tamaiti ‘male or female’ or tamāine āngai ‘female adopted child’ is to receive inheritance. Even then, a 'feeding child' must be humble in soliciting land on their own behalf, or risk being "chased off the land" by relatives after the metua āngai dies (Maiata, 2007).

According to 'Uipa'anga3 (2007), Mangaian adoption is about humility and following protocol. Sufficient humility tempers the mana—adoption link. A mata'ipo ‘firstborn’ tamaiti āngai may have no mana in his āngai household wherein he was raised, however, the same individual may wield mana when he returns to visit his natal siblings as an adult, as is the case for one 'Uipa'anga3 participant whose ānau ‘birth' siblings respect their elder brother’s mana, but they may not appreciate him directing them because he was raised in another ‘nest.’ The mana of the metua āngai’s own mata’ipo and subsequent tamariki ānau override mana technically held by a mata’ipo-tamaiti āngai within its own ānau family whilst the tamaiti āngai resides in the āngai household ('Uipa'anga4). In other words, tamariki āngai technically abdicate mana received at birth when in the āngai home, however, it may also be that a tamaiti āngai is so revered in the āngai home as to increase the child’s endowment of mana. Mana held by tamariki āngai is variable and individually defined by tradition, situation, individuals and legal strategies.
Authority

Protocol about locus of control over child custody changes over time in Mangaian tamariki 'āngai. Jural authority over a shrinking pool of tamariki to 'āngai appears to be shifting over time from grandparents or other external family members to the metua 'ānau. Miro1 explains the strong tendency for aunties and uncles to 'āngai more so than grandparents or great grandparents: "My mother's ... parents had many siblings, and when they got married and had their children, each of their aunties, uncles want to raise the children." However, some metua 'āngai claim grandchildren for tamariki 'āngai because they believe that their only child is so special that he should not soil his hands with childcare needs of his own progeny (Manu). Thus, the child gets raised by the grandparents (Manu). Some grandparents assumed parenting because they believed that their children were not skilled enough to be good parents to the next generation (Tiotio).

Tanga'eo illustrates a minefield of family members negotiating for tamariki 'āngai in the past when ultimate authority for a child's placement was external of the metua 'ānau:

[When a couple had their first born. It's supposed to go to the father[s family], and therefore, there is the brother of your own brother—if you are the father. There is your own brother, there is your own sister and there is your auntie, and there is your uncle saying, 'Can I have that?' All they were voicing their concern of the baby and your grandmother and your grandfather; it's the strongest in those terms, asking for that firstborn ... And then when you're second born, so it's the same feeling again. Oh, this is the wife's turn. It's their turn to name the baby. So is the whole of that side, of the wife, this is the, her auntie, her uncle, her grandparents on to this. And if you don't, you're the bad guy. (chuckle) You remember, if I don't agree with this, I'm the bad guy, the bad father, I'm the bad mother. So it's pressure for the father and mother to hang on their kids. So go on the third, you get the same thing: Oh, that's father's turn, that's the third one: 'Oh can I have that now?' If you're lucky, they get it. And the other one will say, 'Oh you can name it, but you're not going to have it.' Yeah. It goes on. Sometimes your great-great aunties say, 'Right, I'm sitting here for long time. I haven't had any children. Can I have that? Can I have that?!' Just like that. What will you do? ... You might as well cry, because when they say, 'I'm going to have it,' they take it away. Sometimes they discuss this before the birth, before the baby arrive, they already know where he or she is going. Well, that's what happen. It goes on... for me, it comes to me, I was lucky they stopped me. They allow my, my auntie's husband, my uncle to name me .... They named me [***] ... and my auntie want me to stay there. My dad said, 'No, you can name him.'

Informants described how tamariki 'āngai arrangements were hijacked by other family members when 'feeding children' were not returnec to their 'āngai household as planned. Tamariki 'āngai Elena describes being uprooted without advance knowledge: "My understanding was I was going home for a holiday, but then we went home and never came
back," without having the opportunity to say goodbye to friends. Tipani was sent to Mangaia for a holiday and grandparents refused to let Tipani return abroad to the metua 'āngai. Another tamaiti was given temporarily in an arrangement with grandparents that somehow turned permanent (Tumunu).

Sometimes domestic responsibilities assigned by the metua 'āngai to tamariki 'āngai conflicted with the expectations of the school teachers. Arera recalls parents assigning "work in the morning and after that, they got no time to prepare for themself going to school, because those days, you are hit by the teacher when you are late." Tipani illustrates:

When I go to school, they don't care whether I have to go late to school. I have to do all my work first in the morning before I go to school, so when I get to school, the school already started ... So that you will be punished for that. You'll be beaten up by the teacher.

**Maintenance**

This subsection describes protocol in yesteryear about how metua 'āngai used what they had to survive and fulfil their 'āngai responsibilities 30-60 years ago, starting with food.

Inano translates Tuna's description of how labour intensive the 'feeding' of young children (including tamariki 'āngai) was in earlier times:

[H]is mother chew the food and put on taro leaves and then you eat. Hard job for raising tamariki 'āngai. When the baby is not having his mother's milk, they chew the food (they give the coconut drink) with milk to flush it down.

Tania recalls having "local foods for our lunch. My parents can't supply us food so we have to find them on our way to school" (Tania). The following excerpt from an interview describes how family looked out for a hungry tamaiti 'angai:

Tanga'e: [I]n those days, when I was a young boy, probably about six or seven. Every time when I go from school, instead of going home, I went down and see my auntie. He used to said to me, every time I go past there, he said to me, "Where the umu is, is that, right beside it is a heap of old leaves, when they cover, he put it there. If he has some breadfruit, she mixed it and cook it and parcel it; before their kids comes, he hide it in there. I go there, what used to be they had a basket on the top; they tie a rope up on the top and put all the food, cooked food there. Everybody comes and helps himself. Well, nine, he put under there. Why, because if those children come and see it, they ate it. My auntie said to me, 'You go under there, open that, it's under that.' So I have that.

Interviewer: So she was trying to protect you to make sure you got enough food.

Tanga’e: Yeah. Well, that's, well, that's what happen when you became, uh, who you are one of the, what they call it? when they love you.
Interviewer: One of the 'feeding children'?

Tanga'eo: Yeah, one of the 'feeding children.' Well, that's what they do to you. Those thing are special for you. I always remember that when I go.

Interviewer: OK, so I'm hearing that in some ways, the 'feeding children' get more food, but in other ways, they may to do more work. Is that right?

Tanga'eo: Well, it, it's all in different parents—in different way, in different ways. But you got to remember, too, remember I said to you about the blood in relationship? My auntie is my father's sister, you know? So my auntie's, I'm one of the precious one in that line to her. That's why those thing, you know, because she had a big family, a big boys, and a basket of food [moamoa] there. She knows if it put there, all those come (chuckle) and she said to me, 'Yours, in there,' I open it, go right in; then I sit down, I, that's one of the things I remember, my auntie.

When old enough, children were and still are utilised as labourers. Tuna remembers the earlier division of labour in Mangaia when women planted and men fished, but now men plant as well. Children also planted and foraged, according to Tipani2, who describes activities back when a tin of corn beef represented affluence:

During that time, food are limited. Our father goes fishing, and we children used to goes inland and plant taro, but we have only one time, during the day, we have a feed. We don't have tea in the morning, until we have kaikai [dinner meal] late at night. So we children used to go in the bush, look for coconut, and climb the coconut tree for water and find ripe bananas in the bush just to survive for the day. It's hard, but we have to fight for that, because our parents don't work. They don't get money, so we live on fish, and also taro and fruits during that time. For money, we used to go collect coconuts and sell it to whoever who are working for money. Like [***], he got a shop; he supplies the sugar, cabin bread; so we have to get coconuts and bring it to him and sell it out to get donuts or to buy sugar or to buy corn beef from the shop. That's how we get money, and also we got coffee seeds. We used to go inland and get the coffee and bring it. We open it, throw away the skin and dry the seed up—make it dry and sell it to get the money. And also the passionfruit, we used to get passionfruit, bring it, put it in a sack and sell it out. It's how we make money during that time, because the parents have no, nothing, no work. That's how we survived. As I grow up, I know I'm a big eater, because my stomach will be filled with food, because there's a lot. One tinned fish a day feed twelve children in the family, one tinned fish. Corn beef—it's only the big one who can have the corn beef. Us small ones, we can have the tinned [fish]. That's how I came through this life.

Tipani2 vowed that "when I get some money, I'm going to buy corn beef and I can eat one whole tin of corn beef," without having to share. However, by then, Tipani2 could not finish the whole tin.
The amount of labour required from *tamariki* 'āngai by *metua* 'āngai varied individually—by parents and 'feeding children.' Tarofan welcomed shared labour in their 'āngai household back in the 70s:

[I]t's like everybody's cooperate all the work that we had to do like picking rubbish or taking all the dirty dishes to be washed, and, and heaps of *tamariki* for my grandparents to call out to do that, do that, do that, so that I'll say that I'm lucky because I would say that my grandma always call my name to do that, and to bring that, and to go over there and to get something for when those four came over, oh it's easy ... they are four years old or five ... so my grandparents can call them how to do some work, yeah, get some water at the tank, because we have to go at the tank on the other side of the road, get some bucket of water and bring it in the house, yeah, because in those days, there's no tap in the house, no tanks for individual homes, so we have to carry a bucket of water or tin of water to bring it in the house or to have a bath, yeah.

After school, chores, and bathing were finished, "[w]e go and chat with our friends or playing with them ... my grandmother starts to call out our names to go back: 'It's dark; get in the house; it's time to sleep' or 'time to have a cup of tea'" (Tarofan).

Tania describes how clothing was a resource for many in a bygone era: "[T]he people were poor and we wear nearly the same clothes every time, and we have new clothes at Christmas time; that's the only time we have new." Tipani describes clothing maintenance in the 60s:

When I think about that time, one uniform, one year. You have to look after that. You have to, and sometimes I used to go to school with this part is torn, and one part is holding the lower part, so I used to get a rope and tie them up to hold it. It was good. I like the children during that time.

The data shows that there were economic variations between families. For example, Tarofan's family had the resources to dress their *tamariki* 'āngai in attractive and more abundant clothing constructed by aunties.

**Salutations**

Mangaian *tamariki* 'āngai protocol is about individuals managing unique circumstances, such as how *tamariki* 'āngai address *metua* 'āngai and *metua* 'ānau in the presence of the other *metua*, that is both respectful and comfortable to triad members. *Metua* sort out preferences such as 'Mum,' 'Dad,' 'Nana,' 'Pāpā,' 'Māmā,' 'Pāpā-[***]' etc. and advise children of their preferences. *Tamariki* 'āngai learn terminology rules through modeling, and if and when terminology rules are context specific, depending on such factors as who is present, and the relationships of the individuals and personal feelings.
Informants Miro1 and Miro2 discuss about their experiences in the past negotiating address terminology protocol as tamariki 'āngai and presently as metua 'āngai:

Miro1: ...when we were little, we call our metua 'āngai, "Mum" and "Dad," even if they're our grandparents.

Miro2: And [Mangaians] still do now unless, unless it's families that parents correct them. Then they know that they're not "Mum" and "Dad." They're "Nana" or "Pāpā."

Miro1: Like our grandson, [***], he sometimes he call us [quietly] "Mum" and "Dad." 'No, no, we are your "Pāpā" and your "Nana," and we always tell him who his mother is and who his father is.

Miro2: But I know of many children that calls their grandparents, "Nana," I mean "Mum" and "Dad."

Miro1: But their grandparents don't really uh correct them, I mean say some—I think they just want to leave it like that.

Miro2: So that child knows they're "Mum' and "Dad" even though they're not "Mum" and "Dad"—they're grandparents.

Interviewer: Does distinguishing names change when a birth parent visits the 'āngai family?

Miro1: No they still call uh "Mom," I mean "Nana" and "Pāpā, "Mum" and "Dad."

Miro1: But when you were little you called her...

Miro2: I think it's the same with [our grandscn/tamaiti 'āngai] sometimes. He, uh if I remember, he did that one time, a few times, 'Hey,' as though he can't say 'Mum,' but um.

Miro1: Or he just say, instead of saying "Mam" at the beginning, he use what he want to say...

Miro2: Or [first name of our daughter], his mum. But for us we always tell him to call her 'Mum,' not to say 'Hey' or [first name of birthmother]. But that's because they're used to their metua 'āngai... more comfortable with their metua 'āngai.
Mirol: [T]hey are the ones they are used to see every day. And also the feelings I had for my mom, not as strong as the feeling I have for my grandmother and my grandfather. Uh when she come over, I mean, uh, not that I dislike her but uh maybe like I'm shy, because I don't see her often, so I don't really uh like its uh, if she just go, I mean if she want to go to where she came from, to me I don't have anything to do with that. She can go and yeah, that's my feeling, but if she come and give me a hug, a kiss, uh, it doesn't really matter. But uh, you know, it's the same as just going away without giving me a hug and coming back and hugging me. It's the same.

Mirol2: Yeah, I think so, yeah, like [our 'tamaiti 'āngai], too. Uh, [our 'tamaiti 'āngai], when we come back, he get excited. He want to know where have you been, or he wants to know where we are going, yeah, whereas [with] his mum, he's not that excited, or ... yeah.

Mirol: Until, until now, I don't have, uh, me and my mum are not very close, even now. Me and my mum are not very close. Yes, I call her Mom, but uh, there's something there, I think uh, there's a little barrier; it's not that I don't like her, it's just that uh, maybe I'm not used to being with her. I'd rather be with my grandparents than be with her.

Mirol2: Yeah, I think what he's saying is the same like [our 'tamaiti 'āngai].

Several of Tumunu's tamariki 'ānau live abroad with their metua 'āngai grandparents. Although the children know that Tumunu is their metua 'ānau, Tumunu illustrates terminology modeling at reunions:

[Even my son, he's still call us 'Mum' and 'Dad,' and still call my parents 'Mum' and 'Dad.' But I still interfere—I still correct him ... Yeah. I correct him in front of [the metua 'āngai].

Tiotio reminds how the value of relationships are reinforced in the community: "It distances me if [the 'feeding child'] says 'adopted' during introductions."

Contact with 'ānau family

There is no decisive legal act that formalises the severance of Mangaian kinship bonds between the tamariki 'āngai and his metua 'ānau (Manu). "They don't have any ceremonies, no" (Tiotio). However, depending on circumstances, tamariki 'āngai may have ongoing contact with their 'ānau family (Arera). Inano's first three months of life was spent between metua as the birthmother nursed the infant. Tuna lived apart from the 'ānau household, but saw the metua tāne 'ānau often. "Sometime I was bring back to them," and "my metua 'ānau just came to work and see me most of the time" (A'uke). Tiotio lived in the same village as the metua 'ānau of Tiotio's tamaiti 'āngai. Maiata's infant given as a 'feeding child' grew up
knowing Maiata was the *metua ʻānau* "because we were always going there, and the 'feeding parents' told [***]. You know it's funny because some 'feeding parents' don't [tell]" (Maiata). Elena remembers that *metua ʻāngai* did not talk about Elena's *metua tāne ʻānau*. "It's like a closed subject" (Elena).

When *metua ʻāngai* do not disclose to their *tamariki ʻāngai* information about the *metua ʻānau*, others in the community may help piece together the identity, according to Noo: "I think you just start hearing things." Arera tells:

Sometime other people, or your sister, or your brother, tell her when she grew up, that your (chuckle) that's why even though you haven't told her (chuckle) that's your real mother. That's another thing going in the island, in the Cook Islands: you never told her, somebody saw the real mother and it's in the family. It's near.

Incest *tapu* prohibit *tamariki ʻāngai* from marrying siblings with whom they were raised (Tiotio) ostensibly because they are related to some degree.

A number of factors tend to facilitate contact between *tamariki ʻāngai* and their *ʻānau* family, such as outmigration, registering an adoption, and organising family reunions (Noo) and rites of passage such as hair-cutting (Tania), anniversaries (Maiata), funerals (Angelia) and marriage ceremonies (Arera). "Mostly ... everyone will go back to their [metua ʻānau] when they getting married or, and forget about their *metua ʻāngai*" (Arera). Tiotio describes pre-nuptial arrangements regarding a *tamā'ine ʻāngai*:

[L]ike my daughter here, if she is going to marry here, I won't go and ask the parents, the biological parents to come. I just notify them that she is going to marry. I'll be in charge.

Holding family discussions between *metua ʻāngai* and *metua ʻānau* regarding significant occasions, is an important courtesy. "[I]f they heard that you didn't tell them, or to the proper parent, sometime they will be disturb or don't want to come ...." (Arera).

In the case of marital disruption between the *metua ʻāngai*, *metua ʻāngai* parents would have to negotiate over the *tamariki ʻāngai* (Tiotio). "I think the biological parents have a right to come and take their child away if the couple separated, but I never knew of any separated." In such an event, however, the child would return to the *metua ʻānau* with its inheritance, however decisions depend on circumstances (Manu).

Death disrupts ʻāngai households. When a *metua ʻāngai* dies and the surviving spouse remarries, "then it's all up the biological parents whether they want to come back and take them back, but if they want to carry on looking after them, by all means" (Manu). "I got a *metua ʻāngai* when I was a small baby ... when they die the news came to me; your *metua ʻāngai* die, and I was taken back by my real *metua* (Atuke). Similarly, "as soon as we passed
away, they are allowed to get back to their parents" (Tiare). The tamaiti "is always part of the lineage, no matter if the child go to another family and returns to the 'ānau family" (Manu).

Metua 'ānau can reclaim tamariki if they disapprove of what is happening to their children in the 'āngai household (Manu). Neighbours may intercede and offer an alternative refuge, as Atuke describes: "I have to ask first the owner of the tamariki to that, sometimes they will say—'Come go away, I don't want you if you are—' (something like uh going like a Christian or what, or top people in the area); you have to do that." However, intervention can be awkward: "That's frowned upon to get into other people's business" (Mako). Metua 'āngai can abdicate their role: "[I]f I would like to claim back the child; if he's willing to stay with the biological parents, then I have to give up" (Tiotio). In such an event, no money is exchanged in lieu of the child living with them (Tiotio). However, in one rare demand, a multi-thousand dollar reimbursement never materialised (Maiata). The metua 'āngai figured that was the amount invested in the 'feeding child' during the years of care.

Depending on the situation, such as degree of relatedness and where the metua 'ānau live, it can be embarrassing if tamariki 'āngai choose to disrupt their adoption and return to the metua 'ānau (Tiotio). "Some of the metua 'āngai don't give them inheritance" if they return to their metua 'ānau before emancipation (Tiotio).

"[S]ometimes the child doesn't want to be back with the birth parents ... They still reckon that their parents are their metua 'āngai's" (Manu). Maiata illustrates: "I don't think [my father] ever wanted to go back to his real parents, because all his life, I never heard him talk much about his real parents, because all the land that he was using all his life and all his children were his 'feeding father's' land. So he didn't inherit anything from the metua 'ānau" (Maiata).

Metua 'ānau may move on to a life apart from the tamaiti they gave to immediate family.

Most they don't come back and take them back, their children. I have a sister like that ... she has a son that my dad brought up. She never came and reclaimed her son. (Miro2)

Contact with 'āngai family

Contact with the 'āngai family can begin early. Planting the 'enua may be done by either the metua-ānau or metua 'āngai, depending on individual choice and location, such as where the 'feeding child' is born versus raised. Families may negotiate applying rules of tu'a tamariki which can be somewhat flexible; sometimes large families lose track of whose side a child should be assigned (Angelia). Or it may be that tu'a's family members are not available to 'āngai an infant when metua 'ānau are young and either schooling or working (Te Ruru A Rama, 2007). Later, young parents may try to reclaim their tamariki from reluctant metua
'āngai grandparents which can result in serious disputes and ploys for loyalty that fracture families for years. It is considered a compliment to technically ineligible tu'a individuals to be asked to name or 'āngai a tamaiti or tamā'ine (Poro).

Angelia describes a metua 'āngai claiming a newborn:

My mom gave birth to me and my auntie, her sister was there. My step mom was there waiting. Yeah, she took me right away.

If the 'āngai relationship remains viable to the metua 'āngai's elder years, "sometimes it's the 'feeding children' who go back and look after their 'feeding parents,' rather than the natural children of both," according to Te Ruru A Rama.

Depending on circumstances, for younger couples on Mangaia, the metua 'āngai may fund and prepare the marriage celebration for their 'feeding children' (Arera). Responses vary individually between tamariki 'āngai and 'āngai family members: "With the parents, I got nothing to do with them anymore, but, with the kids, it's not close how it used to" (Tangi).

Change in values and protocol

In carbon dating archeological artifacts, Hallam Movius Jr. stated,"Time alone is the lens that can throw it into focus" (1960, p. 355). Pāpā Aratangi (personal communication, 18 November 2008) reflected this about the changing values over time that influence Mangaian adoption practices and support its replication. He reinforced that the original honourable intent of Mangaia's adoption practice stems from pre-Christian days; however, since then, the values have changed. Aratangi explained that Christianity undermined their cultural values and brought change in all aspects of their society except they did not change their traditional governing infrastructure that was already in place when the missionaries arrived (personal communication, 18 November 2008).

Aratangi affirmed that washing and dedicating the infant to the father's god was important in Mangaia's pre-Christian religion and that cutting the pito 'umbilical cord' with a bamboo 'knife' and then burying the blood-stained knife on the father's marae linked the child to the land that was ultimately given to the people by the gods (personal communication, 18 November 2008). Furthermore, "the blood relationship is linked to adoption" and "the god of the family is linked to the child in blood," according to Aratangi (personal communication, 18 November 2008). Children were adopted in relation to the god their families worshipped, Aratangi stated (personal conversation, 18 November 2008). He stressed that "we cannot ignore a family's feelings toward their link with the supernatural; many things are tied to belief in the supernatural" (personal conversation, 18 November 2008). "Religion holds the
society together," Aratangi asserted, and he suggested that "maybe this is where the broken link is [going from polytheism to monotheism] that caused Mangaians to forget the real essence of adoption" (personal communication, 18 November 2008). "Adoption can only [be rectified] through the belief in the supernatural; how people think and feel, the way they are, has to do with the supernatural," Aratangi maintained (personal communication, 18 November 2008). Aratangi gave the example of the early Mangaian people that were forbidden to marry within their tribe—something unique in the context of Polynesia at that time (personal communication, 18 November 2008).

Another correlation with change Aratangi makes occurred in 1975, when Albert Henry, the first Premier of the Cook Islands convened a meeting in Rarotonga that was attended by the kōrero from all the Cook Islands to compile the traditional lore (personal communication, 26 July 2009). The Honorable Albert Henry discussed cultural values and change:

What constitutes true or valid or legitimate culture? To me, culture is something passed on and learned. True culture must be identified with an historically known and proven past ... Culture must sometimes change to suit the times, for culture which does not change must die or stagnate. This is where the danger lies. If our true culture is left idle too long it could be forgotten and eventually lost. (Henry, 1975, cited in Baddelley, 1982, p.122)

Aratangi stated that since this meeting, the sacredness of the Mangaian term 'tama'ūa' has eroded significantly (personal communication, 26 June 2009).

The search for identity, according to Aratangi, is increasingly recognised by contemporary Mangaian families as being important; in the last 10 years a trend has developed wherein families hold reunions as a way for constituents to discover their relatives. In this way, Aratangi emphasised, the 'feeding children' can learn "their roots," put together "the pieces" and "know who they are" (personal communication, 26 November 2009). Genealogy continues to be culturally important and Aratangi advocates for families to "dig deep and put [their genealogy] in book form" as a legacy for both their current and future generations (personal communication, 26 November 2009).

Change also occurs in the home. Tipani2 acknowledged that the quality of life in their 'āngai household improved with time and attrition as the metua 'āngai's birth children launched into adulthood and the metua's responsibilities and stresses diminished. Tipani2's work and stress decreased along with the number of disciplinary beatings. Eventually, Tipani2 out-migrated for employment, but sent home letters and money to the metua 'āngai. Upon return to Mangaia during a break, Tipani2 noticed that the metua 'āngai warmly welcomed Tipani2 with a new appreciation perhaps because the condition of the home was less tidy than
Tipani2's standards during the earlier years as a *tanaiti ʻāngai*, and the biological children were not sending home remittances.

Dominion is changing from yesteryear for how people manage their *tamariki ʻāngai* within the spatial domain in the 60s:

I've seen other adopted kids where they've been restricted—absolutely restricted. No movement at all. No movement outside the compound whatsoever. I saw that in '66, '67, '68. No movement whatsoever out the compound. So every reference to [***] would have been one of the last lots that actually lived that period out. (AJ)

Since colonialism, Mangaia has a reputation for: being "a hard shell to crack," according to Dick Scott (1991, p. 78), increasingly, this self-determination manifests in *metua ʻānau* choosing to retain their own children from others who wish to claim, as illustrated by Te Ruru A Rama:

We have the right to our children. If we decided to give it to him, then that's our right to decide for ourselves, but we do not feel, that my parents or my family should look after our children. We are responsible for them.

Social mores reshape the practice since birth control measures reduce the number of children available to adopt: Although promiscuity is frowned upon before marriage (Vakevake), today, customary adoption represents a catchment for illegitimate births.

Aratangi emphasised the shame contemporary families experience regarding untimely circumstances of children born outside of stable relationships (personal communication, 26 November 2009). He explained that in today's generation, "it is not a healthy thing to say—people are ashamed to say 'this is a 'feeding child'" because of the status-link with illegitimacy (personal communication, 26 November 2009).

According to Tumunu, the main reason today for informal adoption is grandparents raising grandchildren born outside of stable relationships. This trend, plus Tiotio's observation that grandparents are not living as long, signals further inevitable changes in traditional adoption.

Te Ruru A Rama discusses changes in ideology:

Maybe in the ideology of our parents or grandparents who look after the *tamariki ʻāngai*, maybe they thought deep inside them that because of that love, they love their grandchildren, they love their 'feeding children,' maybe that idea was so strong in them, when they first initiated the idea. But as the generation goes on, I think that idea of loving the 'feeding children' started to fade away. It can fade away according to the change and the pace of time as it goes, and the change of the ideas of the people.

Manu illustrates a political change involving adult non-related *tamariki ʻāngai* who try to strengthen their position to improve and secure their assets: "[H]e said to her, 'Sister, alright,
once you give birth, I'm taking him,' but they got no relationship to my father or to my grandfather." Because Mangaians understand the weight that affiliation through adoption carries in the protocol of accessing land, they may align into a redefined family circle. Manu defends that tamariki ōngai can be part of the decision making [about land issues], without having to strategise in such manner, if they "go through the right channels" such as approaching the family first. Discovering and negotiating the right channels that can change with time and context, is something tamariki ōngai must address in the Mangaian social network. Poro explains what appears to be the inevitable evolutionary process ahead for Mangaians and ōngai protocol if the tradition is to survive: "I go with change ... I think people need to work toward the change and develop new ... ideas to make the old ideas work."

The custom of tamariki ōngai, people, and other Mangaian institutions mutually influence change:

[B]efore, it's natural for the families to give the child away or receive it without concern of family ties, title ties, land issues and that. Gone are those days because time have changed. I think one of the fundamental answers to the question tama riki ōngai is that it must be legally documented. (Kuramai)

Rētīta

The practice of tamariki ōngai changed with the advent of the European imposed court system that introduced rētīta 'judicial registration of an adoption':

[B]efore, you don't need to adopt a child. You don't need to go the register and sign papers and all that. If you want a tamariki ōngai, you just give it in your hand. No paperwork, no akavā'anga [court case], no nothing ... But today, they go through the right channel and process of adopting children. I think it makes the adoption more legal, and probably if they are to give that child land, it will be more legal because it's there, signed, that child has a right to inherit anything that the parents might have. (Maiata)

Tamariki rētīta 'registered adoption' is intended to bestow 'as if birth' status to tama riki ōngai. Tiare states, "I think if the metua ōngai registered the children, they receive power." Rētīta brings equality with the other non-adopted children in the ōngai household (Tarofan). Otherwise "if he don't register me, so I'm just a tamariki ōngai, I have no tika'anga to inherit his land or things, yeah, unless he register me" (Tarofan). However, for Manu, there remains a sense that "[e]ven if he is registered, he's not a birth person" because registering does not erase lineage.

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Legally registered adoption done in Rarotonga's Land Court is an elective means (Tumunu) of protecting a tamariki āngai-s inheritance claim to metua āngai-s assets (Maiata). Angelia explains:

[B]eing a tamariki āngai, it's really going to be hard, to go and claim lands from that side, because there's other people in that family, you know ... Say my step-dad, I know that home belongs to him, the land we lived on, but because I was adopted, I mean, well, I'm not adopted. They didn't register me at all, you know... Yeah, so I see it this way, it's going to be hard for us as tamariki āngai to go and claim his land, because we weren't rētīta. He didn't do that. Naughty.

Formalising an adoption is an outward sign that the metua āngai are more invested in their tamariki āngai (Arera). Tarofan explains that rētīta is requisite for receiving mana and rank from metua āngai if mana through lineage is absent. Some metua āngai decline to rētīta if they are closely related to their tamariki āngai (Tumunu).

**Section 4 Tamariki āngai protocol for transference of mana, inheritance and rank**

With time, title-drift and increased strategic positioning for land stewardship, tensions are mounting on Mangaia. This section covers the views of my respondents about protocol governing tika'anga of Mangaian tamariki āngai regarding mana, inheritance and rank. All three overlap and are linked directly to lineage which overrides fictive relationships created through adoption: "[Y]ou always know who your real father and your real mother is, and then if you are fed away from home, your real lineage will remain; it will never change" (Mirol).

Mangaians can align with maternal or paternal lineage depending on preference or advantage: "[T]hey can be with me and they can be with their other family, and that goes with the land and everything" (Poro). Mirol prefers to go with the maternal metua tōne āngai's lineage and even surname rather than the paternal metua ānau's lineage and name, because "those are the people that I really know, my mother's parents." With lineage comes mana, inheritance, and potential opportunity for entitlement (Tiotio). With inheritance comes land and mana, both of which can go beyond biology. Rank stems from the tribal winners of the final battle in 1828. Rank brings mana to the individual with expectations for community service.
Transference of mana

Mana is desirable in Mangaian society and is in a feedback loop with responsibility to others and for others. The mata'apo "got the mana because they are the first ... [for] the eldest one, they got strong feelings, 'Hey, you are mine; you are my first one'" (Manu). With mata'apo privilege comes responsibility for younger siblings (Manu). Mana is passed from firstborn males down through the generations (Manu). "Tamariki 'āngai have every right as birth children, but within the blood line" (Manu). Outside the blood line, the mana of a tamariki 'āngai is "not the same as a birth child, even if you are registered under that person's name" (Manu). "Even if he is registered, he's not a birth person" (Manu). Tamariki 'āngai get mana solely from the metua 'ānau, no matter how much mana the metua 'āngai holds; however, if the metua 'āngai have no tamariki 'ānau, they may give some mana to their tamariki 'āngai (Rangimōtia511114). Females also receive mana. Tamariki 'āngai shared between birth sisters—the metua va'ine 'ānau and the metua va'ine 'āngai, receives mana from both (Angelia).

Tamariki 'āngai are not confined solely to inherited mana. Mana can increase over time based on career acumen: "It's all depend what is happening" (Vakevake), what is the individual's history of intellectual or material opportunities and what the person has done with those opportunities. Mana depends upon what the people value, fear and respect.

Transference of inheritance/land

Land ownership is more important to Mangaians than looking after a title (Arera) and how that ownership is transferred has protocol involving the identity of the individual seeking the land and how the person is related to the stewards over the land. Families are the gatekeepers to the land, the 'court of first resort.' They have authority over eligibility and access, development, maintaining and allocating areas within their jurisdiction (Tanga'eo):

[I]n our family, that is one of the thing my dad identify a piece of land for tamariki 'āngai. [***]'s one, he had his own right as select one of that piece for her, just in case we became to turn around and say 'No, you're only tamariki 'āngai.' No. In the whole of the family, we all have the same—there is no dividing piece of that. That's your section, that's mine, that's yours. If you want something, you go and build yours where as all our land; the land is never been divided for any particular person or particular sister or brother, or grandchildren. It's not like that at all. When you go there, you alive, you're in there. That's what it is, because the land in Mangaica, I understand, you got the king (whereas the queen now), and then the chief, six chief and then the subchief. If you're in that section, that subchief or the chief will tell you, 'This is your area.' It's not for you only, for you and your family. You can put
yours there, you can. The moment you start to go in there and argue, those people will come and see you: 'Why, can you put yours there?' That's what happened. The land here is for everybody. They didn't divide a section for a particular person to choose. If you're in the [***] family, that's all yours. You go in and build yours.

Sharing land is the current practice: "I know because the other own who went back, I know one of the other one, always a piece of land given for her, even right now" (Tanga'eo). Land ownership flows intergenerationally: Tania receives a piece of land from the metua va'ine 'ānau that will be shared amongst Tania's tamariki 'āngai. Land inheritance can extend beyond close blood-relationship. Some tamariki no'o 'i'i receive land from their metua 'āngai (Tumunu). Tiotio consulted family members about providing land to a lesser related tamaiti 'āngai from a friend:

[T]hey agreed to let me give a piece of land there. I have given her a piece of land; whenever she goes back to the island, she will have to build a house there. She is planning to do that. Even if she get married, anytime she want to go back home, she's always welcome there, at home, even if I'm gone.

Whether the tamariki 'āngai inherits from the metua 'ānau or the metua 'āngai, or both depends on the families’ decision. "I can go both ways" (Tipani2). Inheritance provisions may be different among tamariki 'āngai in the same household. Tipani2 tells that their tamariki 'āngai who is related to the spouse has "free choice, but my second one, I don't really—we have no relationship with this second [tamaiti] of mine." Some individuals try to adopt to share land (Tania), whereas others impede adoptions to preserve land assets (Maiata). Tanga'eo explains that inheritance is not only a matter of blood relations, but it is also about behaviour: "As I understand, Mother was telling me because he really the one who look after my dad, anything my dad [want], at the end, my dad gave that piece of land for him." It is "supposed to be from the metua 'ānau," but "if the metua 'āngai really like you or love you, he may offer you a share of the family land or whatever" (Vakevake). Ora discusses intended land distribution: "In Mangaia, if this land is your mum or your father ... I'm entitled to it. My other sisters, you know, the ones 'āngai-d out, yeah, we are all entitled ... same amount as my brothers and sisters" (Ora).

Evading family protocol invites trouble that can escalate to censure from the land (Tanga'eo; Maiata):

Before you go to the subchief, you go to the families. They can look into it—what it is and then, if it's right, then you don't go any further. But if you go there and start stubbing and thinking you know better, then those things[—manamanata] will arise.
James (1986) compared Mangaia's land protocol to Rarotonga's rules. She summarises that "need and use is a primary criterion in land allocation[ ... and that] reversionary rights are more actively practised in Mangaia" than in Rarotonga (1986, p. 116).

Significantly, the Mangaia system is controlled by the men; women are not recognised as having any significant rights in land matters. The phenomenon of the 'family meeting' as known in Rarotonga is unknown in Mangaia because land matters are not the concern of a number of individuals with more-or-less equal rights who need to discuss them democratically. Instead, distribution of land rights is included in the authority structure of the society. Rights of a particular piece of land are owned by only one family group and control over it is exercised by the father as head of the family or by the eldest son after the death of the father. A man may have control of several pieces of land but, in Mangaia, unlike present-day Rarotonga, the sections will all be within the boundaries of his own village.

A son who wishes to build a house will approach his father and will be allocated a piece of land on which to build. This system is still practised, the only difference is that whereas formerly all houses were erected on the uncultivable makatea land, now some houses are being erected on lowland plots adjacent to the cultivated areas. If the owner of a house leaves the island the house is usually occupied, without payment of rent, by another member of the family. If it is rented out to non-family tenants the rent will go to the owner: there are, however, very few instances of this on Mangaia. This system appears to result in a far more sensible and equitable distribution of land rights than does the Land Court system of Rarotonga. (James, 1986, pp. 116-117)

Another beneficial aspect of Mangaia's system for land allocation is that some children receive endowments from both sets of parents; however, neither family is obligated to provide the 'fed'-adult with land inheritance; it is left to the integrity of the families to operationalise this gift to the 'fed'-adult. There is no default mechanism designating the natal family to bestow the birth right endowment if the 'ängai family declines their duty. In this event, 'fed'-adult is left to recruit advocates on their behalf who have sufficient mana to prevail upon the other members of the 'feeding family' to fulfil their obligation; or failing that, the 'fed'-individual must return to their birth family and petition them to forfeit and share a portion of their land.

James (1986) addressed two important factors in the advocacy role of women in negotiating assets for their children:

The first is based on a widely demonstrated biological instinct; namely the desire of a mother to protect her children and their interests. As noted, a large proportion of discussion and debate about land now centres around the granting of occupation rights or leases to members of the family, usually to grown children wanting security of tenure to build a house. In their twenties, they enlist the support of more senior members of the family to argue their case and, frequently, it is the mother who feels most sympathetic towards their cause. Each mother fights for the right of her children to the land which is becoming increasingly necessary because, with the
present fragmentation of land, there is no guarantee that they will inherit a piece of land to which their rights are sufficiently clear to permit them to build without family agreement. The occupation right, whereby other family members waive their rights in a particular plot of land in favour of the holder, is now the reliable way of obtaining a house site. Many applications for occupation rights, or leases within the owning group, are lodged on behalf of children who are no longer resident in the Cook Islands and their case is argued entirely by their parents, usually the mother. (1986, pp. 123-124)

**Disclosure**

Miro1's *metua 'āngai* grandfather conveys inheritance intentions:

[H]e show us our lands and said, 'This is our land,' because we don't know, we don't know which is ours and if the land we are living on is our own land, and what happens if somebody come and claim, 'That is my land you know, thing like that; so he show, 'That's our land over there, that's our taro swamp over there, over there is ours,' or 'That's our family's one, you can share it with other people, other family members.' Uh he's careful when he say, 'Oh, that house is yours but I don't know....

Ora's *metua 'āngai* defined the land boundaries intended as Ora's inheritance:

You know the place we plant? You know the house we lived? You know the place we plant kumara? You can just go there. That's what she said, but not on paper. Well, you know Mangaia is not on paper, but it will be soon.

Miro2 tells a *tamaiti 'āngai* grandchild:

Yeah, I have said things to him like, 'You're going to own this ... When we're gone you will take care of this, you will own this.' He was quite proud of it, yeah ... I tell him, too, 'That's our taro patch, that's our land,' so I am hoping that he remembers these things."

Manu recalls when the *metua 'āngai* grandfather took Manu through the land to teach the boundaries of inheritance: 'Whatever they claim on the land, they are allowed, however, of course there is no written document or anything. It's just verbal' (Manu). Noo's grandparents did not talk about inheritance. Atuke personally notifies the *kōpū tangata* about inheritance directives:

I will say, 'OK, we family, listen to me. This is my 'feeding bird,' my *tamariki 'āngai*. I want you to give a right to this *tamariki 'āngai* to own this piece of land for him or for her, for her family, from now forever and ever." No such thing like leasing the land in Raro. No. That what we did on that. And oh, all the people knows our wishes.

Vakevake informs and cautions family about family land: "$[T]his is our land belong to our parents, so this is yours; you do what you like. Don't forget, you got a persons you can share the same" (Vakevake).
Permanence

Ownership implies time and duration. Atuke considers that informal adoptions forever bind the relationship and tika'anga:

[I]f I am the metua āngai, all my children will know that I have given that land forever and ever for my tamariki āngai. They won't make trouble, because I already put my promise my will. Don't ever disturb that.

Tania's family considers that informal adoptions bind forever the relationship and rights acquired through their tamariki āngai arrangements, however this attitude may not be universal in other Mangaian families. "It depends if nobody contests it; if nobody fights to have that inheritance then he can still see it" (Angelia).

Even if the tamariki āngai returns to the metua ānau before emancipation, Atuke would still bestow the land:

Because it's been promised ... It's not written, but it's been promised—verbal by me and I always tell the 'uirangatira and the kāvana, look into this, I'm giving this land for my tamariki āngai. He will write in a book sometime and another chief come, and he will tell, 'Hey, be careful son, when you take the title, that land is already given for so and so.'

Atuke's unconditional stance regarding bequeathed land is not a Mangaian universal. Under the same circumstance, other metua āngai decline giving the promised inheritance (Tiotio). Marginalised status of Mangaia's tamariki āngai excludes even formally adopted tamariki āngai from guaranteed tika'anga stipulated in kōreromotu by metua āngai (Manu). This contrasts with Mirol's statement that the child adopted by grandparents will share equally with other siblings of the metua āngai. Herein is the impetus for Mangaians and Mangaian tamariki āngai to install some means to ensure that the tika'anga of the 'feeding children' are protected and honoured by other family members.

Marriage

Marriage influences identity and land eligibility. Upon marriage, a wife becomes the husband's responsibility and "[w]hat your husband have, is also yours" (Tanga'eo). "[W]hen you are married, [Mangaian women] have no say about your land ... you leave everything behind" (Tipani2); this technically includes family land (Maiata). However, some individuals take exception to this in figuring assets (Tania), although, families have in the past combined lands for a wedding gift (Elena):
[My grandmother] always talked about this place on the hill, where I was brought up, which is [***]. She always talked about it that one day it would be mine, and she always talked about it as "our place." But the thing was that years later, I mean, much, much later, perhaps maybe fifteen years ago, my aunt who is now deceased—she was my dad's sister—she was actually telling me about the history of that place where we lived. It actually belonged, half to my father and I think, grandmother's family came somewhere, you know, whether it was co—jointly owned or, but the thing was, that the impression of what I have always been told was that it solely belonged to them, but it wasn't the case at all. My father's father actually gave that piece of land to my grandparents because their son, my dad married their daughter, my mum. So there was a lot more to that picture than what I was told.

Dispute

Given time and opportunity and depending on the individuals involved, eroded land eligibility and expectation for tamariki āngai can foster disharmony on a small island where frequent contact seems inevitable.

I got my real family, but I'm a tamariki āngai also. And I got the land. It's given as a tamariki āngai … What happen is some of the people, it was the kāvana already know that the land was given to me, and the 'uirangatira who owned the section. But now, some of the families want to give the land to somebody else, but it was well-known, I own the land. The 'uirangatira and the kāvana to the old people, you can't make trouble to the old people, and I tell my, 'Oh just leave it,' and they, some of the, the family knows, 'Heh, the people knows that's your land for [being] the tamariki āngai,' and I said, 'I know,' [and they said] 'Oh just wait until he dies, you get back on your land.' But, I don't want to make trouble, but I own the thing. (Atuke)

Land arguments can erupt in the community:

[T]here was an old lady who look after the land, and that land does not belong to her only, but also to my family, to my father's side, and just before we came, I took her along [Xxx] road to show her, and then we met this old lady's son, and I asked him, 'Hey, where is our piece of land here' because they are using it, claiming that it's theirs … He said, 'Oh, there's one over there,' and I said, 'There's supposed to be two.' And he said, 'No the rest is under my responsibility … I'm older than him. I said, 'No, that's not, that's not because my father took [***] around, and [***] knows… (Te Ruru A Rama)

Tensions mount over an inheritance security:

When my parents died, those two tamariki āngai, one boy, one girl, and there were seven of us, but those tamariki āngai, were with their parents when they died, they raised them up, one was married and gone to his wife, and one girl left, but when … I'm sharing you how, how it went with us and how I felt. And when they died, because they didn't, you see … they didn't write any document or say anything, all we can remember was, what they say was, the house belongs to all of these children, yeah, but after things, they had a car, and the land, the plantations, or
whatever, not a word. So when, when they died, we stepped in, the children, the children stepped in and took over, but I felt that there was a little friction between the two grandchildren and us, the real. (Mirc2)

Even if an individual has no tamariki 'ānau—only tamariki 'āngai, the 'feeding children' are faced with acceptance or rejection by the extended family—the siblings of their metua 'āngai: "So that will put their children, they can claim that land ... they are more closely related (Angelia). "[Without rētita] we might find it hard to claim any land that he has, even the one that we're staying on ...." (Angelia). Angelia tells that conflict over land can develop when a dwelling is destroyed, and out of charity, another family takes in the homeless family, builds an interim house nearby. However, with time and following the death of their benefactors, the previously displaced children see the replacement home as their permanent home although the original intent was temporary.

Disputes involve identity; reckoning eligibility of who is inside or outside the family circle is elusively subjective, even though 'ānau lineage remains intact following adoption:

[I]f you're within that closer knit thing, that blood thing, and all that, then there shouldn't be any penalty on you. You are part of that and you should be entitled to a portion of inheritance. Even if you are registered by somebody else, you are still a part of that family (Manu).

Mirol states that the child adopted by the grandparents will share equally with other siblings of the metua 'āngai. However, this attitude may not be universal in Mangaian families (Tania). It is assumed that land will eventually come to the grandchildren from their metua 'ānau: "Well, those things will go on; there's no end of the land" (Vakevake). Hence the greater security against potential encroachers on promised land from metua 'āngai is when metua 'āngai are closely related to the metua 'ānau (Atuke).

During my time on Mangaia, only several times did I see property surveyors come to the island in advance of special projects. By not relying on survey boundaries, Mangaians have strategies for denoting ownership of family land besides a mobile rock or coconut tree: "Once you put a foundation on the land, it becomes yours" (Noo). Burial locations obstruct encroachment: "[N]o one's going to go past that grave; I think otherwise he'll be haunting somebody" (Angelia). 'Dickering' for placement of toilet holes is another signal of intent to claim land (Angelia).
Legally 'illegitimate' children and land inheritance

Mangaia's tamariki born to unwed parents have more secure land opportunities than do tamariki 'ängai: "[W]e have to decide on how they share accordingly, but the land should go to your children, own children although you are not legally married" (Tiotio). If the metua tane 'änau acknowledges paternity, the tamaiti can claim land from the paternal family (Tania) and the maternal family automatically, a situation not as typically available to tamariki 'ängai born of legally wed metua 'änau (Tiotio). This advantage can eventually offset some of the discrimination in the community due to legal illegitimacy.

Transference of rank

Much about transference of rank depends on the individual families. Eligibility to hold a title legitimately depends on having title lineage back to the winners of the last war on Mangaia (Atuke). Being a tamariki 'ängai, influences your chance to hold a traditional title on Mangaia (Atuke): "If you're a 'feeding kid' in the family, the family will sort out." In determining contemporary rank, some families may not require tamariki 'ängai to be retita, depending on the circumstances (Manu). Title lineage can include tamariki 'ängai who are 'ängai-d by relatives:

[T]his title was given to him by his grand uncle, that's that 'feeding,' tamariki 'ängai again; he was brought up by his mother's brother, yeah ... my grandfather was a tamariki 'ängai, yeah. So the title was give1 to him because his uncle never had any children; he only had tamariki 'ängai ... he took his sister's son which is my grandfather and brought him up. (Manu)

Individuals are groomed in advance of assuming rank (Manu). When Manu's relative "passed away ... one of the last words he said about this title thing is 'This title is going to be yours and yours forever'; so it's going to stay in the family...."

'Title drift' occurs on Mangaia: "[B]ecause you are good to me, so I'm happy with you, then I'll give you the title"; 'it's not the right way, but it's happening these days" (Atuke). Title drift is influenced by outmigration (Manu): When a title holder died, "everybody knew where the title was going to go—they knew that all they have to do was just ring me up. But at that, I would say that it's been politics started to creep into [traditional government] ... because the decision was left to the 'uirangatira of that corner to choose who they want" in the interim until the real title holder returned from abroad (Manau). In the past, a subchief oversaw the particular tribe's land that was designated as such from the last war,"[b]ut some of the chief,
these days, they are changing some of the system: They said, 'If I become the holder title that means I own the whole property.' It's not that way" (Atuke).

By birth, according to Atuke,

'uirangatira have the spade to fight the land... they own the land ... if a manamananata [problem] get on the land, some people will run to the kāvana or run to the ariki, and the final say will be given back to the owner, to the subchief ... You got no right to come and say, 'Heh, come on. No, I own the thing. I have the war to win that.'

Title and interim caretakers of the title remain on Mangaia (Manu). Angelia describes how inheriting a title works with outmigrating Mangaians:

[W]hen the uncle died before it went to the brother, but because the oldest boy doesn't live in Mangaia, he lives [abroad], that's why it went onto the brother; the only thing how the son is going to inherit that is for him to go back, but he didn't want that, to go back. He loses [the title], so it goes on to the brother of the dad. So if he dies, it goes on to his son.

Homecoming receptions hold nuances about security and insecurity for the eligible titleholder and the interim title caretaker.

[T]hey think when they see me coming back, they think I'm there to take it. Jesus I'm not there to cause anything or what, I come there for a holiday. Yeah. But the thing was the talk behind my back... because people talk in their drinking parties and all that, you know; they talk or they ask you, 'Oh, when are you coming back for your, title?' Said I'm not. I'm not here for that thing. I'm here for a holiday; I came back to bring my children to know where they grew up,' you know, where they are ... but I think they felt that there was something else. They felt this thing, 'I shouldn't be looking after this title, this is the person who is supposed to look after the title,' you know? I don't know; that's just how I feel. (Manu)

The job of title holder is to look after the people (Poro). The prestige of being a title-holder is hard earned by the individual and the family (Manu). "Anything to do with the church, you are there first; it's always been like that" (Manu). Manu illustrates being 'on-call' for the community:

I've seen it; we were raising pigs. Next minute something comes in: 'Get the pig'... (You were just starting to raise the pigs.) 'No, children, take it to the umukai' [a feast for friends]. But that's how ... he had the respect of his people, of his flock, of his puna. He had that mana; every time he speaks, every time he stands up, the people looks up to him, you know. He had that respect from his people. Whatever he says, the people do it. What ever he asks, the people do it.

Manu recalls being warned by kin: "[T]hat title is going to turn around and eat you" regarding people that are title-greedy, referring to sacrifice, bad fortune, illness (Manu) or early demise
that occurs when an individual inappropriately assumes a title (Arera). "[If they are greedy, yeah, the mouth of the earth will open up; it's scary, eh?" (Manu).

According to Angelia, a tamariki āngai is the last choice for holding the 'uirangatira title:

[If the 'uirangatira has] a brother and a sister, so it's one of them that's going to come; it won't be the āngai child. If there's no other choices, it will be, and if she's registered that child by her name. Yeah. But there's always somebody out there somewhere.

"That sort of rank goes to the, to the family, not the tamariki āngai" (Arera). Title retention means that "there's another family who will come and—if they the real family, eh, they will come and make trouble with that because they want to be a big man (Arera). Metua āngai can pass the rank on to a legally adopted tamariki āngai and "if they are good, they will leave what you have said to your tamariki āngai, with the rank, eh" (Arera).

Tumunu explains that women can be 'uirangatira, however, Tirotio disagrees:

[There are different families that can claim the title ... my brother's children can also claim the title and my children can claim it ... only in the male siblings. Yeah, I mean the biological children, males ones. The girls' children won't be included.

Nor would tamariki āngai be included, because they lack the lineage (Tiotio). Tiare disagrees:

[If the metua āngai has no other children, to pass the rank on, they're allowed to, yeah, they can. Tamariki āngai will have if they have registered. Yes, I notice there's one in Mangaia 'uirangatira. He's a tamariki āngai and he's the 'uirangatira.

The ariki title comes through king or queen's lineage (Tiotio). The individual is ideally born to a legally married couple, or the infant's birth certificate indicates the father and the metua 'ānau subsequently wed. The ariki is never a tamariki āngai.

Arera hedges that kāvana are not tamariki āngai: "I haven't seen one; no, maybe, maybe."

Legally 'illegitimate' and rank

With regard to rank entitlements and illegitimacy, ideally, rank requires that the individual be born of parents legally married to each other (or at least have the father's name on the birth certificate and eventually wed) and not be tamariki āngai (Tiotio), or if an individual is a 'feeding child,' be closely related to the metua āngai, such as a grandchild (Manu).
'Uipa'anga

In each of the four Mangaian 'uipa'anga, the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'ängai was discussed openly as a topic by the community for the first time. I showed to the four communities, historic photos of Mangaia from the Hocken Library's collection.

'Uipa'anga1 held on 1 September 2007, occurred in conjunction with feasts before and following an islander community fund-raiser. This gathering lasted about 1 ½ hours. Members of the 'uipa'anga explained that tamariki 'ängai is a generic term that covers even temporary care—the term means what the user wants it to mean. Community members emphasised that a tamaiti 'ängai has a different status than a tamaiti oriori; neither status is above or below the other, and the status is individually determined by what the metua 'änau or metua 'ängai gives the child, either tangible material goods or emotional love. "Oriori" is the preferred word for "illegitimate." Tamariki oriori have more opportunity for social advancement than do tamariki 'ängai. "Ákōnō" is another descriptive word for 'ängai. If a child is wrongly named, or the name does not suit the child, bad things can happen to the child, such as sickness that can lead to the child's death. This threat is alleviated when the child is renamed with an appropriate name. A tamaiti 'ängai may be given a title that belongs to the metua 'ängai, but doing so can create tension from the metua 'änau's progeny who are considered more eligible by direct lineage to receive the title. A tamaiti 'ängai receives mana from both the metua 'änau and metua 'ängai —the latter if the tamaiti 'ängai is legally adopted rētīta. Being a tamaiti rētīta does not subtract from the mana received at birth by the metua 'änau.

'Uipa'anga2 was held on 27 October 2007 in a primary school lounge. Although this 'uipa'anga had the least number in attendance, the participants contributed openly. The old photos and the quotes from interviews stimulated discussion. I learned that there are two kinds of mana: mana inherited through lineage and manc acquired through titles. Mana is valuable only when community members acknowledge that the individual is eligible to have the mana. Also the mata'iapo firstborn always has more mana than any of the tamariki 'ängai even if tamariki 'ängai are senior to the metua 'ängai's birth children. Titles remain on the island unless the larger community deems it appropriate for the title to travel outside Mangaia such as the controversial case of Queen Numangatini Nooroa Ariki. On Mangaia, your family is your land court. Derogatory word for bastard child is paō'aō. 'Uipa'anga2 discussed dynamics of the relationships between family members that can create tensions. "Being a tamariki 'ängai puts me farther down the line in family decisions," explained one participant. A tamariki 'ängai has more mana than oriori, but it depends. The oriori status is lost when the individual is 'ängai-d; it depends on who is the father—if dad has mana, then child has mana.
The tamaiti oriori has rights to claim what belongs to father and mother. "It's not a perfect world," stated one participant. "Tauturu" translates to "assist, help, support" and also conveys the idea of 'āngai. 'Uipa'anga2 taught me that Mangaia's practice of tamariki 'āngai is "about the whole family, not the whole community."

'Uipa'anga3 was held on 5 November 2007 in a Cook Island's community center. This community discussed barriers to, and the need for, consensus in that only a few people can influence differences of opinions in the minds of the people. Loyalty can turn quickly depending on circumstances as understood by the members. From comments, it is apparent that there is a persistent problem dealing with leadership over here because many issues divide the Mangaian people in New Zealand. The situation worsened over mismanagement of a huge amount of donated funds rendering it very difficult: to bring the Mangaian people together at the moment. The Mangaian community is not working together. Many people over here have children, including tamariki 'āngai, who are involved in violence, but families do not want interference or feel that they need counsellors to help. Some choose to commit suicide. The 'Uipa'anga3 participants felt that community counsellors who understand the dynamics of the problem could benefit the families if the families were amenable to contact.

The community members explain that through all this, they are losing that culture of wanting to live together with extended family. Many parents are claiming to have legal rights because their family cannot look after their children and "beat them up" to bring them in line with values espoused by the parents. Discipline rules are different in New Zealand than at back home and many parents in New Zealand feel helpless to have any disciplinary leverage to teach and motivate their children.

'Uipa'anga4 occurred on 26 April 2008 in a church meeting room. The discussion lasted several hours and occurred prior to a wedding. 'Uipa'anga4 participants explained that Mangaians do not have distinctions for first or second cousin, or cousins removed, etc. The tapu for tamariki 'āngai raised in the same house to not marry each other exists because most people are related; some Mangaians feel that if the two individuals raised together are not related that it isn't bad thing for them to marry, but one participant said that it is not a good thing for young people to fall in love with siblings under the same roof.

Tamaiti 'āngai is the singular Mangaian dialect term for a male tamariki 'āngai. Tamaine 'āngai is what their term for a single female child who is 'āngai-d. One contributor objected to the term oriori 'illegitimate' because the label stigmatises both the mother and the child. She emphasised that her son is her son. I suggested that the label precisely identified a legal category according to the western legal system, but that I was not using the term to denigrate in the moral sense.
I inquired whether a tamaiti 'āngai could be titled if it was the case that the child was a mata'iaipo born to legally married parents however, raised by his birth grandparent who is titled. The group affirmed this; they can inherit the title under those circumstances. I inquired if a mata'iaipo raised as a tamaiti 'āngai has the same status as a mata'iaipo in the 'ānau family, and I was told that he would be recognised as the mata'iaipo from the other family, but if the metua 'āngai had a tamaiti 'ānau, that tamaiti would be considered the mata'iaipo of the metua 'āngai. I learned that it depends on the families involved if a child is related enough or not related enough to be given a title. Percentages of blood relationship can make a difference.

I learned that the community members felt that even though the tamaiti 'āngai is given or shared with the 'āngai family, still other members of the tamaiti’s birth family will be watching the treatment given to the child by the metua 'āngai. Many eyes are looking out for the child, a statement repeated throughout my study. I learned that the community members agreed that it is easier to be a metua 'ānau than a metua 'āngai because the former has full jural rights over the child and they agreed that in 'āngai situations, the birth parents may retain some of the rights over the child which, as an example, is why metua 'āngai may go back to the birth parents for getting permission to take the child to live in New Zealand.

Importance of naming may be diminishing in the newer generation of parents. Usually families have a mata'iaipo named after the father like the western equivalent of "junior." Naming is still used to memorialise loved ones who have passed on. Whereas in the past tu'a tamariki was the rule, this is lessening today because of the emphasis on keeping families together in the event that a crisis occurs. The decision to send the children to a particular family depends on relationship, logistics of convenience or who is better able to provoke for the child. One 'uipa'anga participant reported "wrestling" with the New Zealand social services to retrieve her grandchild who was taken away from the birth parents while she was on holiday visiting family on Mangaia. The child had been placed with non-relatives in a foster home in her absence and now the Mangaian woman is currently in the process of legally adopting her grandchild.

People are not able to take a child away from the birth parents to become a tamariki 'āngai like they used to. Now people are trying to keep their children and raise them themselves which is why this 'uipa'anga thought that fewer people are being 'āngai-d these days. Participants agreed that they would send the child home to Mangaia if the child was being naughty. They are aware of the problems this creates on the island for the locals.

People suggested that tamariki 'āngai may try harder to be accepted by their metua 'āngai, whereas birth children's acceptance is more a given which is why some parents prefer their tamariki 'āngai.
One participant stated that their family had a newborn for a week and the metua 'ānau came and took the baby and gave it to another family. The former metua 'āngai father vowed to never raise another child besides his own birth children and thereafter refused all requests to look after other children even in the capacity of babysitting.

**Summary**

In this chapter I defined what the practice of tamariki 'āngai is and is not, how colonisation's laws influence the practice, its practitioners and the community: Imposed European agents compounded Mangaia's legacy of mistrust to include a legacy of political neglect. I discussed protocol for the practice that included early Native Land Court records and summaries of the four community feedback 'uipa'anga. Some aspects of the 'āngai protocol are more flexible that others. Its inherent flexibility supports its continued importance and evolution along with its incentives and dilemmas. A less flexible component is the transference of mana, inheritance and title, but even here explicit protocol is waning with outmigration and encroachment of outside influence.

1 Special Collections at the University of Auckland's Central Library is a repository for microfilmed copies of early Cook Islands Native Land Court minute records. The film quality of reel 1873 is poor from water damage to the original documents. I summarise what is visible of the dates for the entries, however I omitted names.

2 P. Aratangi reminded that it used to be the custom to pass a newborn around on the shoulders of kin to symbolise that the child would be supported by its community (personal communication, 28 July 2008).

3 Reilly (2009, p. ix) explained, "[Premier Albert] Henry had long believed in the importance of preserving indigenous traditions for future generations; they were to be used to reinforce the distinctive identity of the nation state. The collectors were officials of the Cultural Development Division in the Ministry of Social Services, which had been established to undertake this task, some of them, such as Maki 'Area'i and Mataora Harry, came from Mangaia. The transcripts for Mangaia are known as the Mangaian kōrero series and remain unpublished."
Chapter 5 Incentives

This chapter discusses incentives described in the research data that encourage Mangaians to practise customary adoption enough that the tradition continues: "[I]t's just there ... it's always been here" (Tiare Maori). "It can be a very beautiful thing—it's Biblical" (Kuramai). "It's a Mangaia thing ... this tamariki 'āngai all started from the beginning, sort of like from way, way, way back" (Manu). The tradition "just happens" (Maiata).

Potentially there are as many adoption incentives or combinations thereof, as there are practitioners. Motives reported by my informants who have practised the custom directly as a member of the adoption triad, bear normative patterns spanning seventy years, patterns that are familiar to the Mangaians who attended the four 'uipa'anga regarding the practice of tamariki 'āngai.

This chapter begins with discussion about what appears to be more universal and supportive aspects of the tradition that seem to be stable over time, including change in the practice stemming from the diaspora as people migrate with their custom. Thereafter, I present motives in the perspective reported by the informants stemming from their experiences and their relationships with members of the adoption triad, which underlie the universals. The scope of these motives reported by my informants testifies to the organisation of Mangaian society and the abundant strategies available to them across generations.

Universals

Although the meaning of adoption is not universal, according to John Terrell and Judith Modell, it tends to be about beliefs centred on "who belongs and how" (1994, p. 160) and within Mangaia's 'āngai practice there are some aspects that can be thought of as universal. 'Āngai-related motives are dynamic within time, space and person orientation. Incentives and benefits vary depending upon potential contingencies and the perspectives of, and power relationships between, the members of society including the adoption triad. Some benefits of the practice appear to unanimously advantage the adoption triad members and the larger community, while in other scenarios the benefits are imbalanced between the members of the adoption triad. What may seem as an advantage for the metua 'āngai may represent a loss or dilemma for the metua 'ānau or the tamaiti 'āngai. The benefits can change over time as the members of the adoption triad mature.

Adoption incentives and benefits are individually and culturally value-laden. These values are historically imbedded in secular and spiritual belief-systems associated with entitlement
prescriptions and tapu prohibitions. The values, reinforced through awareness learned in the community about the variety of outcomes stemming from the practice, contribute to what the custom represents to its practitioners and their society. Mangaia's tradition of customary adoption represents cultural and personal values honoured by, and in some cases, put upon, members of the adoption triad and the wider community. Kuramai argues that the tamaiti 'āngai stands to benefit more when negotiating parents seriously "put the interest of the child" ahead of their own interests before any agreement is made about the tamaiti 'āngai's placement. This ensures that the foster child will access its "cultural inheritances" (Kuramai).

Because incentives and values have an emotional component, the relationships between the Mangaian adoption triad members and their individual positions in relation to other members of the community reveal the interpersonal psycho-dynamics of power relationships through behaviour and experiences. How individuals perceive, recall, respond to and direct, the actions of others varies depending upon many factors that shape a Mangaian's life-trajectory.

The intent of the tradition is honourable and the arrangement stems from an agreement over factors in a covenant made between the metua 'ānau and the metua 'āngai (Elena). These agreements are individualised and intended to provide a sense of security to the members of the adoption triad and the community. The practice of tamariki 'āngai occurs because of relationships and choices that are purposeful, voluntary and "crisis"-driven (Goody, 1982, p.43), such as the untimely death of a parent (Tipani2).

I lost my wife ... that was a sad thing happened to me, very sad, because a big mess to me, I miss her, because for the sake of our children. But luckily, her parents and family look after her part of the children. (Vakevake)

Rangimōtia511114 gives an extended family member's perspective in another family:

[N]ow this time there's no parents; they all died, and then my husband asked me if I agreed [to take the children] because that's his side, and I said, 'Who's going to get those children? Who's going to look after them? I agree. You go and get all those children bring it to me.'

The placement of a child in a tamariki 'āngai arrangement occurs for a reason or reasons that potentially develop into a wide range of outcomes. If metua have no tamariki of their own, family looks elsewhere to acquire a child. Mangaian tamariki 'āngai increases the recipient's family size whether or not the arrangement is transacted in response to infertility:

It's not a good thing to be alone without a children. You'll be left alone if you are metua āngai without children, without friends, without brother or sister, if you don't care about your children, tamariki āngai, and your family, too. (Arera)
However, family size is the parents' prerogative and does not necessarily influence practice: "[A] man in Mangaia got twenty-one kids" of which none were given away (Tiotio).

Another reason for the practice is that Mangaians ‘āngai out of compassion and obligation. Honouring family obligations normalises a barren sibling's situation in a society that values having tamariki in the home: "[A] practice among our people, you know, when one in the family does not have any children, it is our duty as brothers and sisters to give that person one of our children … it's a very good practice in terms of you making the whole family feel the same" (Maiata). "[I]f that family hasn't got any child, they want to 'feed' that child from their family …" (Tania).

Mangaians practise tamariki ‘āngai because they are family (Miro2).

[H]ad it been somebody else than my brother, I wouldn't have given [my infant], and he really, he really did ask. He cried and, and I felt sorry for him. Yeah. (Maiata)

"Children is not for money; it's for love" (Inano). The practice of tamariki ‘āngai is "about love for your family and caring for them" (Mako). Mangaians traditionally reinforce strong family identity with close ties. The people enjoy family life and nurturing the next generation. The practice "strengthens the family … it keeps us all together" (Mako). In kin care, Mangaia's custom unites "the tamariki ‘āngai with extended members of the family...." (Tiotio). Your family tree becomes like a "hidden treasure" to discover (Tanga'eo).

"[I]t's been born in our blood to care for our own" (Kuramai). Kuramai's use of the "our own" implies ownership by a lineage and to a lesser extent, entitlement. In Mangaian culture individuals of child-bearing age, metua, are entitled to ask others for a tamaiti, especially if they consider themselves eligible to be a metua ‘āngai by having a close relationship with the birth parent as a sibling, parent, relative or friend. 'I have a right to 'feed' them" (Tipari2).

Mangaians practise tamariki ‘āngai because "they want help...." (Tania), or they want to help another family raise their child (Mata). "To bring our grandson up was a need" (Kuramai). Metua ‘āngai may be in a better financial situation to look after grandchildren "while their children find their future" (Miro2). ‘Āngai families down the road may be better equipped to assume the costs and care of tamariki and possibly offer additional inheritance or access to other resources that benefit both the tamariki ‘āngai and their natal household. According to Tanga'eo, economic differentiation, especially necessity, began as a motivation for the practice in tandem with outmigration and media's materialistic influence.

The practice may be done out of reciprocity. Maiata shared a child with a sibling: "I had a deep feeling for him ... because he had been the one who really cared for me ... my children
and my family." Maiata describes how the brothers care was manifested: "[W]hen we have our children coming home from [abroad], he would ring up and say, 'Oh bring the kids, let them come to [my village] and get some taro' and you know, that sort of thing."

Reciprocity is manifested in long-term delayed gratification: Metua 'āngai anticipate that their tamariki 'āngai will eventually look after them in lieu of formal aging-welfare services. Well, you know, it's a fact that sometimes, when the parents are older, it's not the tamariki 'ānau that comes to look after the parents or that love the parents. A lot of parents I have seen, is the tamariki 'āngai that take care of the parents when they were old, are older ... I've asked why it's like that, but some tamariki 'āngai always, you know, most cases, they are the ones who come and care for their, or when they leave, they're the ones who's always looking after, you know, wish to, to care and help their 'feeding parents.' (Maiata)

"[The tamaiti 'āngai] looking after me here, I like the way that she's trying to ... look after me, because I have spent most of my time looking after them with my wife during my wife's lifetime" (Tiotio).

Cultural respect for elders manifests in reciprocity and the practice of tamariki 'āngai in Mangaia: "[M]y dad respected his father and so he allows the child to be taken" (Miro2). "I better say yes to Dad ... I don't want to disappoint him" (Miro1). The practice supports and is supported by other Mangaian traditions, for example, the naming of children. Individuals may ask or be asked for a child according to culturally prescribed tu'a tamariki allocation of children between the mother's and father's sides of the family.

The practice of tamariki 'āngai memorialises a loved one who is gone or has died (Kuramai). At the same time that naming an infant memorialises a loved one, it also increases eligibility of the individual who bestows the name to 'āngai the child: "Families are a powerful unit" (Elena), and "naming is one of the important factors: Right, I put my name on that child, but then I should also raise it ... I think that is one of the most powerful influences of where that child goes" (Elena). If you are considered eligible by the tamaiti's family, "[j]ust give it a try" (Miro1). The ease of making an informal oral agreement is another incentive (Miro2).

The status of being the tamaiti's grandparent is a strong advantage in the pool of contenders vying for tamariki 'āngai:

Our next door neighbour back in Mangaia, her children are here ... they have babies. They send their babies to their parents in Mangaia ... Grandparents are always wanting to look after the grandchildren. So, you know, why not? (Noo)

Often the "grandchildren become 'spoiled' by the grandparents" (Miro1). Retired metua 'āngai-grandparents have more time to devote to their tamariki 'āngai-grandchildren than the
children's **metua 'ānau**, and the increased companionship through being available to the **tamariki** can develop close inter-generational bonds (Miro2). "Once the grandparents raise grandchildren, their love will be strong; they're bonded to their grandchildren in their old age" (Miro2). "I think a 'feeding child' can make the life of her 'feeding parents' very happy" (Maiata). In addition, customary adoption illustrates what author Esther Goody termed "social replacement" (1982, p.7), that is, equipping the new generation to eventually replace the old generation, or filling the empty nest when children launch into adulthood.

Aratangi emphasised that "the physical beauty of a child is something wonderful" that the people in the community "really admire" and talk about (personal communication 26 November 2009). He stressed that the 'feeding parents' "really look after them"; an attractive child is "the apple of their eye," a great source of pride to the **metua 'āngai** (personal communication, 26 June 2009). "Sometimes the beauty pulls the family together" (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 26 June 2009).

The practice is routine and the tradition continues. "I really didn't know any difference: I thought it just a normal, normal thing that you were brought up by your grandparents; mmm ... my memories of my grandparents were really good" (Noo).

I didn't realise then until uh you talked about **tamariki 'āngai**, and then I thought about my own parents, and I said, 'What! My parent was a **tamariki 'āngai** and mum was, and then me—shared out, and now my daughter.' You know I'm looking after [***]. You know, the cycle goes on. (Maiata)

During pre-natal 'āngai negotiations, specific gender may be stipulated for several reasons: for example, to alleviate gender imbalance in a household:

[H]er husband suggested that he might change his mind. But then she said to me, 'OK Sis, you can have her, but if it's a girl, it's yours permanent; sure it's yours. If it's a boy, it's mine,' because they never had a boy then. They had [numerous] girls. (Mata)

"[W]e adopt a child because my daughter hasn't got any brother" (Tania). Te Ruru a Rama explains gender value and primogeniture in Mangaian cultural terms: "[A]ctually our grandson is our firstborn grandchild and a firstborn grandchild into a family is very important within the family." **Tamariki 'āngai** can represent a natural resource for labour that may or may not be gender-specific.

Since the diaspora began, outmigration for various reasons has become a major incentive for the practice. **Tamariki 'āngai** provides childcare for absent **metua**: 

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When I was born, my grandparents took me into their care. They wanted my mom to work and my mom was staying on another island. For my father, he didn't live on the same island as I did, at the time I grew up. (Miro1)

One "mother came back to Raro to work in the hospital...." (Inano). Tamariki may be sent to the island where the retired metua ʻāngai grandparent can easily provide childcare rather than the child going to the more 'eligible' (according to tu'a tamariki rules), but employed grandparent (Maiata). Customary adoption is built-in childcare, as it is a cultural norm for older tamariki to look after younger birth children of the foster parent or extended family. 

"[I]t's good because we get to look after other people's kids...." (Tiare Maori). Mangaians tend to be especially indulgent to small children, but as the children grow they are more likely to affiliate with other children for peer socialisation that tends to be less punitive than the authoritarian discipline administered by the metua ānau or metua ʻāngai (Te Ruru A Rama).

Single people adopt children. Over time, partnerships change. The practice provides security and a family identity for tamariki born outside stable relationships (Kuramai). The contemporary practice of tamariki ʻāngai is becoming more of a catchment for children that may otherwise represent liabilities in new relationships (Te Ruru A Rama, Maiata).

"[M]others don't want to have their children from another husband be with the new family...." (Miro1). "[M]ost [parents], they don't come back ... once the parent goes, finds and marries another man, has children, her mind is with her husband and their children" (Miro2).

Ora discusses the influence of diaspora on identity and adoption incentives:

I think back in the island, it's alright, but now we migrate over here and we have to fit in, in the way of living over here, or if we migrate to Australia, we have to fit ourselves in the way; we have to mold ourselves into that country or culture and whatever—although we still got that culture beside us—that's our identity, our language, and our what. It's there, but come to another country, over time, this practice of tamariki ʻāngai will be changed, will uh, it's like the children will learn more about it, will know more about it, will know more about it and then will make a change gradually, you know, and like how I was brought up and then come here—it's, it's a different ʻāngai thing. I've seen some over here. They love their tamariki ʻāngai and they, but ... this is New Zealand. And this is how they nurture their children and then they got tamariki ʻāngai —not from someone else—from their relations. And they all love, they love their tamariki ʻāngai and to me it's good; it's good, but as long they don't neglect their own children, yeah....

There are many incentives to practise tamariki ʻāngai that appear to be durable over time. "It depends on the child, on family relations, that's why" (Tania). "I think each family's got their own mind" (Vakevake). "If it's a good family, then you'll be alright" (Maiata). This discussion shows that Mangaian tamariki ʻāngai incentives are individualised to serve in the evolving tradition. It appears that the reasons for choosing to replicate the practice are
sufficiently responsive to situational needs of the majority of the practitioners to preserve the practice across generations. How the people choose to practise their tradition in the future may influence the robustness of customary adoption that serves the Mangaian people, and thereby remain culturally viable. Now, I turn to individual and relational incentives in the practice of tamariki āngai.

**Metua ānau**

The āngai tradition gives some birth parents a choice about parenting or not parenting their tamariki ānau. Families may consider metua ānau too young to parent and thereby provide additional time for the youthful birth parent to enjoy freedom (Mako) or to extend their education (Te Ruru A Rama). Mirol provides a perspective on grandparents as a repository for young birth parents:

I think according to our family’s custom, it’s like you know, when aunties have their baby and they still want to go out and go away and do their own things, they just want to like I say, dumping their children to the grandparents and maybe in a way like saying, ‘You look after the kids while I go and enjoy myself,’ but that’s up to the grandparents to decide. You know if the grandparents, ‘Uh you can’t go.’ Then they’ll have to stay awhile until the baby gets older.

Informants recall that historic concept that parents may feel that their child is so perfect that when he is himself a parent, he shouldn’t have to mess his hands changing his own child’s diapers (Manu, Angelia). Metua ānau may have disabilities (Tania) or other issues that preclude care-giving, such as "[t]he father is drinking and the mother died" (Inano).

It is a compliment to be asked for a child. Having the option to maintain contact with the tamaiti by telephone and/or letters can represent another incentive for a birth parent to relinquish a child. Although āngai relationships may interrupt or delay building birth parent/child relationships, āngai relationships do not necessarily eliminate such future developments between the birth parent and birth child. Tumunu tells that a birth child raised in another home as a tamā‘ine āngai, is "close to me now and we both close to each other." Tarofan suggests a different perspective of continued contact with a relinquished infant: "[I]t makes it easier for me because I know that they still know that I’m the real mom, eh? They give me chance to see or to feed sometimes that baby, to bring it home to stay with me" (Tarofan). The practice can also alleviate stress in families where there is a personality conflict between the metua ānau and a tamaiti ānau that is alternatively placed in an āngai home (AJ). A metua ānau may choose to give a child to honour a friendship (Manu, Ora).
The lady was my mother's friend. They were best friends. So when she gave birth to this girl, to one of my sisters, the mother said, 'Oh here you go friend.' (Manu)

**Metua 'āngai**

Like all members of the adoption triad, incentives for adoptive parents vary by situation. A *metua 'āngai* can receive much satisfaction through nurturing and influencing the new generation (Te Ruru A Rama). However, "[y]ou can't just go pick a baby out of the blue if you're not family" (Mako). Couples may be infertile (Angelia) and desire to parent other people's *tamariki* (Tarofan). Other partners, believing that they are infertile, adopt a child and subsequently find that they can produce children (Tarofan, Tipani2). After Ora was adopted, the *metua 'āngai* went on to have "a daughter and six boys."

"I need only one," explains Arera, to "raise her and love her as my own." Having *tamariki* 'āngai is motivating and develops self-discipline: 'It brings me strength to get up and work to 'feed' my *tamariki* 'āngai because I love her so much when she was small" (Arera). "[I]t makes you more mature" and raises your status in the community by being a parent (Mata). People in the community are aware of parental treatment: "I can see most people treat their *tamariki* 'āngai good; I haven't see a parent treat *tamariki* 'āngai badly" (Tiare).

*Metua 'āngai* receive pleasure in positive community feedback about 'āngai parenting:

Sometime I will be happy or jealous when someone point out to her real mother, 'That's your real mother,' you are going, 'No I got a mother in Mangaia.' That's what she told her. And that person tell us. (chuck.e). Ah, we get proud of that. 'My real father is in Mangaia.' (chuckle). That will be happiness when I heard what the gossip is going around. Yeah. She never tolc her mother she's her real mother. But she will tell somebody else that her real mother was in Mangaia. (Arera)

Being a *metua 'āngai* and experiencing acceptance by the *tamariki* 'āngai can be very gratifying. Mata states, "Mine is different; she never thought of going back to her real parents." Tiare describes one 'āngai situation:

I know they love us like our own children; if you treat them well, you'll see them happy, feeling happy while they are with you; they look up to you as their real parents ... They look at us and think that we are their real parents; Yeah, it's beautiful to look at them seeing that they are not your own but they love you ... they love my husband more than they love me ... and I'm happy about that because they are from my side ... The thing I like them best because they love my husband.

Incentives to become a *metua 'āngai* can stem from family needs:

They said we better keep the boys with us. Their ones in Rarotonga with them, they are still young and they drink. Mmm. That's why they asked us to leave the two boys with us. So when the other one turned eighteen, the mother came over. (Tiare)
The metua 'āngai developing a new relationship can encourage the practice of tamariki 'āngai: "I met another man and I want a child for us...." (Ora). Relationships in the community and awareness of social needs in another family may also encourage the practice of tamariki 'āngai:

[T]hey got a lot of children, and it's hard for them to look after. Because I was nursing at the time when I saw this problem, and the mother was sick, and she was carrying that boy; she was sick, really sick. After she had that boy, she died. That's how I get that boy. (Tipani2)

Grandparents may acquire tamariki 'āngai in several ways. They may take grandchildren from their children (Manu) or they may be given grandchildren (Miro1). Mako illustrates an example: "[I]f one parent dies and then the other one doesn't want [the tamariki 'āna'u], because they're maybe they've found another partner; maybe the partner doesn't want the baby, but usually goes back to the grandparents." Eventually metua 'āngai may assume the role of grandparent to their tamariki 'āngai's progeny (Maiata, Inano). "[I]t was the practice of our grandparents, our parents to raise grandchildren and because I was also one of the tamariki 'āngai ... you have a good feeling of being with grandparents, because they really show their love towards us" (Miro1). The practice can be "sort of helping the kids" (Poro). "My grandparents reckon it's their duty instead of my father and my mother's duty to look after the kids" (Manu).

Grandparents are eligible to claim tamariki 'āngai and direct the practice. Parents may forbid a young couple's marriage even after a child is conceived, pre-empting the birth parents' opportunity to raise their child. The birth status of legal 'legitimacy,' especially the firstborn following a legal marriage is an incentive for the custom: "[T]he first daughter, they weren't married when she was born ... But the second, they were married and the grandfather asked for that child" (Miro2). Tamariki born to Mangaians in the diaspora and outside of stable relationships are likely to be sought after by relatives living in Mangaia and taken 'back home' to be raised (Te Ruru A Rama, Noo).

Another incentive to adopt for the metua 'āngai involves the naming of the child which is affiliated with the tu'a tamariki tradition of eligibility: "If my daughter named one of her child after me, say, I'd like to bring up my own namesake," (Angelia).

"We wanted to have the experience of raising or first grandchild" (Miro1). As a metua 'āngai, Miro2 discusses the concept of social replacement:

[W]e wanted the mother to go and work since she was still young ... and besides, we also want to raise a child ... because we only have one child and she was
special to us. We really love her, our daughter. We treasure her. So in another way, I think her child ... takes that place....

Elena illustrates social replacement from a tamaiti 'āngai's perspective: "I think I reminded them of a sister that they had, that they no longer had."

Being a metua 'āngai provides the opportunity to positively influence children. Te Ruru A Rama comments about this incentive in the role of 'feeding parents':

It's not really to hold them to us forever, but to give them what we feel is better for them. And it's a pride and it's a privilege to see them go beyond our expectation. Teach tamariki 'āngai to be independent and to help them reach their goals.

Te Ruru A Rama argues that "there is something that has been implanted by the 'feeding parents' into the life of the 'feeding children' that motivates their life. Oh, but it depends on the parents who 'feed' their children, because some of the parents were never educated" (Te Ruru a Rama). Metua 'āngai may encourage tamariki 'āngai to follow their educational example, according to Te Ruru a Rama, who states, "Education is one of the key to have a better life."

Maiata correlates 'āngai parenting with outcomes:

[I]f they were brought up properly, they would grow up into good people ... some of the tamariki 'āngai can be really good, you know, they can really be useful people ... I don't know why, maybe they were brought up in an environment that is plenty of love and trust—they been brought up properly.

It is the grandparents' prerogative to choose a parenting style. Tipani2 emphasises fairness:

I treat them the same. I don't treat them different like what I see in, where I was brought up ... I have to be fair. I have to make sure they are equal.

Angelia adds that occasionally, if a family is having difficulty, Aotearoa's Child Youth and Family (CYF) agency intervenes on the child's behalf. Metua 'āngai may retrieve children from CYF to raise as tamariki 'āngai either in Aotearoa or the intervention may return the child to family in Mangaia.

The role of the 'feeding parent' evolves over time from the parent child relationship to represent a different relationship (Kuramai). Tipani2 illustrates:

[N]ow, these two tamariki 'āngai's—very good; oh, I'm a queen. And they grew up now; they are all over the place. Plus my other one, the one from [abroad], send me money. When they come back to the islands, I just sit there. Say "Mum, you stay there. I'll do the work." He's good. He goes fishing. He do the work. He goes hunting.

Some metua 'āngai receive remittances from metua 'ānau living abroad. Tumunu explains:
Yeah, that's what most families do over here ... it's not just money that you send back, but also those things ... Before we used to send them in parcels, but now, like when we go back to the island for a holiday or when we got relatives that going back, we give it to them to take it.

Miro2 explains that land inheritance is an incentive for metua 'āngai to rētita: "Some people are starting to realise it and are starting to co the adoption." Te Ruru A Rama emphasises direct communication with tamariki 'āngai regarding future security:

[W]e talked about doing something that will secure him within the family when we are gone. So we are not going to let him live uh, like an exiled person within the family. So we have to do something, uh for him and he knows it ... because we talk to him. You know, communication is very, very important with children, even 'feeding children' so that they can understand you as 'feeding parent' and you understand them.

**Between metua**

The practice is flexible and negotiations are individualised to reflect what is mutually agreeable to both the metua 'ānau and metua 'āngai, such as transfer of up to full jural rights with no interference from metua 'ānau. Tanga'ao explains that the practice brings together family members for discussion wherein contenders were given the opportunity to express their view about adopting a child. Following completion of the agreement between the metua, the scenarios develop individually.

The metuas may not discuss the rules ... But you can feel it, when they meet you on the road with the child. Because they look at you, your child, something brought up that, you thinking that something he's thinking about. If you brought the child proper way I think you will feel it when you see him smiling, eh? Smiling face. (Arera)

Jural or decision-making rights over the tamariki 'āngai change with the age of the child (Tania). Another change may be retraction of the permanency of the originally negotiated 'āngai agreement. Tania observed that "when we went to church, she got the baby and take it home and start, she started to, you know, to 'feed' the baby. We still love the baby, so we shared" (Tania). Some temporary childcare situations turn permanent with death of a parent (Mata). Sharing out a child can relieve population pressure and alleviate an empty 'nest.' Miro1 explains that Mangaians adopt because they are alone and seek happiness through companionship. It is a mutual compliment to request and be asked for a child to be 'āngai-d.

"The chain of love goes with blood," states Tanga'e'o: Tamariki 'āngai tends to be arranged between blood relatives and the greater the blood affiliation, the more the obligation to
comply with the request for tamariki 'āngai. Aunties and uncles tend to raise more tamariki 'āngai than do grandparents and great-grandparents (Miro1; Miro2). Miro1 recalls, "[M]y grandparents didn't have much time with [my aunties] because they always played with the grandkids." However, trust is Tumunu's requisite: "I trust my parents looking after my children."

Tamariki 'āngai cements close friendships (Tanga'eo) between metua 'ānau and metua 'āngai. Tiotio tells: "[*]* is the one I have adopted from a friend of mine: We are not closely related, but I have adopted her...." Ora explains: "That man's wife is the best friend to my mum ... my mum gave [my sister] to her friend to bond their friendship." The sharing of a child can stem from relationships such as between sewing friends who reside on separate islands (Manu).

**Between tamariki 'āngai and metua 'ānau**

Tiotio illustrates a built-in community safeguard for the practice:

What I experienced is some of the children, they have adopted, tried to go back to their own families, because of the treatment they received from their adopted-parents. They tried to go back to their own parents instead of remaining with the same family. The parents are always there to welcome them back in the family.

The metua 'ānau may regret after concluding the adoption agreement and choose to alter the arrangement to have more custodial-contact with the child (Tania).

In another scenario, if the birth parent learns of any problem within the 'āngai household wherein its birth child resides, the parent can intercede on the child's behalf, even to reclaim the child (Ora). Tipani2 tells about slippers:

Tipani2: I don't get uh new slippers during Christmas, so my mother, my real mother used to buy me a pair, and I used to hide it urder my pillow.

I: Because?

Tipani 2: Because when my other 'āngai children found it, they grab it and take it away for them.

I: They take things away things that belong to you.

Tipani 2: They take things away that belongs to me.

I: And no one told them to stop that?

Tipani 2: No. So I used to hide every time I used to go to bed, I just put my pair, my pair of slippers under my bed and take them from stealing them, from taking them.
[F]rom January to November, you don't get anything. Until Christmas time, then you get your new things. But you don't, you're not going to buy them. Only my, my birthmother will always give me, yeah.

While the child that is given as a tamaiti āngai to a relative may have an altered relationship with the birth parent for a variety of reasons, for example, in deference to the child's relationship with its foster parent, sometimes the tamaiti āngai and the birth parent eventually develop a social relationship, as Kuramai discusses in the following excerpt from one interview:

Kuramai: Yeah, my father, now, I ring him up. I know, I know before when I start ringing up, he ignore me. But now I keep it up and call him and, Dad, how are you, look after yourself. Now when I ring him, it's uh ...

Interview: You can tell.
Kuramai: Yeah.
I: He's happy.
Kuramai: Yes.
I: How many years did that take for him to soften?
Kuramai: Wow, fifty?
I: Fifty years.
Kuramai: Yeah, because I was only five.

Tipani has contact with the metua tāne ānau but feels a stronger affinity toward the 'step-father' or metua tāne āngai. After many years together, Tipani's birth mother and the step-father finally married at the care-home, with all birth children and grandchildren in attendance. Tipani bought the wedding rings.

Tipani: Because they, they were thinking they will buy the rings, their own rings and I said no, this is my love.

I: Oh, wow. What a compliment.

Tipani: This is my love for them—to show how much I love them—for how many years.

I: All those years ...

Tipani: Oh, it was so exciting—I been crying for that day—I couldn't, I couldn't stop my tears. [??]

I: She hugged you.
Tipani: She always call me "Baby."

As a *tamaiti āngai*, Tupuai continued to value his relationship with his birth father: "Yeah ... I didn't learn enough you know to be a man 'til my father, but I love my father because he cared for me and I decide to go and look for him...." As an adult, following the death of Tipani2's *metua tāne āngai*, Tipani2 chose to locate the *metua tāne ānau* who agreed to add his name to Tipani2's birth certificate.

Tangi and a brother grew up together as *tamariki āngai* after diaspora divided their birth family. In this excerpt, Tangi discusses the preference for a birth parent because of periodic contact.

Tangi: But he's closer to our mother. He's the one closer than me. I got no feelings for my mother, but I do for my father, because when I was young, Dad used to come back home to Mangaia. Mum never come back.

I: Never came back.

Tangi: Right.

I: OK.

Tangi: Dad used to come down and listen to us. Dad used to send money down to feed me and my brother. Mum, nothing at all. Yeah, so, because my brother travels over here, he get to see Mum, but not me, I never come over here. No. Dad used to come down and see me. Yes. And when I was young, I can still remember my dad holding me.

However, this excerpt from an interview with Miro1 and Miro2 illustrates that for Miro1, a *tamaiti*’s affinity for a birth parent is not based on sustained contact with the *metua ānau* during childhood.

Miro1: Me and my mum are not very close. Yes, I call her mom, but uh, there's something there, I think uh, there's a littler barrier; it's not that I don't like her, it's just that uh, maybe I'm not used to being with her. I'd rather be with my *metua āngai* than be with her.... But you see, uh, when I met my father, I have a different feeling for him. Um. I felt he really care about me, so I have a different feeling for him. Uh, I love him, my dad. Yes, I like him every time we meet each other, we always give each other a hug, and, but my mom, uh, I have a different feeling for her. I don't know why, but ...

Miro2: Maybe you resemble your father. Yeah, so there's a bond between you two.

Miro1: See, I never saw my father until I was 40. That's a long time, but when I first met him, I feel as if we have met before. But, that's, that's my feeling. And right now, that feeling stays with me, each time we see each other.
A similar scenario existed for Tipani:

Um, I wasn't saddened when I was sent to the island, and uh [***] family, with my grandparents and it was kind of sad on the other side and happy on the other side, and there's lot of experience I've been through since from that year to now. And when I came to twenty-four, I get to know my real mum, and it's been sad and crying and hurting a lot of time when I go to sleep at night time, and because I, I really, really want to see my real parents—who they are and where they are and because I been in Cook Islands since all my life. And anyway ah, that dream came true because uh I receive a letter from my mum, that she's going to come over and visit, because my grandpas was really, really ill, so she, that's the chance for her to come over and then see him and ask for that twenty-four years. And I was very, very excited—can't wait and been dreaming. That dreams came true and it's happened. We, we really meant to see her on the year 2000 and it was very overwhelming to see him and it's very hurt. Everytime a song came out—a Cook Islands songs, uh that reminds me about my mum—how precious she is to me.

Tipani2 chooses to develop feelings towards the metua ‘ānau following the demise of the metua ‘āngai:

Tipani 2: Yeah. So I have nothing to think about my, my real.

I: No feelings?

Tipani 2: I don't have feelings that time, well, when I was staying, staying with them, during that time, when my, my mother, 'feeding mother' beat me up? Nah, I have to think about my mother, my real parents. And I think sometimes, I'm going back, I want to go back; but I don't, I just think, but I can't go. I want to stay with my, even though she used to beat me up. I don't have any feelings with my, with my mōmā ‘ānau? Even that time until now when they have gone, is the time I go back to my, yeah.

I: OK, after your metua ‘āngai died...

Tipani 2: died

I: then you went back to your

Tipani 2: Yeah, then I had my feelings about my mother. Not before.

Kuramai was raised as a tamaiti ‘āngai and longed for the connection back to the biological parents.
Between tamariki ‘āngai and metua ‘āngai

Maiata discussion emphasises a birth father’s adoption and how this influences her life today:

[M]y dad was [a tamaiti ‘āngai] … Uh, he didn’t, when he was born, he tells us that he did not know his parents until he was about ten or eleven, when his father came to Mangaia from Rarotonga while my father was staying with his ‘feeding parents.’ That was the first time he saw his father, his real father, was about ten years old, and he was uh looked after, I don’t know whether he was adopted, because I believe that in those days they did not have, you know, go into adoption process except they, the parents just give the children to their relations. And I believe that my father did not go through the uh, you know, adoption process, yeah, rētita, but he, you know, whether he was given to, to uh his ‘feeding parents,’ they considered him as you know, their own, and that sort of thing. So, uh yeah, my father was and uh I don’t think he, he ever wanted to, to go back to his real parents, because uh all his life, I never heard him talk much about his real parents, because he was, all the land that he was using all his life and all his children were his ‘feeding father’s’ land. So he didn’t inherit anything from the metua ‘ānau. He inherited everything from his ‘feeding parents,’ the land, the title, the taro patches and all that. And even the, the piece of land where our house is on is my ‘ah, yeah, my father’s ‘feeding parents’ [land].

The interviews elicit examples of metua ‘āngai looking after their tamariki ‘āngai in daily life and across generations. Tipani2 states that metua ‘āngai tend to be more attentive to their tamariki ‘āngai than metua ‘ānau are with their birth children whom they are more likely to ‘take for granted.’

In this next excerpt from an interview with Miro1 and Miro2, they illustrate protection from the metua ‘āngai’s perspective:

Miro1: Somehow, I think uh, I think its because we spend more time, we are spending more time with our grandchild, because at the time she was married, she moved away from home; she was with her husband. But uh, when we come to visit her, we are happy that we meet with her again. As with the tamariki ‘āngai, he’s always home and uh, we, I mean, there’s no one else, at home.

Miro2: Yeah, I think, I think…

Miro1: So all our attention is focused on him, yes.

Miro2: Yeah, yeah, yeah, that’s how I feel too, that our concern is more for this tamaiti ‘āngai than for…

Miro1: But, but, when they come together, when our daughter come together, it seems that we are half and half, and sometimes uh we sort of uh protect the one we uh…(chuckle by Miro1 and Miro2)
I: protect the tamariki...

Miro1: 'āngai, yes. Especially when the mother sometimes want to growl at him, we sort of protect him.

Miro2: I think though, it's, it's, it's not only us that does this (?). I see other couple, parents in Mangaia who have—the way, the way it's shown is as they have more love for that tamariki 'āngai than their real ... um, their real children ... some.

Watchful "eyes" monitor the tamariki 'āngai (Elena, Tiotio, Tepani2, Tiare). The economic realities and families' resources are known because there are few secrets in a small community. Tiotio bought coconuts from tamariki 'āngai so that they could have spending money. People are aware of reputations of the metua 'āngai regarding their parenting skills (Tanga'eo). Atuke illustrates:

[S]ome of uh old ladies there when they saw me they say, they said, 'Ah, you are a well-looked after child,' uh because I'm a tamariki 'āngai. They said, 'Ah, you are a well-looked after child,' because uh they say to a part of my metua 'āngai, uh they said, Oh, if I cry, they will come and my metua 'āngai for—'hey, look what's happened with that boy—why did he cry?' They was joking these days—they said to me, 'Ah, they don't want to feed me with the milk. They have to suck the milk and the metua 'āngai go, 'Hey, what's happened with that boy there, why did he cry?' 'Oh, he's crying' or 'he wet the'—no they take the thing and smack me—they laugh, oh these days, I said, 'Ah, yeah.' I am a big boy that time, 'I'll smack you, too.' That's another joke, but it's right, yeah.

Metua 'āngai-grandparents teach their tamariki 'āngai and prepare them for adulthood.

With the 'feeding children,' as you grow up, you learn from your grandparents. Well, with me, I learned from my grandparents ... they taught me (Manu).

Ora discusses lessons from the grandparents and a metua va'ine 'āngai 'foster mother':

[T]hey got totally love. Yeah. Also they geared me about historical, the history of the island, sayings, the pe'es [chants], the lot; they geared me for that, but from the nurturing needs to become a woman, to understand, to be strong, it was my metua va'ine 'āngai. Yeah. Yeah. See you can see that.

Tangi states that lessons and examples from a metua 'āngai strengthen the child to meet life's challenges, responsibilities and adversities. Tuna learned lessons of sacrifice and tireless parenting from a metua 'āngai. The following several pages are excerpts from my interview with Tuna, Inano, Tiare Maori and Mako about Tuna's lessons.

I: So the ['feeding parents'] worked very hard to keep you 'fed.'

Tuna: Yeah.
Mako: He also used to go without food for the kids, feed the kids first and if there was nothing left, then just not eat anything.

I: For the younger children?

Tuna: Yeah.

Mako: Yeah, well, share it (?)

Tuna: See one part we are what uh, ten, just one part, ten and plus twelve. If there were a small fish paoro, cut in middle. If nothing, my parents was ... taro and uh taro top ... paka. Yeah that's uh why I love my uh ... ['feeding parents'].

... 

Mako: But he loved his um, 'feeding father' because it was his [kin] and so much that he changed his last name to his first name. Originally [***] but him and my uncle who died, um they were 'feeding brothers,' they changed their...


Tuna: Yeah. I loved two parents. I miss them. Both. Even though my [‘feeding’-]mum, we married, I still got a hiding.

I: You got a hiding?

Tuna: Yeah.

I: Why?

Tuna: If I'm going drinking.

I: Oh, (chuckle) oh.

Tuna: Yeah.

Inano: And smoking.

I: How old were you then?


I: You had your teen-age years that you enjoyed too much.

(Chuckles).

Tuna: Yeah. Too much. I always get a hiding.

I: Before you got married, you always got a hiding.

Inano: Even after.
I: Even, even after you got married, you got a hiding?
Tuna: Yeah.
I: Who would give you a hiding?
Tuna: Mum.
I: Really?
Tuna: If I go in something, you know, trouble.
I: If you get into trouble. Even after you married? (chuckle)
Tuna: Yeah.
Mako: (?)
I: Oh, OK, the discipline was hard to cope with for you?
Tuna: Yeah.
Tiare Maori: That was from the, uh, the motær, the 'feeding mother'
I: The 'feeding mother' was a very str…
Tiare Maori: Ster.  
Tuna: Oh, but she's very good lady … Yeah, she was very good to us.
Inano: But if you done something wrong?
I: If you've done something wrong…
Tuna: Ah yeah … Whack!
I: Wow.
Tuna: She always, yeah, like Jesus. (chuckle)

This excerpt shows the investment in discipline attempts by the metua 'āngai toward this tamaiti 'āngai continued beyond Tuna's emancipation and following Tuna's marriage.
AJ discusses his experience with customary adoption in the following excerpt:

I: Did you have children?
AJ: Yes, I've got three children.
I: Did you raise them yourself of did you share with…
AJ: No, no, no, we raised them myself, and they're adopted. They're adopted—two of them are my uh, my wife's and the other one—oh I've had them since they were babies, but—and one of them's my sister's. Yeah. I haven't got children of my own, biological children of my own.

I: You don't have of your own, so you have three tamariki āngai.

AJ: We have three of them that I brought up...

I: Are you still close to your three children?

AJ: Oh yes, very much so. While you were, while you were getting ready to talk to [***], the youngest one rung, [***]'s in [Xxx]. Yeah, and I was telling you, you know, [***] knew that this was [interview] happening ... When you love a woman and she's got children, you love your children.

Eventually the tamariki āngai mature and may look after the metua āngai.

Tipani 2: Oh, I went back to Mangaia for a holiday because I have my two weeks holiday, so I went back to Mangaia. So when I got there, I was happy. There's a change in the home.

I: What did you notice was different?

Tipani 2: Well different, my mother's, like me, invited me, my 'feeding parents.' You know, when I went to [Xxx], when I get my first pay, all my first pay, I sent it back to them. So, they wrote back to me: 'Good on you, good on you daughter. Know, you are the first one to, you know, because they got children, you know, and they...

I: They were not sending...

Tipani 2: They never send money to them.

The parents that used to growl at Tipani2, 'Put off that light!' for studying by the expensive kerosene lamp, developed a new appreciation for the years of service provided by their tamaiti āngai. Another incentive is that experience can influence future choices about parenting styles.

I treat them the same. I don't treat them different like what I see in my, where I, I was brought up. You can see there's uh favouritism there. Yeah. Oh, you're, you're not mine, and this is mine, yeah. You can have the good part of the food like—something like that; you can have the tinned fish. That's how it goes. Not me. Not my tamariki āngai. I have to be fair. I have to make sure they are equal. (Ora)
Between tamariki 'āngai and tamariki 'ānau

One of the realities of adoption is that it alters relationships between birth siblings when family members are separated between households or through the diaspora. Tamariki 'āngai may be raised with their own tamariki 'ānau birth siblings and/or alongside the tamariki 'ānau of the metua 'āngai. Growing up in the same household expands the incest tapu that governs the blended-siblings' relationships 'as if' they are identical. Because of this 'as if' status, I include examples of incentives for 'nest-mates' who are biological siblings as well as the faux siblings. In either case, life-long close relationships develop that may represent future lines of support.

Birth siblings separated through adoption may eventually develop relationships with their womb-mates as Tania illustrates in the following excerpt from an interview:

I: [D]id you see them when you were little?
Tania: Yes, I saw them when I was little but uh, I didn't know it was my real brother and sisters, until I was about eleven years bu: I, we always see them.

I: So what was that like when you learned they were you real siblings—brother and sister?
Tania: Oh, I uh, you know I felt uh, sorry about them and sometimes uh my feelings for them was not really uh close ... But now, we are very close now.

Customary adoption adds the dimension of discovery to people's identity, to learn who is related and how they are related (Elena, Tanga'eo). This is illustrated in the following excerpt from an interview with Noo:

I: [H]ow many brothers and sisters lived with you at your grandparents’?
Noo: There was [***] that's my older brother, and [***], three, three brothers.
I: Three brothers and you.
Noo: And myself.
I: OK, and were there any other children living with you at your grandparents?
Noo: No, the other children were living with the other, my mother's um family—my mother's mother and father; they were bringing those children up.
I: OK, how many brothers and sisters did you have all together?
Noo: There was nine of us in total, uh five boys and four girls. Yes.
I: Did you understand that when you were young [why you and your siblings lived with your both sets of grandparents]?
Noo: Well, at the time, I didn't realise that I had any other brothers and sisters. I thought it was just us.

I: Just the three brothers and you.

Noo: Just the three brothers. Now my uh, my father's sister, there's three of them in the family, she also lived with us and she had a daughter. I thought she was my sister. So I was brought up with her. Now she's living up in [Xxx]. But we've always, yeah, I've always thought she was my sister. Mmm ... I think when I was six, when I was able to walk the island, yes, and when I started going to school and realised oh, I have got brothers and sisters.

I: How did you learn that?

Noo: Um, I think, I think, I'm not too sure now, I don't think it was my mother and father that told me that I had brothers and sisters. I think you just start hearing things.

I: Maybe the children...

Noo: And then eventually you start realising because you meet them at school. Yeah, maybe that's how I came to know they were my brothers and sisters, but because they lived near the sea and I lived right up the top inland and uh ... yeah. I think I just came to know, to know them and church was the other thing. So, they would be at church and school.

I: OK, and your grandparents never told you though that there were other children?

Noo: Well, they may have but I don't remember, it, you know, them telling me that you have got brothers and sisters. I just remember us being as the family that was there in your little community.

I: Sure.

Noo: And uh, but my brothers and sisters that lived with my mother's side of the family, they never came to visit us.

I: They did not.

Noo: No, not while I was there on Mangaia. And that's why I didn't think I had brothers and sisters. I never had any visits from them.

I: They never came to visit you. Did you ever go to visit them?

Noo: Well, when I started to go to school and I started roaming the island, I would walk, because you walk to school.

I: Sure.

Noo: I walked, I used to walk the island, so I started walking and I started finding out for myself that, oh I walked with, because my sister, where she was living was next opposite the school. So she was the first one that I knew was my sister, and that's the first place that I would walk to. And then later on, I started walking, there's uh steps, the rock steps that leads down to Tavaenga? I started going down there. And I started-
yeah, from there I think my sister, [***] started showing me my mother's side of the family, because my brother, my mother's brother lived not far from where she was living. So it was me taking myself to meet my, the rest of my brothers and sisters. Yeah. Yeah, it was a journey uh, you know, for me, looking back now, it was a journey that I made for myself to find out, you know, who else is on the island that's related to me.

Other tamariki 'āngai learn about kin relationships after they are adults. In this excerpt,

Angelia tells about discovering a sister in the neighbourhood:

Angelia: I never knew but my sister knew, yes, she knew, she knew that we were sisters, but...

I: But...

Angelia: I didn't.

I: She never said anything.

Angelia: So I told her off when I met her, I told her off. But when I found out, when my uncles were telling me, oh, you know, I really felt for her.

I: Yes.

Angelia: I felt, because I never knew and I found out and I wished that she was there right then and give her a hug ... I'm so happy.

"The first time we met our elder sister, it was fifty years separation" (Kuramai).

Manu tells that the bonds that tamariki 'āngai develop with the tamariki 'ānau of their metua 'āngai may endure through life. Tumunu illustrates:

They are like brothers to me ... Yeah, they were all brought up with us—with me and my family. We all together. Yeah, so, the way my parents brought them up was 'as if' they were their own, yeah, their own children.

A metua 'āngai, Tiare, conveys a sense of joy at the blending within one family:

The good thing is my own kids, they like these boys; they call them their brothers ... they love the boys because their father loved the boys. I love those boys because my own children love them. Look, they are starting to spoil him, to spoil that one.

Tania also expresses pleasure in blending relationships:

[T]he relationship with my daughter and my tamariki 'āngai are very good. They never fight, especially my daughter, and she called them as their real brother ... I want them to get along peacefully. And I always ask them to go to church and pray to God everything will be possible.

Blending tamariki 'āngai and tamariki 'ānau in one household can represent an incentive in the practice if there is compatibility between the two statuses. According to Ora, "You have to
make sure that this tamariki āngai and the biological children work together. "Ora discusses having a blended network as adult siblings:

We both cried, hug each other, so every time she comes we sleep in one bed. We sleep in one, we hug each other, we just like—little kids. Yeah. That's the relationship I experienced through a metua āngai chain, through the metua āngai — this is what I do, even though my brothers we hug each other, we, we do things for each other. Like if I'm up here, I'm down, I got no money, I just ring my brother. Oh, can you send me a couple of dollars, this and that [???] My brother says what's your account number, just give your account, I just put it in your bank. Never, but the same thing as my biological brothers, but the one just before me and the one at the back of me—they the one, because we are very close, the three young ones, very close, and we do the same, we share the same, yeah, their, their wives doesn't say anything. I asked, their wife doesn't say.

**Between the adoption triad members**

Tiare illustrates an incentive of a tamaiti's health needs that benefits all three adoption triad members, the metua ānau, the tamariki āngai and the metua āngai:

[O]ne of the doctors asked her to bring the baby over to my parents to look after because the weather [abroad] is not fit for him ... my husband wanted the baby, so he asked my sister if she can give the baby to us because my parents are old—they can't look after the baby ... after week's time, one week, he felt better. So my sister came back after a month and saw the baby and she cried, and she asked me if I can look after the baby until he becomes five years old ... when she came to check on the baby, she noticed that my husband loved the baby very much, so she asked me if I can look after the second baby ... And those babies changed our life. We loved them better than our real children ... They found out that the boys are better off with us than with them.

A tamariki āngai is a natural resource that may bring access to further resources through the child's ānau family. Maiata recalls that "the 'feeding father's' family were after the land. So I have seen when I was young...." Aside from acquiring another family member for other reasons, Mangaians can adopt foster children to bestow or acquire land (Tania). Customary adoption widens that social support network available to the adoption triad and their extended families.

Another benefit in the practice is flexibility regarding mobility for the adoption triad, especially when they live in close proximity.

I stayed there, and sometime when I get tired of my auntie, then I went back to Ma, Sometimes it's not tired, but of the amount of work you have to do, then you get tired of that; then you go back. You go forward and backward. At the end, I left Mangaia. Then I came to Rarotonga. (Tanga'eo)
Tanga'eo describes a lineage-embedded safety feature that is prevalent in the practice:

Mum and Dad, if anything goes wrong, my dad will get up and go and talk to my uncle straight away. My dad will go, because my dad, I always remember, he is a front man. He's very much up, he's upfront, he's, yes, that's right.

Ora illustrates an intervention by a metua 'āngai in this excerpt:

Ora: But uh, the thing what I remember is when I get a hiding my grandfather just walked through the door, grab me and take me. Those are the things, things I remember.

I: Was he protecting you from hidings?
Ora: Yeah. He was. There was always like that.

In the next excerpt, Ora recalls learning lessons in identity stemming from a near tragedy:

[When] I grow up to, you know, with my mum, it's my 'āngai, metua 'āngai, um, at first I didn't know that I am a tamāine 'āngai. So growing up with her, uh makes me realise, think that this is my mum This is my real mother. But the thing that missing in that life is my father. I don't know who my father is. I saw all these men around, but they weren't my father. And uh, well, if it didn't make any difference. Then later on, during that time of growing up with my mum, I lived with my mum's husband's family. We all lived together—in separate houses but one big place. And uh that's the time I remember when I [almost died] ... And I look up it was, one is my mum's first cousin, my real mother's first cousin, and the other one is my dad. So. Through that ... I got to know who my father is. Yes, how old I was, I think I was about five, or six. Yeah. And uh that was it, so I was taken at the hospital and when I came back home, my father stopped on the way taking me home and he said to my other father, that he's going to me uh take me to my grandparents. That was a young age, when I realised that I got another family, that's my family.

I: That's a lot for a small child to understand.

Ora: I still remember it, I still remember it's not, yeah, I still remember that really well. I never forget this, but the thing is I didn't cite the love of my father because when he took me out I was with my grandparents. They are the ones that uh I have got love from, you know, for my grandmother and my grandfather as my father's parents.

The following excerpt from an interview with Noo illustrates routine activities for one tamaiti 'āngai:

Noo: Well, I was brought up by my grandparents, and uh for me, it was getting up early in the morning, and Grandmother would be cooking and she had breakfast and that ready, and it was getting up and going to school. And Monday to Friday would be the same. And you come home and you either go, either Grandmother or Grandfather would send you to the pineapple plantation where you weed the pineapples, and weekends, it's to take the clothes down to the lake or river and washing. So the weekend is mainly that. And you really don't have the spare time to do things for yourself. And I don't think, I don't remember having homeworks to do. So it was mainly work, you helping your grandparents out, whether it be in the
plantation, taro plantation, pineapple, and Grandfather, I think was at the time, was the only one that had uh, was growing peanuts as well as coffee be—coffee. Yes. So there was never a dull moment. I don't think it was. Nah, always busy ... Yeah. Grand, grandmother or grandfather was always about the food on the island, you know, his garden, and grandmother was so busy, because they were very senior. And grandmother, it was as long as we were fed, as long as we had clothes on, on us, that I felt that, that was all she, that was her duty, you know, caring for us, whereas grandfather was about the land, you know, providing the food to bring to the house to feed us. But my father was never around. I, I don't remember him being around a lot, nor my mother. It was always my grandparents and my older brother and my uh first cousin, of course my mother's, uh, father's sister, she was a teacher and apparently I was uh, I was one of the naughty child in the class, so she said. Yeah. Always up to mischief. Mmm.

The next several pages are from my interview with Angelia that provide examples about opportunities faced by members of the adoption triad that live in close proximity with each other and choose to remain in regular contact with the other. This excerpt also shows how the tradition integrates with other cultural practices.

Angelia: ... 'step-parents' are the ones that brought me up, you know, that brought me up; I call them 'step-parents' ....

I: How would you address them?

Angelia: Oh I didn't say 'step-parents.' I just said 'mum and dad' ... They've always been my mum and dad. I only say those words 'āngai' like 'metua ʻāngai,' when, people ask me questions like, you know, like you, oh, you know, and then I say, 'Oh, I was brought up.'

... I: So you had

Angelia: So I had two sets of parents. And I don't really even consider them as 'metua ʻāngai.' They're all my parents, yeah, oh no, mum and dad, mum and dad.

... I: In looking back then who did you uh look for the, if you had any questions about what you could do?

... Angelia: Both sets of parents because, because my step-mum and my real mum are real sisters. So they think they know the same, they think the same, you know? And they have the same family, so it doesn't really matter who I ask question to.

I: So, if you, say for instance, 'Can I go play sports—can I have permission' to do something,
Angelia: It's, it's always my step-parents ... Yeah, I, just my other parents, my real parents, I don't really ask questions too much to them ... Yeah, but it's, it's with my step-parents because they are more my mum and dad, my real mum and dad.

I: But you address both of them as

Angelia: As mum and dad ... Yeah, e ma ... e pa. Yeah ... So, I have two, so all my life, I always say, I'm the lucky one, because I have two sets of parents who loves me, who loves me the same.

I: How old were you when you became a tamariki 'āngai?

Angelia: How old? As soon as I was born. My mum gave birth to me and my auntie, her sister was there, you know, my step-mum was there waiting. Yeah, she took me right away ... it was pre-arranged.

... 

Angelia: My real mum breastfed me. So if I want some milk, I have to go back to my mum ... yeah about a couple of houses down, you know, [***]'s home and [***]'s home?

I: Yes.

Angelia: That's our house and [***], [***] and [***], yeah, that's my, that's our house.

I: OK, close enough to shout.

Angelia: But it wasn't the house they are living in now. At the time in the row of houses, the kikau houses, yes.

I: OK, the traditional ... How many other children did your aunt bring up in your kikau?

Angelia: Many ...well, when I counted when I got older, I think there's [over a dozen] of us.

I: All tamariki 'āngai?

Angelia: (Indicates yes)

I: How many of your tamariki 'ānau did you grow up with in the same kikau?

Angelia: Oh, none, because they stayed with Mum and Dad. They grew up with Mum and Dad at their house, with [***], you know where [***] and [***] are.

I: You were the only child [from you] metua 'ānau that was shared?

Angelia: Yeah.

I: How's that?

Angelia: So I was spoiled. (chuckle)
I: That's why you're spoiled. (chuckle) How is that you were the only one?

Angelia: I don't know, dear ... I think my step-mum really wanted to bring up one of her sister's child. I think that was the main reason.

I: How many of the children were born before you to your metua 'ānau?

Angelia: To my metua 'ānau? Oh the first one died; the second one died, the third one ... and then the fourth one died. I never seen those lot—the first, second and third and fourth. And then there's my [sibling] there in [***] and then there's me.

I: Any born after you?

Angelia: Yes.

I: How many?

Angelia: There's my [sibling], [***], my [sibling], [***], and our youngest [sibling], [***].

I: Alright. So you saw those children regularly because you lived close enough?

Angelia: Yes.

I: Did you understand that those were your 'ānau brother and sisters?

Angelia: Yes, I did.

I: How old do you think you were when you found out?

Angelia: I think when I was very young, before I started school.

I: It was never a secret then?

Angelia: It wasn't, never was. It was I could sleep here; I got two houses; I could sleep here; I could sleep there; I could sleep my grandma's opposite our house, you know, over the road from our house, that's where my grandma lives with, that's my step-father's mum, they live over there, you know the [***] and that. So I got so many places where I can go.

I: That's great.

Angelia: But I think I was the only one [of my siblings] that could do those things at the time. Well, because I had so many, because the other ones before me, oh, and my [sibling] out there, [***], because [***] and my step-dad are brothers. So my step-dad brought [***] up, because that's his brother, his youngest brother, yeah, so that's my step-dad. His name's [***]. Yeah. So, he and my step-mum, they brought [***] up, but it's his brother, so I was brought up by my mum's sister. So, yeah, because they couldn't have any children. Yeah. But I think because of my mum, yeah, my step-mum, you know, I think it was a prediction, they usually have in the olden day. You know, predictions that, you know, if you're a good child, you'll never have any children, you
know. They don't want their children to be, you know, hassled by bringing up kids, you know.

I: Oh, really.

Angelia: And it's still going, now. If, like if I say, you know, well this is what I know, in the olden days, this is what they do: If you're a good child, you know, and you haven't done anything wrong, and, and because your parents love you so much, and they say I don't want you to have any children, but know knowing that maybe later on you'll want to have children of your own. And then they say, you know, it's like a, a tapu thing. They say I don't want you to do that, I don't want you to clean dirty nappies, and, and all that. They just want because you been such a good child and that's how they spoil those kind of children. They don't want, like I said, I was spoiled. And they were going to do that to me? They don't want me to, to have children and bring up, you know, and dirty nappies, they don't want me to do that. But then I said, no, I would like to have my own children one day. Yeah.

I: I think that's interesting.

...  

Angelia: I'm a ma'ine kata ia'au e tō'oku ngometua ... kata means laugh. Kata is laugh (chuckle); yeah and this kata is for a spoiled child ... in the Mangaian dialect, we call it the ma'ine kata ia, you know, and my brothers and sisters, when they get angry with me, they'll say to me, you know, I'm the kata one, you know, you're the (chuckle)

I: (chuckle) spoiled one?

Angelia: Yeah, saying I'm the spoiled one: Koe te kata.

...  

I: When you were with your metua 'ānau visiting your brothers and sisters, did you ever get disciplined by your metua 'ānau?

Angelia: Oooh no.

I: No?

Angelia: Oooh no, I was spoiled, too.

I: So did you get disciplined then by your metua 'āngai?

Angelia: Yeah.

I: OK.

Angelia: I was disciplined by my metua 'āngai, by my mother. (chuckle) My mum, (chuckle) ... she yells and screams; I think it caught on me: I do that, too, when I get angry with my children when they don't lister.

I: So you were really, you felt like you were spoiled by both households.

Angelia: Oh yeah. I...
I: Or at least the father, the step-father and your metua 'ānau.

Angelia: Oh, even my mum, my step-mum. I know where she's coming from when she gets angry because we, we do, you know, when you do wrong things, you get disciplined, but the way they disciplined, she disciplined us, but not much of me, but my brothers and sisters.

I: When she disciplined you, was it fair?

Angelia: Yeah, I think she was fair. Ooh, yeah.

I: Did you have any chores to do when you were little?

Angelia: Oh, we all had chores. We all had, but less of me, at the time. I think because I was little. Um, yeah. (chuckle).

I: But then as you got older and the children—the other 'āngai brothers and sisters were leaving home, did you have to do more work?

Angelia: Yeah. Oh yeah, I help mum. I do, I do the washing. I do the ironing, clean the house, make the beds, you know. Help mum with the sewing, the tivaivai, [quilt] all this stuff; sweep the, oh not much of the rubbish, you know, you go when the leaves fall to the ground, you go and sweep it up. And if you don't you get the kikau broom on your butt.

(Angelia and I chuckle.)

I: Did your metua 'ānau teach you to tivaivai or did your metua 'āngai?

Angelia: Oh, yeah, we all do it together. Yeah, my, my mum, down here, and my sisters, and then the other ones, the other lot, we sometime, we all sort of work together. ...

I: When it came time for you to find your partner ... did you have to ask permission from both [sets of] parents

Angelia: No.

I: or how did that work?

Angelia: Because I was here when I met my partner. I was away from my mum and dad, but I was supposed to go back. I came here. I brought my, you know, [***]'s son, their old [child]? Which mum and dad have brought up. That's the one's after me. Because they carry it on after me—bringing the grandchildren up, my step-sister's boy, [***], but he's, he's not in Mangaia when I went home recently. I think he's [elsewhere]. Yeah, one of the step-sisters is [***]'s sister's son? Yeah. Because [***], one of [***]'s sister's brought up with us. Yeah. It's sort of, oh yeah, it's sort of a family thing, yeah, so it didn't really matter who's going to bring that up. They're still close, yes, but [***], that's for my step-father's side, because [***], my step-dad is [***]'s uncle, because their mother and my dad is brother and sister, [***]'s mum. Yeah, so the funny thing is
though, when [***] and [***] got married, because people are thinking, oh they shouldn't because they're related, but they're not really. I think because they looking at like, because I was brought up by, by their uncle, they're thinking, oh, yeah, my young [sibling] shouldn't marry their [sibling] because we're cousins, but she's a cousin to me. [***] is a cousin to [***] but not to [***], [***] my brother? Yeah.

These excerpts illustrate how consistent contact between members of Angelia's adoption triad helped convey to Angelia, a unique sense of family identity and cultural identity. Angelia was able to know and affiliate with both 'ānau and 'āngai siblings and extended family and by doing so, develop an insider's perspective and confidence in being loved by both sets of metua and siblings.

The metua that blends tamariki 'ānau and tamariki 'āngai in the same household strengthens communication and management skills and widens the family's web of relationships for subsequent generations.

[Tamariki 'āngai means on my island that you have to get that child from out of family and 'feed' them as a real tamariki for you. But firstly there's something uh—it's not like the one we registered to 'feed' the children. That's a new idea these days. Uh, to me, what I know for about this that when you get a tamariki 'āngai from the family or say the tamariki 'āngai from my wife family and then you want a tamariki for you. That means, if you saw the tamariki coming from the, from your wife family or from your, from other area of the family. You have to 'feed' them when they are small children, yeah, small tamariki. You have to look after their life and bring them right to the age of uh, say, if they want to find a family. Another idea is if I had the tamariki 'āngai, we have to, some people, like myself, if I got a tamariki 'āngai not registered, but I own the land, before I bring that tamariki 'āngai and also I have my 'real' tamariki from my family, well, what I did is uh, I have to call a meeting and tell all my tamariki there—call them a brother, the tamariki 'āngai—call him a brother or call her a sister for you, to confirm that I have uh to give him a, a piece of land to steady as a tamariki for me, what I have to do, I'll tell all my real tamariki not to, uh, the only way is to stop him, I'll give this, say a few acres of land for him forever and ever, and they are not allowed to go and chase him off, yeah, chase him away on the land, because when that tamariki, my tamariki grow up, like papa and mamas, they always said, 'Oh, that land is already given for him or for her, for the tamariki 'āngai. We got no right to go and ...,' that's a good thing on that side. (Atuke)

Atuke advocates keeping the family informed and reinforcing the inclusive status of the tamaiti 'āngai to the 'ānau family. Tiotio also sees a long-term incentive to maintaining open-communication with family members about entitlements designated for tamariki 'āngai:

I, myself and my brother whose in Mangaia, [***], have discussed this and we both agree to give them a share of our lands, and a place for them to plant their taro, kumara and so on and so on. So there won't be any problem at all then, after, after we have gone. They will always remain as a part of our family ... I've always
assured [my tamariki ānau] that they have to agree to what we have discussed, and they said yes, they won't change anything after we are gone.

Poro remembers similar parental treatment toward all the siblings in their blended home: "All my nephews learned from my dad." In the following excerpt from my interview with Poro, we discussed relationships and perspectives:

I: Did you sense any difference in how [your birth father] treated the tamariki āngai with how he treated his birth children?

Poro: Oh, depending how you look at it, I think, in the Mangaian way, um, when they were 'feeding' you, oh, especially my father, I know my father, he's a very hard working man and treats his kids the same and wants his kids to do exactly what he's doing because he believe what he does will make him a man later. You know?

I: Everybody had chores to do?

Poro: Oh yeah ... (chuckle) Chores, my goodness (chuckle).

I: Even as the youngest?

Poro: Oh, they've got their little chores to do (chuckle). Yeah.

I: And you said as being the last born, you were treated a little bit special.

Poro: Oh, that's what they think. I didn't think I was treated a little bit special but maybe.

I: Did you have to do chores—your own chores?

Poro: Yeah, oh yeah. Yeah. We go, uh, I always go with my nephews, because I, I'm, we were the same age and we always go together to feed the pigs and weed the taro patch, and everywhere. We go together as one. I didn't really know my sisters and my brothers, because they were much older than me. I was seven years [younger than my birth siblings].

Much about the outcome of the adoption relationships "depends" on the family members involved and people change over time, as Atuke illustrates in the following interview except.

Atuke: I was about to tell you myself, I got some tamariki āngai ...

I: Now?

Atuke: Now. Uh, I got a tamariki ānau, too. This uh [child]. You know that tamariki āngai, ah, I love them the most.

I: Why is that?
Atuke: I don't know, when I get this age because, uh, just like a mokopuna itself, your 'real' children—ah, you don't treat them well. But when you get on this age, that what we did—getting old, I was looking my real parents for the mokopunas—it's not like the tamariki āngai, yeah. For the mokopunas coming in. Ah, they don't want to smack them—they love them and uh, and I said to my 'real' mama and my 'real' papa, 'Heh, smack those little'—Oh no, we love them. You just wait until you get on our age.' So when I get on that age, 'Oh,' I said to my mama, oh that's why my father and my mother love the mokopunas, uh tamariki āngai from, from the fam—from my daughter or from where, that's why. To me, I can't wait to take home, I don't want to smack them. Somebody smack them in the family, I say, 'What's happened with them? What's happened?'

I: So you feel protective of them.

Atuke: Yeah, because I, I don't know what uh, because I was working for the time my mother and my father doing this and when I get on this age, is the time I know what's happen.

I: Your values change as you get older.

Atuke: Mmm.

I: So the discipline may change as you get older.

Atuke: Mmm. Mmm.

I: You mentioned that you had some feelings about tamariki āngai—may not have the security being informal—adoption may not have the same security for land if they're not registered ētīta—that a child that is ētīta may have more security for the inheritance. Do I understand that right?

Atuke: Yeah, yeah.

I: What might be another challenge for the practice of tamariki āngai on Mangaia—any other difficulties that you can think of for tamariki āngai practice?

Atuke: ... it depends on the family. It's depends on the family what I told you before. Depends there. If you have a tamariki āngai staying with a 'good' family and carrying out the uh, the said from their fathers or grandfathers, this will go on and on. I'll say it's a good life for them all. But uh sometime it will happen to the tamariki āngai uh say like I'm a girl from the real uh tamariki—my father was away, or a boy, I'm married to a different family and came into. That's another thing the time will start happening thing because I would like to say to heh, you know that tamariki āngai there—chase him away. You are alright. You are from the tamariki āngai, you love the tamariki āngai. Not in Raro, no such thing in Raro like that. You have to make as a real tamariki ētīta, or what.

I: They don't have the flexibility—they have to register.

Atuke: But it's happening today on the ētīta thing—some of the families of the—if they said, 'Ah, no matter if you are not a tamariki ētīta, if you own so how much acres? Uh you go and say, ah, you own this.' That's another thing happening.
I: They honour that. It just depends.

Atuke: Yeah. It's happening. It's happening—depends.

I: I have one last question for you: If the community thinks that there might be a problem with the family, maybe there's, maybe they're not treating them like a 'good' family would treat the tamariki āngai, what can the community do to help the family? Or do they ever do anything to help the āngai family, so that the children are treated better?

Atuke: Yeah.

I: What do they do—what does the community do?

Atuke: Ah, if a tamariki āngai is treated in bad ways, uh, if I am in staying near as, looking into that, I would say, 'Hey, ah, you'd better come to me and stay to my place to become, to have a good life.'

I: Oh, you invite the tamaiti āngai

Atuke: 'Ae.

I: to come to your home.

Atuke: Yeah.

I: For a better life in your home.

Atuke: Yeah. That's what we did there. But I have to ask first the owner of the tamariki to that, sometimes they will say—come go away, I don't want you if you are something like going like a Christian or what or top people in the area, you have to do that.

I: So you ask the metua āngai or do you ask the metua ānau?

Atuke: No, no, no, no.

I: the metua āngai.

Atuke: Yeah. I say, 'Hey, don't worry, the bcy is already there staying with me, don't worry for such days to become'—yeah, that's what we did.

I: Would the metua āngai ask the metua ānau, 'Is it OK if your child goes to live with another uh metua āngai, because he's not happy at my home?' Is that OK?

... 

Atuke: No, he will ask the metua āngai—the owner of the—that's the owner of that.

I: So the metua āngai never has to go back to the metua ānau?

Atuke: Mmm.
For a time, Tipani2 feared that their *tamariki āngai* would prefer to return to the birth parents if the children knew their birth parents identity; however, with time this insecurity subsided. Mata’s *tama’ine āngai* sometimes refers to her birth mother as ‘auntie,’ according to Mata.

Mata: [B]ut then I know she will call her 'mum' one day, one day. I don't mind that, because I don't want to take her apart from two of us, because we're sisters. So I don't want to break that. Maybe when I go, I'm gone, maybe she'll call her, her mum. I don't mind if she call her mum and me mum as the same, as we are in the same place—together.

I: You're OK with that?

Mata: Because I know she'll be close to me more than the 'feed'-, uh the natural mother.

It is significant that the *tamaiti āngai* tend to be more attentive to the aging *metua āngai* than the birth children of the adoptive parent (Maiata, Rangimōtia511114).

**Tamariki āngai**

There are many incentives for *tamariki āngai* to remain in the islands when their parents are working abroad. Tarofan’s parents out-migrated for employment opportunities. As a *tamaiti āngai*, AJ took advantage of the opportunity to learn from the elders ‘back home’:

I follow the older men because you learn nothing of fellows your own age group. You learn nothing from them. You got to go up a step further, to the older ones ... They’ll either tell you to piss off otherwise you either preserve and ... you hang around their legs. That’s what I did. Mangaia was a golden opportunity for a thirteen-year old mate. I was right up their noses. I was right into it.

Tarofan recalls, "[M]y other auntie sew me good and nice looking uniform better than the others ... Oh, we are one of the best *tamariki* when we go to school: best lunch, because we got a small shop."Tarofan was able to get job experience working as a shopkeeper 'back home' in Mangaia where island-life is different from Aotearoa.

Agriculture was the only means of income, but hey, we never go hungry, feeding on local food and fish from the swamp and lagoon. We had roof over our head; we were religious, clothed and educated. Community life was fun and enriching. At the end of the day, my life as I look back was a blessing to the family and the community, which I will never forget. (Kuranai)

Tarofan enjoyed childhood growing up as a *tamariki āngai*:
We joined together and do all those games, the find and seek, all those traditional games, marbles, yeah. I was happy when I thought about that and my tamariki āngai, you know, time with my grandparents ... I would say that I really missed my grandparents when they taught me during my time with them. Yeah, I miss all those times.

AJ enjoyed the freedom of growing up 'back home' in Mangaia:

I had a horse; I traveled. I had pigs; I had 'chooks.' I had pineapples. I had taro. I traveled. Sunday, you weren't allowed to work—you just go get a bit of a meal and that. [???] Come on cousin, let's go to Ivirua. So we were the first pioneers to cut the track, to the old track before they bulldozed it. And when they bulldozed it, when they bulldozed the track to Ivirua straight on, I'm telling you, when they bulldozed that track to Ivirua, me and my cousin [***] we were the first on horseback to go there. That was on a Sunday. They did that on a Friday. We were the first to go to Ivirua, mate and we rode to the village like this.

When Tarofan's metua ānau returned from abroad, Tarofan lived nearby the metua āngai. "I always go back to my grandparents everyday, to say hello to them and visit them." Noo's metua ānau also out-migrated for work. Noo recalls memories as a tamaiti āngai playing by moonlight, picking and roasting koviriviri, climbing trees, heaps of trees, coconut trees:

We used to race up the coconut tree. Now it's a bit hard; back in those days, it didn't bother me. And pinning a balloon on a dragonfly was an experience ... you tie the balloon and then you tie it on to the dragonfly and you watch the balloon going all around. Yeah.

Angelia grew up 'back home' and recalls oscillating between the āngai and ānau households in the same village. In this way a child's opportunity for socialisation expands. The practice of tamariki āngai can widen the number of siblings and playmates that enhance the life of the child. It can provide an additional family circle to the 'feeding child' (Poro; Manu) that is ideally honoured through subsequent generations (Tiotio). The child is indulged and included in varied environments that represent additional attention, affiliation and protection. At the same time, the child can compare how things are done in different settings and benefit from experiencing alternatives.

Having the experience of being raised as a tamaiti āngai provides a common link to other tamariki āngai raised similarly (Tarofan). Tangi explains a close relationship with an ānau sibling raised together as tamariki āngai:

[T]he only person I am that close, is my brother and I. We are so close ... there's a connection in my brother and I ... Out of everybody, my brother is my number one, yeah.
Angelia's experience as a tamaiti āngai in youth, helps Angelia as an adult to have more empathy for children who must experience multiple placements in their social service history. Fair treatment and the love it indicates can be another incentive (Tania). Mirol felt that the metua āngai treated the tamariki āngai fairly:

[S]ometimes I didn't have to do anything. They can ask me to do, but I can refuse ... if I refuse, I refuse, that's it ... There will be times when, we know if we don't do the things they ask, they will go and do it themselves. I think because they love their grandchildren very much. So it's just like grandparents can spoil the grandchildren, the tamariki āngai.

Te Ruru A Rama shares about a granddaughter named by them: "That granddaughter of ours loved us, and she want to stay with us" because she sees how good her sibling is treated as a tamariki āngai and she wants the same treatment.

As a tamariki āngai, Tipani learned ethics of hard work and to appreciate having free time:

I don't go to sport activities, even the community sports, you know, because I know every, say every week, I can see trucks going to Oneroa having sports, big people, small people, young and old, but for me I have to stay home. What I do at home is, we have a plantation of tomatoes. I have to stay home and wait for the chicken not to go and eat the tomatoes ... I used to cry, because uh my brothers and sisters all go and I'm here by myself, watchdog for watching the chicken not to eat the tomatoes. You know, I don't go to public places when, like sports and whatever. I don't go. I used to stay home. I got things to do at home. Either I have to go and look after the kids or look after the plantation.

For some tamariki āngai, the required labour and lessons in accountability seem endless:

Tangi: I have to go like plant; planting's the main issue. Yeah, and like we go plantation and come back late at night and early morning, you have to get up ... I was running [when the school bell rings]—picking the rubbish, making sure everything is done, which you have to. And also ... like for example, playing sports. I have to do something. It's like you have to pay your ticket to go to play your games. And again, for your own benefit, you are going out there to play sports, but, before you go, it's more like you have to pay, paying for your airfare to go, and come back as soon as that finish, you have to come back again and do extra job on top of it, instead of giving yourself a rest, a break. No, it's ongoing, day and night, day and night.

I: Always something. Always work to do.

Tangi: Yes. No social life. True we ate, but then again, there's no balance in life ... on the good side of uh, she taught me a lot. She taught me a lot. She taught me how to do the housework, house-keeping, yes. She taught me a lot.
"Tamariki 'ängai learn survival skills and to delay gratification as this excerpt from the interview with Tipani2 illustrates:

In Mangaia, I'm just talking about myself, because I am one of the tamariki 'ängai. When I grew up, I don't know what, what is, is going around in the home. And, and the treatment in the home is no good. But, during that time, is limited food to be fed, and even though there are some other kids, say twelve kids in the family, but I'm one from, I'm a tamariki 'ängai. During that time food are limited. Our father goes fishing, and we children used to goes inland and plant taro, but we have only one time, during the day, we have, we had a feed. We don't have tea in the morning, until we have kaikai late at night. So we children used to go in the bush, look for coconut, and climb the coconut tree for water and find ripe bananas in the bush just to survive for the day. It's hard, and uh, but we have to, we have to fight for that, because our parents don't work, they don't get money, so we live on fish, and also taro and fruits during that time. For money, we used to go collect coconuts and sell it to, to whoever who are working for money. Like [***], he got a shop, he supplies the sugar, cabin bread, so we have to get coconuts and bring it to him and sell it out to get donuts or to buy sugar or to buy corn beef from the shop. That's how we get money, and also we get coffee seeds. We used to go inland and get the coffee, and bring it. We open it, throw away the skin and dry the seed up—make it dry and sell it to get the money. And also the passionfruit, we used to get passionfruit, bring it, put it in a sack and sell it out. It's how we make money during that time. Because the parents have no, nothing, no work. That's how we survived. As I grow up, I know I'm a big eater, because my stomach will be filled with food, because there's a lot. One tinned fish a day feed twelve children in the family. One tinned fish. Corn beef—it's only the big one who can have the corn beef. Us small ones, we can have the, the tinned fish. One for the whole twelve children sitting on the, on the mat having the feed. That's life. That's how, that's how I came through this life.

Food is important to the Mangaian. Tipani2 also hungered for education and knew that it would eventually ensure a career that would supply the corn beef to stop the hunger.

[During that time, corn beef are precious to in the homes, you eat the corn beef, oh, you are rich ... I have said to myself, when I get some money, I'm going to buy corn beef and I can eat one whole tin of corn beef. (Tipani2)]

Eventually, Tipani2 achieved this goal; however, by then eating the contents of a tin of corn beef was beyond Tipani2's capacity:

I can eat it. I can buy the corn feed, but I can't finish one tin of corn beef. That's a problem with it.

... I: But it was nice to have the chance to try.

Tipani 2: to try. And as long as I get the money, fifteen dollars a week ...
admission, strengthen the tamariki āngai for life. Being a foster child teaches acceptance of situations that persist and hones coping-skills. "In a way, I would say, it's the good and the bad and I believe that what I can do to grew up with that and learn from it" (Tangi).

I understand when you go there you're the one going to do the work. You're always going to be doing everything. But, that is, that is life ... that is life for me ... you've got to accept what has happened. But the thing about it is, they [grow] strong; as they grow up, that's the benefit of it—up on the top, not below there. Where they go up on the top, then you see the powers of it. (Tanga'eo)

With many variables in how people choose to practice customary adoption, the outcome depends on the people involved in the individual situation. In retrospect, Tupuai sees that tamariki āngai placements provide valuable lessons in culture and history not available in books. AJ reinforces this concept in talking to other tamariki āngai. Noo reflects, "I think it's made me a stronger person and wanting to learn, you know, and not be put down." Tanga'eo sees how being a tamariki āngai strengthens the individual: "And when it comes to work, you're the first one to do this, for everybody" (Tanga'eo). "At the end of the day now, when you look at it, what has happened; to my understanding now, I have better than them" (Tanga'eo). Elena states, "It's the fact that there are a lot of good things that uh, because of what I went through in my life as a tamariki āngai: is really a testimony to what I am today." Elena recognises that many opportunities, including education, stem from the metua āngai.

Tipani2 realises the value of hard work performed as a tamariki āngai: "I have come through a bad life; now I realise it's not. That's why I know how to look after my children, clean the house, cook the food, cleanliness in the home" (Tipani2). Poro recalls this about āngai siblings in their home:

[W]hen we had our reunion ... all my nephews that was brought up by my dad, went up there and told everyone how bad my father was, but that was the best thing that ever happened to them ... Harsh discipline and hard work and that's how they learned, yeah, and they are blessed, you know? ... it was really good when they came up and told everyone in the reunion that that's how they grew up, as 'feeding children' ... That's why they'll never forget him and in their hearts my father was always their father, and their father was never ... the brothers that was brought up by their father, they don't get along.

Ora also speaks of difficult, but good, lessons in survival learned as a tamaiti āngai:

It's helped me a lot to think about how am I going to support myself, how am I going to help people. It helps me a lot, you know, to my upbringing of my tamā'ine āngai. It's a lot of thing, I have to go in details.
Ora continues:

Yeah. But uh, I think those, those kind of work build my self-esteem, my strength, believing I can survive, yeah, all those things. Those are the things I will never forget that my mum told, my metua va'ine 'angai, you know, the morals, the values, she had told all those things ... how're you going to cope with your life, how you're going to survive, how you're going to do—it's from my metua va'ine 'angai.

The practice provides the opportunity for tamariki 'ängai-mokopuna to develop close bonds with their metua 'ängai grandparents. Manu explains: "They were ... my grandfather and my grandmother, but to me there were my mom and dad, you know?" Not that it was easy for Manu, whose metua 'ängai taught important lessons of discipline and accountability. Manu states that New Zealand laws now restrict what guardians can do by law, but "back home, my grandparent is law to me ... we got one law, yeah; you do bad, you get what you deserve, you know; you do right, you get what you deserve." Manu suspects that troubled street youth may not have similar guidance and adds that "we were lucky in a way, I think, because we grew up with that kind of discipline ... the old discipline way is not as bad as what people say ... it's always been tough; it's a tough life; you got to toughen up.

Tamariki 'ängai may receive more attention from their metua 'ängai than from their metua 'ānau according to Maiata, who explains that this is more likely to occur if 'feeding parents' have a smaller inventory of children. Angelia tells that some children become tamariki 'ängai because of resource disparity in their 'ānau home: 
"[Metua 'ängai] collects these children from the road, because they have nothing to eat. So my [metua 'ängai] goes and get these children and bring these children into his home and 'feed' them, not that he's to keep them, just bring them to 'feed' them so they felt the love that he has for them; so they decided to stay" (Angelia).

Having a blood relationship between the members of the adoption triad is an asset for some tamariki 'ängai: Maiata explains, "Other tamariki 'ängai benefit ... because some 'feeding parents' are rich." Manu's sibling was given to another family and raised on a different island:

[S]he got to stay with this lady, which turned out to be good for her. She end up with a piece of land in Rarotonga; she's lucky. She's the lucky one.

Tania looked after her 'feeding mother' who provided her with a piece of land. Some tamariki 'ängai attempt to claim membership both the 'ānau family circle and the 'ängai circle (Manu). Angelia explains that Mangaian tamariki 'ängai have potentially two resources for support later in life through claiming access to 'ängai and 'ānau family relationships and the assets that those ties represent.
Naming flexibility is another incentive. *Tamariki āngai* may assume the *metua āngai*’s surname if they feel affinity toward their ‘feeding parents’ (Tangi). Another incentive is that to some extent, here again, depending on the individual family situation, the firstborn who is āngai-d out may retain the firstborn status with its accompanying privileges upon return visits to the child’s natal home (*Uipa ŏanga*).

Safeguards within the culture and practice provide an incentive for families to share their *tamariki*: "[O]ther family sees you neglecting that, yeah, they’re going to tell the *metua ānau* ... they go and ‘feed’ the *metua ānau* bad things about you in misplacing the kid, eh?" states Mata, also commenting about retrieval: "If they sees that other ‘feeding parent’ doing wrong to their kid, they’re going to take it away." Poro agrees: "[T]he parents would have to go and get the child or the grandparents will do that." Arera explains, "If they done something wrong *tamariki āngai* their children, I think they will come back and do a *manamanata* to you because you didn't take of them properly." Atuke cites an additional community intervention: "Ah, if a *tamariki āngai* is treated in bad ways, uh, if I am in staying near as looking into that, I would say, 'Hey, ah, you’d better come to me and stay to my place to become, to have a good life.’" Mangaia has a welfare officer to advocate on the child’s behalf, explains Maiata. Tiare sees the practice as a way to keep children off of New Zealand welfare rolls because *metua āngai* may be more attentive to *tamaiti āngai* than the *metua ānau*.

Being a *tamariki āngai* provides incentive and connections to discover genealogy. Independently, Elena has been piecing together her heritage and identity:

> I started going to both sides, getting to know both sides. I've been really enriched by that ... [My aunts] filled a void that was missing in my life. I looked at them in that way. I had this affection for them ... to them I was special in so many ways, I think for those reasons because they would always refer ‘Oh my, your mum used to’ you know she used to whatever it was, or ‘Your mum used to have long hair,’ or you know, through bits of conversation throughout my entire life, or so I felt I was a reminder of someone that had passed on ... But through these conversations with her sisters have given me, like pieces of puzzle that I can actually put a frame around it and say, ‘Well, you know she had long hair, and she was this and she was quiet; she was shy, and she used to sing this song, and things I would never have,' that's something that I've gained from experience.

The legal status of illegitimacy is another incentive for customary adoption as it supports the infant born outside of a stable relationship. Maiata explains that "when a child is born with only one parent, that's when they're likely to be adopted, sometimes by the family, because they feel sorry for or they just want to help out, because a family is family, and you know, and if anything happen, you know, they give a hand."
This concludes presentation of contemporary attributes of the practice extracted from my field interviews and ‘uipa’anga conducted in 2007 and 2008. From this information, it is clear that the incentives for adoption have evolved from the historical accounts by Mamea and Gill’s early missionary writings and the early plaintive laments that they and others recorded. Families no longer need to adopt their children into different tribes to escape potential sacrifice with a change of political regime. The data highlights what appear to be universal incentives of Mangaia’s customary adoption and then describes the motives from the perspectives of the individual adoption triad members as well as relationships between the triad-members.

The data shows that the social tenets of the tradition reinforce other customs and provide a means of connecting Mangaians in the diaspora with their island-identity and cultural inheritances. The data reveals that the parents have different values and parenting styles. Metua strive to teach life skills to the new generation. Depending upon how the practitioners implement their customised protocol, and how the members of society view the direction that this takes the individual, family and community in relation to the ‘other,’ has a combined impact on the overall robustness of the incentives and the value of the practice to the people. The incentives continue to travel and evolve in both settings as Mangaians adapt their tradition to meet their needs, and adjust their needs and constructed identities to meet their resources.
Chapter 6 Dilemmas and disincentives

The treatment of adoption in anthropological literature perpetuates a sense that the concept is nonproblematic.

Terrell & Modell, 1994

Ruth Benedict wrote that "no social order can separate its virtues from the defects of its virtues" (1935, p. 179). Dilemmas in the practice are aspects of the tradition that may be camouflaged by the incentives or that detract from the custom, in that they represent challenges, constraints, frustrations, disincentives or a range of risk factors to members of the adoption triad or dysfunction in communities affiliated in any way with the practice. The custom has a "nasty side; it needs to be said" (Kuramai). The physically attractive 'feeding child' can cause jealousy in the household; a child can outgrow its former beauty that was the source of pride to its metua 'āngai (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 26 June 2009). This chapter examines the dilemmas that rise in the cultural context and disadvantage members of the adoption triad. Even considering diversity in human nature, personal experiences, outcomes and timeframes needed for processing life events for adult informants, dilemma-patterns emerge from the interviews.

Findings from the examined dilemmas within Mangaia's tamariki 'āngai traditions suggest that the overall value of the practice is significant to Mangaian society which must manage the tensions. The practice continues in the face of its deficits because the incentives override the dilemmas or risk factors. However, as the population of tamariki 'āngai increases, ages and returns to claim land, dilemmas increasingly threaten Mangaian society's cohesiveness and the continuation of the customary aspect of the adoption practice. Some dilemmas are inherent in the dynamics of Mangaian adoption, while others are more about how the practice is implemented and has more toxic outcomes.

Much about the dilemmas has to do with cumulative effect rather than an isolated experience. For example, stresses in the lives of metua 'āngai and metua 'ānau attributable to other than the practice, can accumulate and influence parenting styles and family dynamics in the 'āngai household. When dilemmas or tensions surpass the threshold of tolerance, the practice and its participants as well as the community are at risk; adults may choose not to 'āngai a child. Dilemmas deserve scrutiny, because herein lies the potential for a society to preserve its tradition and improve outcomes for Mangaian tamariki 'āngai and the wider community.

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The fundamental adoption triad represents unbalanced advantage when one or two members determine the destiny of others who may have no voice in the process. Still, in retrospect, tamariki 'ängai informants credit having endured the dilemmas in the tradition with developing personal attributes such as resiliency, tenacity, self-reliance and patience.

My personal experience with my adopted parents were both a blessing and a challenge, and I owe it back to the family as a whole, for the life I grew up with that made me who I am today. To look back and see the importance of sacrifice and survival [and to] experience hardship as we toil day by day. (Kurama)

Disparities in the tradition and how it is practiced temper Mangaian tamariki 'ängai like refining fire, however, this is not to condone the misuse of power to strengthen human character or suggest that non-‘ängai Mangaian affiliates have idyllic households.

In an ‘ängai relationship, metua participants are bound together like the intricate lashing that binds the blade to the haft in Mangaia's ancient ceremonial adzes, or the lashing that bound together teams of ancient warriors back-to-back in order to strengthen the combatants and thus, improve the survival outcome of each. Together, Mangaian society, and members of the adoption triad, internally drive, impede and manipulate the practice of tamariki 'ängai in a globalised world that also influences Mangaian people and their traditions.

This chapter raises difficult issues for Mangaians. The emotions and disparities conveyed by my informants, fuel a need to secure and protect the rights of Mangaian tamariki 'ängai in an increasingly complex world. Some of the quotes by my informants make this chapter stand as a sentinel alerting that tamariki 'ängai from the 'silent era' are not tabula rasa. I begin with an overview of generalisations and universal dilemmas, and then cover perspectives of the adoption triad and affiliates presented by my informants.

Universals

The tradition carries a reputation for manamaneta for the three members of the adoption triad: "There's always a problem with the 'feeding children" (Te Ruru A Rama). "Ngao ua atu rai te manamanata i roto i te ngutuare, te mana o te metua angai e te inangaro o te metua anau" (Elena). This translates to 'There will always be a big problem in the home between the mana 'power' of the adopted parents and the love of the biological parents.' "There is always conflict," regarding "who gets the control" over the child; it doesn't end" (Elena). Although the adoption agreement is between the metua 'ängai and the metua 'änau, it has dissonant social ramifications for the community that can span generations if and when members of the
extended families for the two sides do not support unanimously the components of the agreement (Elena).

Mangaians are independent-minded, and achieving consensus in a group can be problematic:

That happened with my uncle. These are the tension between the [***] family ... some of the sisters are alright with the grandfather raising my uncle, but the others, are a bit dodgy about it." (Tiare Maori)

And because 'āngai placement situation is unique, the practice carries a reputation for unpredictability that leads to various insecurities. Under the same roof, successful metua 'āngai who negotiate multiple 'āngai situations can have as many individual verbal pre-adopt agreements as tamariki 'āngai with different benefits that may or may not be visible and openly expressed under the same roof.

Although they are in the background, extended family members are invested in the consequences of the agreement. If dilemmas manifest it can be in response to expectations rehearsed over the years by the benefactor that the recipient perceives as being realistic and is conditioned to expect, that differ from the outcomes as interpreted by the recipient. For example, land endowments verbally promised to a tamaiti 'āngai by a metua 'āngai may not operationalise following the demise of the metua 'āngai if the family of the deceased blocks the claimant from access to the land. Tensions persist until factors are resolved satisfactorily in an acceptable timeframe to the triad members who are affected or offended by the action, or until the offended individual comes to accommodate the infringement by either understanding or accepting the outcome, or by being recompensed for the loss.

It can happen that problems disrupt the adoption, and emotional fallout from this can take years to reconcile. Positive adaptation may be achieved following the individual reaching a pivotal point in either self-reflection sufficient to discover some benefit from the adverse situation or through having compensatory events in life or both. The time-frame for processing and resolving experiences over the years is individual and can take decades. Everyone lives with the consequences of the pre-adopt agreement that can span generations (Elena).

At the same time that the custom perpetuates family cohesiveness on some level, it alters perceptions of belonging. "O te tamariki 'āngai okena mai to'ou 'akapapa'anga no to'ou kāpua'anga" translates to "[a]doption gives you a different perspective on your genealogy" (Elena), "your family tree--from the day you were adopted" (Tanga'eo). This altered reality is something that the community must live with through perpetuity.

Some dilemmas inherent in the tradition result from tamariki 'āngai being genetically different than tamariki 'ānau. Difficulties develop when expectations for sameness are unmet
particularly if metua 'āngai without tamariki 'ānau are looking to experience parenting 'as if' the children are biologically theirs. The practice alters the identity lens through which life is viewed by both the tamariki 'āngai and the larger society. As the difference is overtly rehearsed by family and community, the tamariki 'āngai becomes socially and emotionally sensitised through the accumulation of little things: "[T]here were times when you didn't really notice, but there were little, you know, little things that I did notice" (Elena).

(B)ack in the islands we wrote a letter, we all wrote a letter to send ... my brothers and sisters, they got their letters back from my metua tāne 'āngai, and I got nothing, even though I wrote to him, too. You know, those are the little things.... (Ora)

Becoming a metua 'āngai is not an automatic right. Tensions can develop regarding competition, access and eligibility requirements. "It's a compliment to the friendship" to be asked, but people may refuse your request to 'āngai their tamariki if they consider that you are outside their close circle of eligible relatives and friends (Tiotio), or they just want to raise their own children (Angelia, Elena).

The tragedy of tamariki 'āngai is that changing ideologies dilute the identity and eligibility of this segment of society from accessing rights enjoyed by other Mangaians (Te Ruru A Rama). "It's not a perfect world" (Elena). At the very least, the tradition modifies an individual's sense of inclusive relationship with the primary family circle, even if only to widen it, that provides ongoing and adhering information and support exclusively to its members. At the most, the practice excludes tamariki from this connection, as Elena recalls about a metua tāne 'ānau: "[I]t was just like his name was never even mentioned, and it just wasn't talked about [other than] 'Oh, that man' or 'that family,' which I was quite saddened by." There was a presence that seemed off-limits (Elena). Living with missing links to natal family information can be awkward and unsettling:

That's the thing...I never got to talk things over with [Dad], you know, I never: 'How did I grow up there? What did you do? What did Mum do? What was Mum like'—and all that. I never had that time. I grew up, became [an adult] with my grandparents and they didn't say much about those kind of things. (Manu)

Again, each placement is individual, but it is somehow modified through the practice that ripples in the family and therefore the community, because in Mangaia, family is community.

The Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai installs punitive differences in community and lineage status that depend on cultural prescriptions. Being a tamaiti 'āngai strips a mata'iapo of birth order status while in the 'āngai family and depending on the family, possibly in the 'ānau family (Te Ruru A Rama). Birth siblings of the 'feeding child' may resent status
displacement if and when the tamaiti ‘angai visits the ‘anau family or returns permanently—
especially if the tamaiti ‘angai is like a stranger to the ‘anau siblings. Reunification can
represent awkward adjustments for young womb-mates raised apart when it represents a
shameful end to what might have been.

Birth status depends partly on legitimacy and contributes to the placement of the tamaiti.
The strength of the partnership status between the birth parents has an impact on the life of a
tamaiti ‘angai (Elena). The more stable the relationship, the more sense of legitimacy is
extended to children stemming from the partnership without being legally legitimate (Elena).
Tamariki ‘angai born to parents not in a stable relationship are vulnerable to social ridicule.
Adults in the community ridicule the tamaiti born outside of a stable relationship: "[I]t's not a
good thing to be called puti ... you know, jokingly ... it's hurtful when you're called that" (Maiata).
The term oriori is a more polite descriptor (‘Upa’anga1,2,3,4). Angelia describes
the shame of illegitimacy and the dilemma of hidden relations:

[M]y sister ... knew that we were sisters, but ... I didn't ... when I met her later on,
she was telling me a lot of things, why she couldn't tell me ... because of the
shame, the shame of it all. And also I think my mom, my real mom. Yeah, I think
she was a bit jealous when she found out that Dad had other children.

Being a Mangaian 'feeding child' compromises an individual's land security; land security
is very important to Mangaian identity. It is a birth right. Families expect metua ‘angai to
bequeath land to their tamariki ‘angai (Rangimōtia511114). Depending on the family, "it's
hard to guarantee that they will be safe when 'feeding parents' passed away" (Te Ruru A
Rama), because "most agreements made are verbally in Mangaia, and still now" (Miro2). The
potential for inheritance security depends on the individual metua and families in the
background of the adoption agreement:

[T]he bad family, they are not good, yeah. Say my tamariki, they will be angry
with that tamariki ‘angai. They say, 'Ah! Where you come from—where you come
from? We don't want to hear your voice in the meeting.' Yeah, while they are
having—'Hey, come on, you sit there, you are not a real tamariki from the family.
We cannot allow what you said—you have not, no say in this thing.' That's the time
... you going back to find your real family. yeah. It's better to get it from there.
That's the bad thing for the tamariki ‘angai, yeah. (Atuke)

Being a tamariki ‘angai changes the usual flow of inheritance, rank and mana. Status
depends on land holdings, inheritance and assets—things that a person represents. After years
of service, alumni tamariki ‘angai Tupuai returned empty-handed to the ‘anau family, from
the ‘angai family. Tupuai’s natal family laughed at [Tupuai]'s predicament and response: "I
didn't take anything from [the metua ‘angai]; I didn't take a land."

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Transmission of rank for Mangaia's traditional positions is by lineage through legal marriage, however, "[y]ou are not recognised if you are tamariki 'āngai to be, to one of those positions" (Tiotio). It depends on the families, but how people manage their practice influences guarantees. Mana is conveyed through lineage, names, land (Manu), rētita (Tarofan) and knowledge (Puroku Hall, personal communication, 26 April 2008). Vakevake explains how events and business acumen impact mana: "As a tamariki 'āngai grew up, it's all depend; it's all depend what is happening, but hopefully the change will be change to good, not the other way."

A time-bound universal dilemma dating back to the imposed western record-keeping and laws stems from confusion over communication regarding the difference between registering births and registering adoptions. Miro2 illustrates how dilemmas develop from this past confusion:

[L]ike grandparents going and registering instead of the mother, and they assume that he registered, that he adopted him, that's what I uh, because a lot of people in Mangaia or even the children that's been raised by other people, grandparents, has always thought that they were adopted by their grandparents or other people that raised them up. And now they have grown up and realised that they haven't been ... yeah, sometimes it upsets them ... because o' here they are all these years thinking, but then again because that's how the people, in those days, there was no such thing as ... adoption.

The tradition exacerbates already limited partnering options by imposing incest restrictions between 'āngai nest-mates, or else, "[y]ou will get a bad name" (Arera). "[W]e were brought up together and they are considered as my brother and sisters" (Angelia). Maiata discusses sanctions: "[I]t might ruin your relationship with the family or your 'feeding parents' might end up having contention in the family because of what you did ... I think it's an insult to both of you and probably to the family if that happens." Members of 'Uipa'anga4 expressed that it depends on the extent of the kinship between the siblings in the 'āngai home, but relationships that cross the cultural line of propriety can be tedious under one roof.

The practice of tamariki 'āngai expands and dilutes domestic loyalty as it compounds and integrates family obligations from just 'ānau to 'ānau and 'āngai families and potentially quadruples obligations when two tamariki 'āngai wed. Customary events or situations have cultural expectations for support by the 'āngai families that redistributes the wealth as it binds the participants. Examples might include hair-cuttings, birthdays, weddings, funerals, fund-raisers, and financial support if a family is going through difficulties. Angelia widens the scope of secondary obligations:

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Well, when you talk about two families, and then there's extended families, and then the in-laws; that's another family. Like now my [child]'s married to another culture. So when somebody dies, then that's another obligation.

The expanded network of support can represent either a financial burden or the loss of "borrowed" assets depending on the individuals and circumstances involved.

**Metua 'ānau perspectives**

Ara has been on both the giving and receiving ends of the 'āngai equation and tells that it is easier to be a metua 'ānau than a metua 'āngai, "because that's my baby." Community scrutiny is less if you raise your own child. 'Uipa'anga4 explains that when a child is shared with another family, the rest of the birth family members in the community keep a watchful eye on the child. Maiata, experienced in both metua 'ānau and metua 'āngai perspectives, describes another dilemma, the aftermath of giving away an infant:

Well, for me it was a, it's an empty feeling you have. You know especially during the first, say the first month or two? Because you had this little, you know, in your tummy and you nursed it for quite awhile, and for me it was a very empty feeling. You feel that a part of you is lost. So what I did is I used to always go and visit her. You know, the more I see her, the better I feel.

Maiata finds solace in the child's continued contact with the biological siblings and adds that "we've always felt ... that spiritually we were wrong to [give away a child]." Maiata explains further:

I don't think I would allow any of my grandchildren or my children to give out their children ... Because I feel it's wrong. It's not the right thing to do—I mean spiritually. When I look at it with a spiritual perspective ... sometimes I feel guilty myself because I ... had given one out which I shouldn't have.

In Mangaian dialect, Maiata expands on the experience of sharing a birth child:

I te oake anga au i taku tamaine ia angai toku tungane teia tetai au manamanata taku i na roto ana. Ua kite katoa au e aore teia i ngaropoina vave ana iaku no tetai tuatau roa. Te mea mua koia oki. E tangi – ua tupu tikai te tangi iaku no teia taku ka rave i taku pepe inara ia kite au e ka akono e ka inangaro tikai tona nga metua angai iaia. Na te reira i omai ite pumaana iaku. Te rua – E ngere. Ua kite au e kore ake rai e opinga tetai ua ngaro mei te rae atura e e ngai tetai iaku ua ngaro. Te toru – Ua kite au e aore oku pirianga – tikaanga akao e iaia. Kā riro taku i rave e i tara i te reira pirianga no maua. Te tikaanga – Ua kite katoa au e te tikaanga i riro maua e i metua nona ka ngaro te reira. Ua kite katoa au e i te ngao anga mai aia me aravei matou kore ake e aore aia i kite ia maua. E mea tangi tikai teia ia maua e ia katoa. Tataraara – I te ngao anga mai aia tuke rai tona tu me te au tamariki te maua i akono. I toku kite anga i teia ua tupu te tataraara iaku no tei oke
au iaia na tetai e angai. Note mea aore tona turanga tukatau, te kite e te maoraora i aite i te au tamariki ta maua i akono. (Maiata)

Maiata’s Mangaian dialect translates to:

When I gave my daughter to my brother as a ‘feeding child,’ these are some problems I went through. I knew that I would not forget this gifting of my child. The first thing was the emotional feelings: I was emotional about giving away the baby. However, I believed that the baby would be looked after and loved by the foster parent. The second thing is that this knowledge that my brother would look after and love the baby comforted me in my sacrifice, although a part of me is gone, missing, lost when I gave my child.

The third thing is I realised that the tie between me and my daughter is broken by my action. I have no right over her anymore because as a mother, I have cut those ties between or separated the mother-daughter link. I realise that I have also broken the link between the parents and the child. It’s a very emotional feeling for that separation between the parents and the daughter and we have to live with the emotional consequences of our actions. I realised that the daughter that was given away was different than the children that we raised—in nature, character, her personality is different from the children that we brought up. When I saw this difference, I actually realised that it was because I gave her. I regret that I gave away the child because we see that she's different in her nature and appearance. She lacks the same confidence, happy disposition. She is not open, carefree and secure.

Tarofan recalls a similar loss:

You know, giving away your child, it’s really hurts, because you can see it next door to you. Yeah. But, for me it's very hard to give my baby, not like a piece of paper that you have to throw it outside. I love my children. And I know they, they know me [as their birth mother] ... But you go back sometimes and think about that, eh? You got someone else it's belong to. It's not there, you know? ... I think her often. Sometimes when I sit independent, I thought about her. Most of the time when I sit without doing nothing ... one night, I saw my daughter in my dream. She was calling, looks like I was happy I was there. She called me Mom ... the other night I slept about her. I saw her in my dreams that she was hungry. And I thought, 'Oh, I'm over here. Maybe I'm eating too much and she's suffering for hungry.' So I cried. I wished that I could be with all my children one day to be together.

Tarofan suggests that there are different levels of loss in the tradition by telling an important distinction between "give the baby" (as a tamaiti 'āngai) and "to give away the baby for them to register: Oh it's a little bit difficult." Inano defends another important distinction: "I didn't give him up. They asked me if they can look after him because they don't want me to look after him" due to being a young metua 'ānau (Inano).

It can be painful and isolating for metua 'ānau who challenge cultural practices (Angelia) when family expects its members to adhere to practices established for them as normal. Tapu predictions may conflict with a metua 'ānau's desire to raise their own family: "It's not a bad
curse; that's how they see it that time, but they don't realise the pain later on" [in not being permitted to raise tamariki ʻānau] (Angelia). "I was spoiled and they were going to do that to me" (Angelia), which implies that the family was going to require Angelia to give her baby to them. The Mangaian custom of naming inhibits the practice of tamariki ʻāngai: "I felt that because [the metua ʻāngai] looked after me, I will look after this child" rather than providing the child as requested by the metua ʻāngai (Angelia). Or it may be that "they love their children and don't want to give their children away" (Mirol). Honouring a grandparent by allowing the grandparent to name a baby and providing its access to that grandparent weakens parental rights to retain and raise their ʻānau child (Angelia). "[O]ur relations didn't agree with me at the time; we need, we want to keep it to us" (Tanga'eo). Other parents may only be allowed to retain their tamaiti due to dire complications at birth that require extensive medical interventions (Mako).

Relinquishing tamariki may be necessary for parents who out-migrate. Travel costs can prohibit outmigrating with the child for the job or schooling (Te Ruru A Rama). "We will never forget those days ... it was horrible thinking about them all alone" (Te Ruru A Rama). Vakevake recalls the ramifications of early relinquishing due to outmigration:

[S]ome of the little ones don't know me. Mmm. That's a sad thing. Yeah. The little ones don't know me—my one year, two years. Yeah. Yeah.

Another dilemma is that grandparents may discourage their own tamariki from relinquishing grandchildren to spare their children the pain they felt in leaving their tamariki behind to out-migrate (Te Ruru A Rama). However, over time, Te Ruru A Rama reconsiders: "[W]e've been thinking all along as we grew older, why can't we have somebody within the family to help with the housework, or otherwise"? The inconsistency presents a dilemma if those whose offers were previously declined are disappointed with the reversed decision.

Behaviour outcomes resulting from differing parenting styles between the metua ʻāngai and metua ʻānau may have an impact on marital harmony between the metua ʻānau:

Sometimes there's ups and downs with us. He always say to me, "Oh, it's all my fault" for letting my parents take our [child] and now looks like he want it back with us because it's, I don't blame him, it's different when grandparents brought up grandchildren. They really spoiled. Yeah. Their behaviour is different than the one we brought them up. (Tumunu)

There is a strong potential for land ownership-based conflict within families linked to inheritance claims. Metua ʻānau are aware of potential tension developing between birth,
step-, and adopted siblings (Vakevake), stemming from myriad reasons. Vakevake hopes that the good relations between family members will continue. A metua 'ānau starting a new relationship may relinquish tamariki in favour of attempting to blend step-families (Miro2).

Reunions with tamariki 'āngai can be awkward for metua 'ānau. Tumunu describes a reunion with a birth child living abroad with metua 'āngai:

[W]hen I saw her again, I already had another daughter with my [previous partner]. Yeah, it was a bit different. It's not like how I was so close to her, when I had her, yeah ... she called them Mum and Dad ... for me I, I feel funny. I always tell her, oh, because I never hear her call me Mum; I never hear her call me my name or "Auntie" or whatever. No.

Maiata discusses rejection metua 'ānau may face for having relinquished a child:

[S]ome tamariki 'āngai, when you give them away, they will never, never, never recognise you as their own, as the real parents. Some of them would turn around and say, 'You didn't want me'—you know, that sort of thing. And it's hurtful. And then some of them would never forgive their parents for giving them away ... Even though if the parents' motive is not as bad, it's not that, but that child feels like it. He was given away and because the parents didn't want him, or her.

Years later, grandparents may feel guilty for giving away tamariki 'ānau if as adults, their children refuse to provide the grandchildren as tamariki 'āngai (Tangi).

Inter-racial marriage is a disincentive to the practice because it is less likely that an inter-racially mixed couple involving one Mangaian will relinquish a child, than if the couple is both Mangaian (Angelia).

**Metua 'āngai perspectives**

My data shows that 'feeding parents' or those wanting to become metua 'āngai, face many dilemmas in their adoption careers. Tiotio tells that obstacles of availability or willingness thwart the practice: "[N]o one else in the family to bring him up" or "nobody asked." People may not want the child (Rangimōtia511114), or additional children (Tarofan). Tania remembers a birth-day surprise: "So when the child was born in the hospital, my father-in-law rang my husband if we can [come for the] baby. That's how we started off to 'feed' the child" (Tania). The amount of work required to bring up a tamariki 'āngai or the tamariki 'āngai's behaviour may discourage a metua 'āngai from acquiring additional tamariki 'āngai:

I'm finish for the first one is making trouble, eh? So he asked me if you want his child, so I told him no. I don't want—I'm finished. (Arera)
Many factors can impair a metua 'āngai's opportunities to receive a child. A request for a 'feeding child' may be declined if the individual has a history of domestic violence (Maiata). The issue of who initiates the adoption is important as it can be construed as a ploy for land acquisition (Manu), or it can compound disappointment when the initiate rescinds the decision: "[T]he thing is, they really hurt me, because they, they rang me first, because I was looking forward to have that baby" (Tumunu). The pain from this loss can last for years:

[T]hat [***] grow up now ... I met [***] at the uh community gathering ... And then, you know, that feeling—there's hatred in me on the other side because inside me, 'Oh you supposed to be mine.' Yeah. But on the other side I was saying to myself, 'Oh, it's alright,' you know. And then I tried to talk to [***]. I said to [***], 'Oh, does your dad come and see you?' And [***] said to me, 'Oh, which one—my birth dad or my other dad?' And I said, 'Oh your birth dad.' And [***] goes to me, 'Oh how did you know my dad?' And I said, 'Oh your dad and I are cousins,' and that's the time I bring it out. I spit it out. That's the time I said to [***], 'Oh, you supposed to be my baby.' But I think [***] doesn't really understand. [***] was too young to know. Yeah ... No, I never forget. But once I, once I told [***] that day, I feel released. Yeah. I feel released—that hatred, you know how I hate my [relative] for giving [***] away instead of for me, yeah, looks like it's been, I feel OK from that day. (Tumunu)

Hopeful metua 'āngai can be disappointed when the metua va'ine 'ānau decides that she has bonded too strongly whilst nursing her infant to give away the promised baby.

Claiming the baby from the metua 'ānau can be another sad experience:

So when that day happened, I came after my work. I came in pick her up, all the things in the car. That was another sad thing I saw. It was alright going down in the car, and then we were on the way to go, I looked through the mirror. I saw her looking, eh? But then, I have to be strong, myself. So I keep on going. I never come and see her, see them. The weekend, she came over, just to see how the baby was. And she asked me if she can feed her. I said 'Yeah, you can feed her.' Then after like that late that evening, we brought her back; that was from there. (Mata)

Acquiring tamariki 'āngai may be tenuous, but not being able to keep it is another painful issue if metua 'ānau change their mind and return to reclaim the 'feeding child' (Inano).

Another major dilemma is, when and how to tell the tamariki 'āngai that they are not tamariki 'ānau due to concerns that the tamariki 'āngai might choose to return to the 'ānau family:

[O]ne time he used to work in the shop where [***]'s shop is now. I used to take my [***], take [***] to the shop. He always kiss [***], and give uh, what you call, lollies or twisties to [***]. But never told ... before, you know, I was selfish. Yeah, I don't want [***] to know that's [***] dad ... Because I thought, oh when they grow up, they're going to leave me; they have to go back to their own parents. That's what I think ... I was afraid so that they won't come back to me. (Tipani2)
Arera explains about insecurity and proximity to the 'ānau household:

[S]ome tamariki 'āngai never has seen their parents until they are married, or, because they are never told by their metua 'āngai or metua va'ine 'āngai ... if they are on the island, it's very easy near; it's very easy for them to go back....

Disclosing birth information to a 'feeding child' involves the issue of timing and risks possible retribution:

I think when she was ten, that's why when I tell her, because what I know, I have to tell her one day, that uh, she's uh my 'feeding girl,' which I didn't want her to get hurt, yeah, because like otherwise like other kids, they got fed from other families, eh? If they found out that, it hurts them and they, you know, it's like they get back to you—to the 'feeding parents.' Get back to you and they're going to go to their natural parents then. But I know that tell maybe she heard somewhere, but I told her that. I told her first. (Mata)

Sue Ngatokorua explained (personal conversation. 21 May 2007) how conscientious she and her husband were to raise their tamaiti 'āngai in a supportive atmosphere of openness about the 'āngai arrangement so as to offset potential problems. Even so, the tamaiti 'āngai told them years later of feeling convinced early on of having done something very wrong to warrant being given away by the metua 'ānau (S. Ngatokorua, personal conversation, 21 May 2007).

In the course of parenting, metua 'āngai can experience awkward situations such as Mata describes during a visit by the metua 'ānau:

Yeah, I said ['***], when you want to go back to Auntie?' She said, 'No. No Mum, I'm happy, I don't want to go,' til the day she left, til the day the natural mother leaves the island, which is a bit awkward to me ... I feel funny about it ... because I thought she'll be having two sides, like picking the natural mother as the best ... but then, I knew ... I felt confident that's she'll be looking on to me in the future.

Metua 'āngai fear of rejection can influence parenting styles. There is a trend toward permissive 'āngai parenting:

[T]he 'feeding children' is becoming more and more big thing ... especially in Mangaia ... they love those children, grandchildren. But they are 'feeding children' to them, and they can let them do what they want. It's different with their biological children, the way they treat them. They love their grandchildren more than their biological children. They love the tamariki 'āngai ... it does not belong to them; it belongs to their children, to their daughters ... They are free to do what they want, what they like ... because they love them. (Te Ruru A Rama)

"[S]ometimes they fear their child might leave them, or they fear that they are not giving the child enough care and security, and so they sort of cling on him and sometimes it causes them
to leave" (Maiata). Other 'āngai parents use a more authoritarian approach: "Some metua 'āngai continue to retain control over the lives of their tamariki 'āngai until death" (Tania).

The practice can be very painful to metua 'āngai launching tamariki 'āngai. Arera addresses adjustment and loneliness:

Another manamanata is for yourself when the child is away. Maybe you will get sick or heartbroken, or something like that. I think that will happen if you love your child. That's another big manamanata.

Te Ruru A Rama discusses the difficulty of separating from tamariki 'āngai.

So we have to let him go so that we can struggle, you know. Sometimes healing takes a long time. But we have to go through this process and it will be the same thing to him ... we know that we cannot keep him to ourselves forever.

Another dilemma in the practice is if and when the metua 'āngai disrupts the adoption for not having a good 'fit':

I did have once a [relative], but I wasn't good to her ... You know I was strong ... I realise she wasn't mine. It's not from me. And I took her back to her parents. I said to them, I can't love. She's been with me for quite a while, long time. I dress, buy clothes for her—everything, treat her like my own daughter. I can't love her. I never seen the love there for her. Never seen the bond. (Ora)

Mangaian tamariki learn about death early and get on with life. Tamariki 'āngai may experience multiple caregivers dying and subsequent shifts, such as Tanga'eo, who states: "[W]hile my ... uncle was alive, I used to stay there, and when my uncle died, I [return] back home again." Tanga'eo's metua tāne 'ānau also passed away prematurely.

Advanced age in metua 'āngai adds another layer of dilemmas. Metua 'āngai who change their mind from an earlier decision not to acquire additional tamariki 'āngai may find that it is too late, as Arera describes:

I'm still wanting to [adopt] if someone will give us one now, but uh, I think uh it's late. We are getting old. Maybe we can't do what we have done before to our first one. I think it will be different. Not that our love will not uh disappear from the second one, but uh, I think it applies to our age, eh? Not like before. But I think we can manage to look after if someone want as to take care of the children, eh? or child. We are ready to do that.

Other hopeful metua 'āngai regret having taught their tamariki 'ānau not to give away their children:

Very strong love there for my children, so I didn't even give them away. I didn't even want them to give their children away and now, I'm asking for their children,
and they say, 'Mum, you already told us, when we have our children, don't give your children away and don't give it to you, Mum.' (Ora)

Maiata correlates discipline and outmigration by the aging *metua 'ängai* with vulnerability:

I think especially with older people, they shouldn't be raising *tamariki 'ängai* ... because the older you are, sometimes the *tamariki 'ängai* will use you—you know, they sneak and they take off ... take advantage of their parents and sometimes, if you're *tamariki 'ängai* and your real parents are [abroad], and you come [abroad], you would take off. I mean, you would probably go back to your own parents and live there, instead of staying ... with the 'feeding parents.' So that happens; they take off, especially if you're too, too hard ... strict on them. They take off ... Run away and just to get away from you and home ... I feel that if the *tamariki 'ängai* had been well looked after, well disciplined and well taught by the 'feeding parents,' then that boy or that girl wouldn't have any problem with facing the challenges that might come his way.

Outmigration and advanced age can necessitate multiple placements for *tamariki 'ängai*:

[My *metua 'ängai* raised them. So when he come to New Zealand, he brought those [*tamariki 'ängai*] with him. So he's too old to look after them, so we take over. (Inano)

Inano describes family dilemmas from inheriting a multiply-placed *tamariki 'ängai*:

[The knowledge of kids are changing when you talk to them, they just—their words are disrespectful. Can see [my] grand[child] doing that on us, but in our days when my *tamariki 'ängai*—do what they want—no turning back or say bad things and asking you what [they] want that ... greedy—yes, that's the word, stubborn ... grandchildren in Mangaian is OK, but this one makes problem. What I know in those days about children: Nine p.m. *pate* [carved wooden slit-drum, tapped to announce curfew in previous years]. Now no curfew. The children those days are good—no trouble.

Age, changing environment and replacing authority contribute to household tensions and troublesome behaviours by the *tamariki 'ängai*:

I think they got uprooted from something that they were comfortable with, and then they had to sort of adapt when they came here. And I don't think they were used to it because they were older children. They weren't babies so they weren't, yeah, they sort of rebelled. (Mako)

The aging *'ängai* household contributes to problems in families and the community:

Some people, yes, they adopt children in their old age, but then, they died when the children were young. So that's the danger. Sometimes we have to really think when not to adopt or when to adopt a child. Old age is no good ... Sometimes, that's when some of those 'feeding children' were left alone when they were so young, by the 'feeding parents,' because they were adopted when the 'feeding parents' were too old, unless there were relatives, close relatives that can take care of the child. (Te Ruru A Rama)
Tiotio notices a change in Mangaian longevity: "[V]ery few people live to seventies or eighties" which likely influences Mangaia's practice and the lives of tamariki 'āngai.

Inheritance issues can be awkward in a family and community if a tamariki 'āngai voluntarily returns to the natal home prior to emancipation, while the metua 'āngai is living. Tania explains that the decision regarding the tamariki 'āngai receiving inheritance in this situation "depends on me, if I'm happy, he still got the land. If I'm not happy, then I won't give the land to him." The former metua 'āngai retains ultimate control over family land.

Angelia suggests that it is more difficult to have a tamariki 'āngai living [abroad] "because there's always going to be jealousy" [abroad], especially if social services deem the biological grandparents unfit to look after the child. Such a decision can create bad feelings between the families when expectations of eligibility are over-ridden by government agencies (Angelia). Mangaians do not like to be marked as unfit parents (Angelia).

It can be a dilemma if the practice conflicts with affiliated church guidelines and personal attitudes (Miro1; Miro2). Community attitude influences the practice:

If I don't register her, that's too bad for me. That's because I don't want the child. There's another saying go around, eh? I don't want the child. I heard that. I don't want it, just treat her like that and when she grow up, leave her like that to find her own life. (Asera)

**Perspectives between metua**

Manu explains that since the advent of birth control and family planning information coupled with available and improved health care, medicines and lower infant mortality, Mangaians are limiting their family size. These factors combine with labour-saving technology to ease domestic chores required to maintain the reduced number of children available to 'āngai (Manu). Whereas historically, children represented a labour asset in Mangaian culture and added political clout to "good" families, now children are a financial liability (Maiata) that parents may not be able to afford (Manu). In today's world, having abundant tamariki is a disincentive to seek additional tamariki 'āngai because "the more kids you have the harder it is to look after them, dress them, and all that sort of thing" (Maiata). "That's probably why they didn't give more of us away, because nobody wants, you know, they've got their own" (Maiata).

Still, people may not want to relinquish their progeny and refuse requests for different reasons, according to Mata. There are risk factors in sharing or giving a child that metua 'ānau assess in a potential metua 'āngai:
What are they going to do with my child? ... or ... if they are giving their child to the right person ... How can [they] look after the child? How can [they] 'feed' it? How can [they] teach her, because that's another thing ... [they] are the first teacher (Arera).

Metua 'ānau may not trust their spouse's parents as metua 'āngai for their tamariki (Tumunu) which then warrants developing a refusal strategy that will not offend family.

Another dilemma is the feeling of helplessness marginalised members feel in arrangements under the tradition: "[T]he other seven were not given out ... it was sort of like, taken ... one of my sisters, the family on my mother's side just came and pfft! 'This is mine,' you know?" (Manu). Some disrupted adoptions amount to "capture," when a grandparent claims custody of tamariki 'āngai, overruling the wishes of the metua 'āngai and undermining trust between the involved family members (Tipani).

Although a permanent arrangement may be the intention, some metua 'ānau retain leverage over the metua 'āngai, contributing to uncertainty and anxiety in the latter:

They never know, because you are natural parents, you like your child brought up right. Like what you are bringing up your own. If they sees that other 'feeding parent' doing wrong to their kid, they're going to take it away. (Mata)

The persistent tension between the metua 'ānau and the metua 'āngai has to do with the love of the birth parents and the power of the adoptive parents over the tamaiti 'āngai; "it never stops" (Elena). Shifting jural rights includes responsibility and the chance for blame: "[I]t's their responsibility—anything that goes wrong, it will be us who will blame them" (Te Ruru A Rama).

Sometimes people change their minds. Tumunu give two examples of arrangements evolving unexpectedly between metua. In the first, the metua 'āngai is in control:

My [relative] took our [child] when [***] was one, nearly two years. Just because I was working and no one to look after, when [my relative] took my [child], and, but the deal was we didn't give it away for them. The deal was, oh, [***] can come back and visit us, or when we want [***], we are free to get [***] back. But now, looks like they don't want to give it back.

In the second example, the metua 'ānau controls the arrangement:

Oh, I was so excited ... I was definitely wanted a [child]. And then I start buying the baby's clothes, and then they had the baby. They rang me from the hospital. Oh, it was really shocking, and I cried at work—they changed their mind—they gave it to another ... that one can't have kids.
It can also be painful for the metua āngai after the child is placed, with all the emotion, time and vested energy in infant care, if the metua ānau rescinds the agreement and reclaims the child:

That was a surprise. It was hard for my parents ... And then from that time it was like, sort of like, they hate them for taking the baby away from us. Yeah ...[*3] was one year with us. (Tumunu)

There may be a major difference of opinion between the metua dyad about permanency: Some metua ānau out-migrate thinking that they are just leaving behind their children with temporary caregivers, such as Vakevake arranged: "I never think of giving my children away ... no we never thought of giving our children away [permanently]." However, the grandparents see their role as bona fide metua āngai looking after their tamariki āngai grandchildren (Vakevake). Te Ruru recalls a similar situation:

[T]hey knew that we will come back, and they will come with us. But my father, because he loved our daughter, he told my mother, just before he passed away, that when we come to Mangaia, don't let our daughter go with them, but my mother couldn't do much. I said no. So when he passed away, that was when our daughter came and lived with us. She grew up there and she always say that that is her parents, (chuckle) not us. She tried to ignore us ... even now, she doesn't call us, 'Mum' and 'Dad,' but she always remember my father and my mother—that's her real parents.

Knowing the pain of relinquishing a child is enough that some grandparents refuse pressure by children to āngai the mokopuna:

[W]e know in the past what will happen to the parents ... they will always remember their daughter, and it will affect their life. Even for us, by the time these grandchildren go back to their parents, what is left for us? It's the pain ... It's only when you go through this experience then, that's when you know.... (Te Ruru A Rama)

A dilemma for the practice that is consequential to outmigration is inter-cultural marriage, especially into a society that does not freely practice informal adoption, as it lessens the incidence of the Mangaian practice if the non-islander spouse opposes sharing tamariki for adoption (Angelia).
Perspectives of metua 'ānau and tamariki 'ānau who are tamariki 'āngai in another home

The metua 'ānau can be a barrier to the tamaiti 'ānau raised as a tamaiti 'āngai (Kuramai). "I feel that there are a lot of adopted children whose stories are similar to mine," states Kuramai who admonishes parents not to use the power of extended family ties as a means to settle marriage problems. Marriage problems is not an excuse to dish out eight children to members of the family for grabs. It is more or less a forced adoption imposed upon the child and the receiving family for that matter. Children are powerless when two parents cannot put their differences aside and commit themselves to hold the family together with both hands; suffer together the ups and downs of life until come the time they pull through. Children will know coming from deep inside, the sacrifices parents make for their sake.

Metua 'ānau Te Ruru A Rama explains that it can be painful to the birth parent when a tamaiti 'ānau rejects the metua 'ānau in favour of the metua 'āngai. Metua 'ānau who felt it was wrong to give away a child after the fact, may feel guilt if that child sets up barriers to isolate themselves from the entire 'ānau family. Tiare comments on the behaviour of tamariki 'āngai toward their birth parent and the reaction of the birth parent:

The mother always said, because you look after them well, that's why they don't care about us, (yeah, the real parents). The mother always laugh when she comes over to Mangaia, when she sees those boys, the way they treat her.

Painful feelings can arise from separation due to outmigration:

[I]t make me feel hurting and sad ... because as I left them behind, you know, well I wasn't able to care for them. Made me to understand as I was working, I get money, I get kai [food] for them, like bread ... But over here, they talking about you didn't 'feed' me, all that, you know, those things came up, 'Where were you? One of the [children] was saying, 'Where were you? Why did you leave me behind?' You know, that's the thing I was saying; it's hurt me because I hate to, you know, because I break the family. (Vakevake)

Metua 'ānau see that their tamariki 'ānau undergo changes as tamariki 'āngai under the care of metua 'āngai:

The daughter was spoiled by the grandparents and forgot all her housekeeping skills. She doesn't know what to do ... Even our lastborn, all his teeth were just trunks, you know. The real teeth were gone. Why? Because he eat lollies, all those sweets my parents feed him, because they loved him. (Te Ruru A Rama)

A child spoiled by the metua 'āngai may come back to the 'ānau household with a bossy attitude (Kuramai).
Metua 'ānau that want to build a relationship with the tamariki 'ānau they previously gave away, may have to delay doing so as some tamariki 'āngai prefer to wait until after their metua 'āngai die before their hearts turn to their metua 'ānau: "I don't have any feelings with my māmā 'ānau; even that time until now when [metua 'āngai] have gone, it the time I go back … then I had my feelings about my mother, not before" (Tipani2).

**Perspectives of either metua and tamariki 'ānau versus tamariki 'āngai**

Raising adopted children with birth children can be problematic in several ways; Experience correlates differences in both treatment and outcomes in tamariki raised in the same household: "[I]f he treat the tamariki 'āngai differently and our own, we treat well, ah there'll be problems." Maiata illustrates a different perspective on the sting of favouritism:

[S]ometimes … parents like the tamariki 'āngai better than their own. Maybe their own children are cheeky and all that sort of thing, but they … like the tamariki 'āngai better and that causes the contention between the tamariki 'āngai and the tamariki 'ānau. I think it's, yeah, some jealousy, because sometimes the tamariki 'ānau said, feels like they just come in and has no right to be in … so they have something against the tamariki 'āngai.

A dilemma for metua 'āngai may be why their tamariki 'āngai prove more supportive toward them over time than their tamariki 'ānau:

[Y]ou know, sometimes you see them at the bank at Christmas time, or at the plane, getting something off there, and they always—'Oh it's from ...' and they always say things like, 'Well, look I have eight children, but it's the one whom I fed is giving this,' you know, that sort of thing ... it's sad to know that uh the children doesn't care about their parents, but it's nice when the tamariki 'āngai does. It's make a big difference, eh, to the tamariki 'āngai looking after the parents and the tamariki 'ānau doesn't. (Maiata)

Outcome differences regarding reciprocal attentiveness in later years can be disappointing:

[T]here nothing I born it looking after me. It's only my people, my tamariki 'āngai. That's why I say I hate my children. (Rangimōtia511114)

Inattentiveness can be attributed to distractions: "(chuckle) [T]hey have too many different partner—those children; they didn't come to me...." (Rangimōtia511114).

Blending nests is problematic due to the potential for inequitable feelings over time by the metua 'āngai toward the tamariki 'āngai and tamariki 'ānau:
You can love your niece and nephews, but don't adopt them. Why? ... Maybe you can love your own children, but you won't love your adopt children. Maybe you can love adoption children and you'll regret your own ... Those two things are different ... That's the thing I put into them, so ... I don't know how it's going to work—to love one and not love the other. (Cra)

Families experience tension when tamariki 'ānau do not want to share inheritance with tamariki 'āngai. Tania explained: "I want to share different sizes of land, but my [child] was too greedy—[***] wanted half of it, because it's still enough for them with a piece of land, a big piece of land."

**Perspectives of both metua and tamariki 'āngai**

Tamariki 'āngai may at some point want to establish contact with the absent metua 'ānau which can evoke varied feelings in both metua: When tamaiti 'āngai Mirol broached the subject of such contact "[the metua 'āngai] were quite quiet at times; so I presume at the time that they approve. They were not disappointed" (Mirol).

The case of a tamariki 'āngai who desires to return to the biological household becomes a dilemma in a small community if abuse is alleged against the metua 'āngai. If the charge was substantiated, community response would be mitigated by circumstances, such as the level and the frequency of the abuse (Tiotio) and most likely the age of the individuals involved. If returning home is not an option, other individuals in the community have been known to offer their home (Atuke).

**Perspectives of metua 'āngai and tamariki 'āngai**

The reality of, and response to, expectations can seem heavy to the participants. Metua 'āngai Kuramai recalls overhearing a tamaiti 'āngai remark:

'I'm stuck here.' And when [***] said that, I knew [***] was talking about [being] responsible for us. It's very emotional to hear [***] say that. (Kuramai)

Over-indulgence by metua 'āngai towards tamariki 'āngai has a social price: "To show our love to our grandchildren is by means of, for us, material things, which we know is no good. But sometimes, that's what they want" (Te Ruru A Rama).

[T]hey love those children, grandchildren. But they are 'feeding children' to them, and they can let them do what they want. It's different with their biological children, the
way they treat them. They love their grandchildren more than their biological children. They love the tamariki āngai, yes, their mokopuna, because they are tamariki āngai because it does not belong to them, it belongs to their children, to their daughters. And they look after and the love them. They just let them go. They just do what they want. They are free to do what they want, what they like. Because the 'feeding parents,' OK, OK, OK,' because they love them. (Te Ruru A Rama)

Primogeniture is strong in Mangaia, but the status of being the lastborn may also bring special treatment (Manu). Middle children are aware of treatment disparity.

'Āngai family dilemmas "depend on the family involved" (Tiotio):

The weaknesses is I think in some families, they try to ignore their tamariki āngai and not including them in their family as a whole ... They don't recognise the tamariki āngai as their, as part of the family. They try to treat them differently.... (Tiotio)

**Perspectives of tamariki ānau versus tamariki āngai**

Jealousy occurs within the tamariki ānau-āngai dyad:

Sometimes I get jealous, because when I look at it, they spoil them more than me...I mean, I can tell like they just, because they always say, 'Oh, it's alright for you,' I mean for me, because I'm their own. But those, the one they brought up, because like for me, I just want things to myself. Yeah. That was when I was little. (Tumunu)

**Perspectives of tamariki āngai**

**Identity**

Finding one's identity is as central to the humāi psyche, as eligibility is linked to opportunity in the Mangaia's tradition and social order. From birth, Mangaian identity is connected to lineage and land. A major dilemma for Mangaian tamariki āngai (and additionally for Rarotongans), begins when their legal connection to the land is weakened by āngai status (Te Ruru A Rama). The degree of relatedness between the āngai triad is directly proportional to the degree of land security and access to it experienced by the tamariki āngai. The lesser related tamariki āngai are the ones trying to position themselves so they can have access to the family's assets of the person who brought them up (Manu). For some tamariki āngai, having multiple names and flexible āngai protocol adds confusion about whether to retain the āngai or ānau name for legal purposes (Elena). Identity problems compound when people get confused between birth registration and registering an adoption, and they claim the latter occurred, but have no documentation to support their land claims (Manu). Flexibility in
acquiring additional names blurs genealogy (Miro). Moreover, some tamariki āngai attempt to claim membership in both the ānau and āngai family circles (Manu).

Maiata explains that "if it's a 'good' family, then you'll be alright," but "if you are adopted into a 'no good' family, who doesn't really care, then that's when you will be in trouble," because being adopted by someone who was a tamariki āngai (or their birth child) is another step removed from land security (Maiata). Miro explains "if it's family, then you'll be adopted into a 'no good' family, who doesn't really care, then that's when you will be in trouble," because being adopted by someone who was a tamariki āngai (or their birth child) is another step removed from land security (Maiata).

The common marginalising argument cited to 'feeding children' claiming land is, "You're just a āngai..." (Miro2). The situation described may require the tamariki āngai to return and fight for inheritance rights from the ānau family (Te Ruru A Rama).

It's in the blood. I'm still your blood. Nobody is going to take that away. I love [my father] no matter what. (Kuramai)

Constructing identity, tracking genealogy and finding inclusion reveal values and complicate life for the tamariki āngai in discovering fit and then fitting into what can be a confusing, even if nurturing, kin-scape. "[A]s tamariki āngai, we don't quite understand what's really happening" (Taro fan). "When I grew up, I don't know what is going around in the home" (Tipani). "[I]n the back of my mind, I knew I had a brother, but a sister, no; I didn't" (Elena).

The practice of tamariki āngai changes natal affiliates and avenues to privileged family lore and intimate natal information that bind relationships. Manu bonded to metua āngai grandparents and knew the metua ānau too briefly to learn "How did I grow up there? What did you do? What did Mum do? What was Mum like?"

That afternoon... my sister arrived. But I didn't know she had another name ... and that was the first I knew that, that time, that day. You know, there were a lot of things that came to my mind much later on that I, things that most normal sisters would know from their—what your sister likes, what's her favourite colour and, you know, normal things like that. (Elena)

Hunger for details of identity can heighten the tamaiti āngai's attunement to casual comments made by family:

The one thing I yearn for, is the idea of knowing who my mother is. And I don't have that, and yet here's this person saying to me, 'Oh you look exactly like your mum.' You know, I go home and I try and process all this, and I try and think, well how old is she, and when could she have met my mother, and I don't even recall anything about her. I mean this, this just happened ... And I say to myself, well how would you know what my mum looked like; I, I mean I'm coming up [over 50
years. She died when I was only a couple years old—how would you know? Maybe they do ... but like I say with the people, genuinely know, whether they're making polite conversation, whether they're thinking of me as somebody else ... there was another auntie, she said to me, she says, 'Oh, finally we meet again.' I'm thinking, hmmmm, where do—I missed a lot.

Some tamariki 'āngai never saw their metua 'ānau or know who they are: "But as I grow older, I heard oh, you know, 'That's from the other man, and that one,' yeah ... I think they thought that my parents were their own parents but now, they know it's not" (Tumunu). Because some children have successive placements, they "hardly knew their own fathers and mothers" such as Kuramai's brother who spoke about his mother at a family reunion, "I know her, but I don't know her."

Hidden identity occurs for many reasons including: "We never contacted him because we never knew where he was" (Maia). "We didn't tell them who is your brothers, your cousins, your aunties, your uncle ..." (Vakevake). Tania explains one response to discovery: "I didn't know it was my real brother and sisters, until I was about eleven years, but I, we always see them ... I felt sorry about them, and sometimes my feelings for them was not really close."

People drift abroad and apart and become lost to family. Relationships between tamariki 'āngai and tamariki 'ānau of the metua 'āngai can loosen over time (Tangi) and with the second generation of 'āngai progeny. The loss of this relationship can be a dilemma for tamariki 'āngai because tamariki 'ānau nest-mates in the 'āngai household can advocate on behalf of the tamariki 'āngai and their progeny's claim to 'āngai-family land. The land-problems for tamariki 'āngai worsen when metua hide relatives to keep the land to themselves:

[T]hey hide the other family, and they can also do that to the 'feeding children' when the new generation comes ... they will say to you, 'Oh, I don't know you; Where is your land? Where do you belong? I don't know where you come from.' (Te Ruru A Rama)

Vakevake sees a new role emerge in family reunions to address issues of hidden relations and provide missing genealogical links.

**Treatment, feelings and identity**

Tamariki 'āngai who believe that their metua 'āngai is their metua 'ānau may learn the truth unexpectedly, as Tania describes: "So we were playing games and we fought together and then [the half-sibling] said my step-mother was not my mother, and that's the time I noticed that she wasn't my real mother." Once a child learns that the parent that the child
thought was the birth parent is in fact the adoptive parent, that is when the child's grieving can begin (Tanga'eo). Elena explains that in Mangaian society it is customary for adults to signal outwardly their grief for something that is lost forever, ngākau 'aka'e'eva'eva, by wearing something such as a coloured ribbon or a piece of clothing with a particular colour that is meaningful to them and acknowledged as such by others. Children do not have this mechanism and thus the burden of their grief is often hidden from, or marginalised by, society (Tanga'eo).

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Tiare explains that light-hearted teasing occurs in the home and conveys identity differences from being tamariki 'ānau. The community plays an important part in treatment outcomes for tamariki 'āngai:

As children grow up, they start, because people in the islands, they, they talk about his father, or any other children that, because they say, 'Your father is so-and-so,' and what kind of a person he is, all those kind of things. So to me as children grows up and learn of their father, I mean their parents, their real parents, they will be interested to know about their real parents. (Miro2)

Altered families can confuse loyalties for children regarding who to listen to especially if tensions stem from control issues versus power. Tamaiti 'āngai Tania tells about the awkwardness in addressing metua 'āngai: "The thing is, I felt funny, I felt funny if I call her real name ... I mean if I call my real mother as a māmā, because I'm not get used to it." Tarofan recalls with a chuckle, "[F]irst time when I went back to my mum and dad, I don't want to call them 'Mum' and 'Dad,' because I used to be with my grandparents, Māmā and Pāpā ... so it's hard for me to call out 'Mum' and 'Dad.' But when I stay with them, together with them, so I learned to call them 'Mum' and 'Dad.'" Elena: "She wasn't Mom; she was 'Mama.'"

Treatment experiences reported by tamariki 'āngai informants show that there is a lineage hierarchy on Mangaia that can manifest in the way tamariki 'āngai are treated in the 'āngai household depending on the lineage the child represents (AJ). The firstborn in the hierarchy of grandchildren loses that status when the mata'iapō is fed out to another family (Te Ruru A Rama). Physical distancing from the nuclear family can be an argument for a cascade of challenges that happen to tamariki 'āngai from being raised by metua 'āngai, whereas, if an issue arises for a non-adopted individual, it is unlikely that the person attributes the event to being raised by natal parents.

Power differentials influence treatment, and recalling treatment history can be packed with emotion that influences lives. Putting a child into adoption is setting up the child for risk and complications in wellbeing and accessing "cultural inheritances" (Kuramai). Elena illustrates further in Mangaia dialect:
Tei runga i to'ou maroiroi e te pakari, i te ekono ia'au. Me tarevoke teta'i au mea i roto i te ngutuare ka apa taua. No reira ia mataite ua koe i te tiaki ia'au. E ngata ia taua irinaki au i ta taua tane/vaine me tae i te taime e noo tane/vaine e'i taua.

The English equivalent to this is:

It depends on your action and strength to look after yourself. If something is wrong in the home, you will be guilty. That's why we should be aware so you know how to look after yourself. We have to look after ourselves because of all the wrong things that happened to us in the past. Within us it will be hard to trust our husband or wife when the time comes you live as husband and wife.

Tamariki 'ängai treatment experience and opportunities such as education, depend on the 'feeding parents" values, encouragement and support (Maiata). "In some families, some grandparents, tamariki 'ängai are not treated fairly" (Miro2). Some tamariki 'ängai suffer because their metua 'ängai's do not seem to care about them (Maiata). Tamaiti 'ängai Tangi links later retribution to metua 'ängai's earlier treatment: "If she would have treat us equally, she will be somebody today." Although Tangi's grandparents were the people Tangi most admired in life, contact with them was forbidden by the metua 'ängai. Metua 'ängai may withhold information about the metua 'änau from the tamariki 'ängai for innumerable reasons such as insecurity about, or fear of, divided loyalties (Tipani2).

Tamariki 'ängai Tipani, was aware at the time that adults had the "right" to administer harsh physical punishment to tamariki 'ängai and tamariki 'änau with no intervention from the neighbours who heard crying and saw bruises.2 Eventually, Tipani was finally reunited with both metua 'änau and the first set of metua 'ängai after many years of not knowing where they were from not having contact information: "I get to know my real mum, and it's been sad and crying and hurting a lot of time when I go to sleep at night time, and because I really, really want to see my real parents—who they are and where they are ... that dream came true ... it was very overwhelming to see him, and it's very hurt" (Tipani). To Elena, being a female tamaiti 'ängai represented a security risk in that she felt that no one was looking out for her to the extent that she thought a biological parent would protect her, and consequently, she had to develop her own strategies to look after herself; "[t]rusting men is an issue of security" (Elena).

A significant dilemma reported by informants is equitable treatment by metua 'ängai toward 'ängai and 'änau siblings in the same household: "I think it's not equal; no, some have different bringing up of their tamariki 'ängai—some average, some are good, yeah" (Arera). Tangi remembers that "there is a big gap ... differences in between tamariki 'ängai and tamariki 'änau, in between my 'feeding parents'—yeah, how we were treated." The
community was aware of 'āngai household treatment differences: "Yeah, there's a lot of Mangaian people who understand what we've been through; there's a lot out there ... people out there knows what happened in our days" (Tangi).

[S]ome family that I know, tamariki 'āngai was brought up different; you could tell the different treatment between the tamariki 'āngai and the real kids. Some really bad, that I know, and that makes it different for the tamariki 'āngai, the difference between the two... it was painful. And of course they remember when they grow up, but sometimes, they don't have a choice. Where else are they going to go? Yeah, it's tough for some children. (Poro)

Metua 'āngai may divert gifts intended for the tamariki 'āngai or all the children in the household to only their tamariki 'ānau (Tangi). Taigi describes life in their household:

Whatever her other siblings get, it's for her kids, even though, it's like, my auntie shared for all of us, no. It comes to Mangaia. It comes to her lot.

Tangi describes privileges and favouritism:

The three got the luxury—what I mean by luxuries—they got this, they get this, they get that; they go there ... they go into the communities. We are not allowed to go into communities, girls' brigade or the boys' brigade, sports, her own go to youth, all those things, and we're at home. We're doing the hard bit of. Yeah. ... Well, even the resources I get, we'll be lucky to get something. Whereas, with the tamariki 'ānau, they got everything ... My cousins, the three, they get toothbrush, us four, no. Toothbrush.

Some tamariki 'āngai may sense favouritism between them by their 'feeding parents' that can result in the less favoured tamaiti not addressing the 'feeding parents' as "Mum":

It's the way they uh, like, I mean like most, ike my daughter, always my daughter respect me, and my tamariki 'āngai sometimes, they were raised [by] me—sometimes they never call me 'Mum.' They call me by my first name—I mean, the other, the other 'feeding child.' The reasons why I noticed is that my husband loves him more than our 'feeding child'—that's why (Tania).

Tanga'eo tells of treatment disparity in another 'āngai household:

[When] I say they got six kids, you're always number seven ... it's all the good food, they have to give it to them before they eat it; that's how they do things ... the first choice of something else, it goes to them ... My sister, because she brought up by my uncle, she became the labour of that family ... she accept that, as part of her life, and carry on with it.

Ora illustrates opportunity differences in an 'āngai home:

[T]here are things we were equal shared, but there are things we, you know, my sister gets, for example, like embroidery, you know, learning how to embroider. I
Tamariki 'āngai can have painful memories of feeling ostracised from the birth family and within the 'āngai household:

[W]hy should they give their kids to anybody to bring up? ... I was brought there for many reason, but my father never explained it to me. He never did explain it to me ... I was put there to slave ... I didn't like it. I hate a lot of people ... I was there just to be punished. I don't know, it was just hell. How can, how can a seven year old kid manage to live without ... biological parents around? ... You don't get the first plate. You wait for everybody to finish eating then you come second or even third. Those things, I can remember them. I can see them now, you know. I can see eating right underneath the tree and everybody else in the house—you're eating underneath this coconut tree. Uh, I'm starting to hurt now. (Tupuaia)

Tangi describes growing up "in the good and the bad of the practice":

Late at night we still out on the plantation—the four of us. Late at night. And that's school day after. It's not that easy ... I was supposed to go back to sixth form. I can't; I have to stay back and look after their ... daughter's kid, kids, one after another one. I was the one to stay home and look after them. What did I get in return? Nothing ... No naps, no nothing, no rest. You have to be on the move all the time. Where's their own?—sleeping inside the room, gone to visit their friends. After work, they can go and see their friends. We at home, doing the hard ... my brother has to take off, but if he does come back, we do get physically abused.

While Kuramai acknowledges the integrity in the intent of the practice,

there is always the other side of the coin, where we tend to sweep under the mat so to speak. A violent father will haunt a child emotionally and mentally. Domestic violence was a norm in those days and family would just let it come and go. Child abuse was common, but when a child is an adopted child there is always the idea of emptiness, longing for comfort, love and refuge, the inner person reaching out. (Kuramai)

Tarofan recalls leisure activity differences between the 'āngai grandparents and the 'ānau households: "[T]he only place that we have to go away from our home is inland, getting taro and then come back ... but I never, I didn't see us doing things like families, like the whole family went into the sea, no, until when I stay with my real parents at that time."
Tangi was not allowed friends or a social life in the 'āngai home, and was penalised for time away from chores to play sports:

[As] soon as that finish, you have to come back and do extra job on top of it ... I never get any chance to myself, any treats to myself, never. We have to stay at home ... Then when people comes, we have to go and get something for the people to eat. And you have to do your work, to be right there; and then come back from school straight away, you have to do some work.

Tamariki 'āngai consider reasons for treatment disparity:

Maybe they can't afford, maybe, because our parents over here, not sending enough to supply for us. Maybe. Maybe. They got their own reasons. But it's not fair, though ... In a way, I'm not sure I really blame; I'm not sure how I would really balance this, either. Today, when I look back, I don't want to think about it. But and again, I don't know who to blame, my parents—biological parents, or my 'feeding parents.' (Tangi)

Ample food was not a problem in the 'āngai household, but rather there was disparity in clothing, and educational and employment opportunities available between the tamariki 'ānau and tamariki 'āngai (Tangi).

Launching into adulthood can be a fragile, anxiety producing time for tamariki 'āngai.

But uh metua 'āngai never give us anything support us to start off. No, nothing at all. But of all the hardship we've been through with them, nothing. Mangaian people knows. Mangaian people knows out what we've been through. They know what we've been through. (Tangi)

Having no assets to launch into adulthood, Tangi and Tangi's birth sibling each met their eventual partners and built their lives without a supportive family.

Depending on a number of factors, tamariki 'āngai may feel abandoned or exiled when metua 'āngai pass away, if the older birth children in the family shut out the 'feeding children' who have no where else to turn for familial suppor: (Manu). Poro illustrates one response to feelings of abandonment: "My sister never wanted to retain her identity ... I think it's anger because my parents left her. She never want to retain her identity."

Being raised apart from siblings as a tamaiti 'āngai in a family without other children heightens the sense of isolation and loss of sibling relationships:

I've looked around at families who have sisters and brothers, and I used to kind of envy them. And I used to think, if you only knew how lucky you are, just to have that person that you can kind of talk to and share you troubles with ... there was always this kind of yearning, in the background at the time; you kind of think of what you could have had, as a relationship with a sister, yeah, brothers and stuff like that. (Elena)
Adult *tamariki āngai* who have out-migrated abroad and apart from birth family may be reminded of outcome comparisons between their experiences and their children's reality:

I look at my, our children. They see each other. They kiss each other and the grandkids kiss each other and they're close. I don't have that closeness with my own siblings. (Elena)

Tangi links apathy for *metua ānau* to interim contact during formative years:

I got no feelings for my mother, but I do for my father, because when I was young, Dad used to come back home to Mangaia. Mum never come back ... Dad used to come down and listen to us. Dad used to send money down to feed me and my brother. Mum, nothing at all. Yeah, so because my brother travels [abroad], he get to see mom, but not me. I never come [abroad]. No. Dad used to come down and see me. Yes. And when I was young, I can still remember my dad holding me ... when my mom meet my son, she asked for my son if she can look after him. I say no ... I felt that Mum's trying to make up for all those years, but it's already, it's like a scar on me ....

Tangi adds, "I got not feeling for [metua āngai], too. I just close my door for them, too, what I been through, yeah, what I been through" (Tangi).

Being a *tamaiti āngai* can feel unsettling:

[S]taying with people that are not of your own, there's times that you, maybe it's not the people you are staying with, it may be you or it may be me, just myself, you know I feel uh, um, um, lost sometimes, lost and I feel not as closely connected. But it's when you know, times like when I have to take, because during that time when I was going to school, sometimes we take things for, materials for sewing, and you know you come home and if it was your real parents, you would just go in there and say 'OK, I want some material.' But living with, you know, it's at that times that you feel that, you're not really connected as closely to the family because with your own parents you just go poof, and talk to them, but you know, but with others, you just hold back ... at certain times you feel that you're not really ... home, you know? (Maia)

Poro describes how and why feelings of exclusion from birth family relationships manifest:

[A]t times, my nephew ... gets angry with his parents ... because he feel like they didn't care ... he never called them his parents ... it makes the kids feel unwanted; and it keeps that anger in them until they grow up ... Even though they were loved by their grandparents, I don't think it's the same; I think it's the way they look at their other sisters or brothers, growing up with their parents, and then they look at themselves: they're not there, and that cut the bonds between those kids; they become two different families; even now they do, yeah, even now ... they just don't have that connection of being brothers together.

Tupuai describes isolation, servitude and the visibility of humiliation:
I didn't learn how to love anybody, because I wasn't given the opportunity to, to love anybody, because I was, it's like a barricade. There's other family on the other side and I'm on the other side. I'm always going to be there to cook, to get the *taro*, to get the food, to cook, that's how I always about that for many, many years. I suppose that's life for some ... I don't want to be called as a 'feeding child.' I just want to be called as a servant ... Because when I left her ... I didn't take anything from her for all those years that I've been with her. But when I decide to go back home, my parents, even my brothers laugh at me, because they said, 'What have you got?'—nothing.' They start laughing. Honestly, people will laugh at you because you come back with nothing, eh? Just your hands hanging down—nothing ... I don't want to talk about that sometimes. It hurts you. I felt, I feel that I was dumped in there. And you got to survive otherwise you come back in a body bag. That's how I felt at the time. But I decide to go back home and look for my biological parents....

Elena tells of loneliness and feeling ostracised:

[T]here's loneliness there for you because you kind of wonder what could have been, if you were with your own family ... Now and then it would crop up in some kind of conversation ... that goes on, 'Well, it doesn't really matter because you weren't even here,' [or] 'You weren't really here to pick up the pieces,' or 'You're lucky; you were just the privileged one; you're the special one ...' I think it was truthful in a way, but uh, but hurtful at times.

Tumunu recalls that *tamariki āŋaiai* get teased by school children about their *metua āninau* particularly when the child was conceived by *metua āninau* not in a stable relationship.1 Kuramai states that being denied claim to one's birth inheritance by a *metua āninau* feels like being disowned a second time. Some *tamariki āŋaiai* harbour life-long grudges against their *metua āninau* for relinquishing them to the *metua āngai* (Kuramai). For some *tamariki āŋaiai* the years of hurt turn to bitterness and resentment. "We don't want the children to end up with grudges; we need a family who loves each other and knows who they are" (Kuramai).

Tupuai recalls feeling disconnected from the natal household after disrupting the adoption:

[I]t was different ... when you go back to your own parents and your brothers and sisters. They treat you different because they never seen you before. That's another hurdle; going back to your own biological family—they treat you different because they don't know you.

Te Ruru A Rama addresses rejection, loneliness and insecurity:

I feel the spirit of rejection within the family. I feel it. Sometimes they express their love to you, but deep inside you, you feel there's some uh because we are sensitive to things that happened around us. Sometimes you feel lonely, in a home that is totally different what you were brought up, where you were brought up is totally different. Even my own brother looking after me—it will never be the same when I live with my father and my mother. But moving to other relatives and they look after you, is totally different ... He will be safe with his 'feeding parents' but when
he moves away from them, or when the 'feeding parents' passed away, I think it will be, he or she will be lonely, but it depends on the family.

"I find you're kind of left out a lot. I've always felt inferior ...." (Elena). Accordingly, Elena tells about visiting a sibling:

I remember going into this house, and my sister says, 'Well, this is where I live.' Anyway, I'd never seen this woman, and then I heard her say 'Tell that,' I just can't put it into English. 'Tell that girl, tell that girl to'... I can't remember whether she said tell her to go home or no ... my sister never said anything and then my sister said, 'Oh she's my ... teina [younger sister].' And that memory stuck with me.

Manu recalls mixed feelings for a metua tāne ēnau:

I love to see pictures of him, bring back the childhood memories and all that, what I can remember of him, when he was there ... people told me what he was like and all ... But I always, in my own time, love to see photos of him, you know, and 'Oh, that's my dad'... He's still got a place in my heart, you know, for him, as being my birthfather. And also, maybe because that hatred in me, maybe hatred is hard, hard word. It's just I hate him, because I never got to know him pretty well ... and we were yearning for that ... I wish that he's still alive ... I can remember the day he left Mangaia and came [abroad]. I'll never forget that, the day he left.

Relinquishment by birth parents can be painful for the tamaiti ēngai:

[T]here's a lot of hatred in me. It's like you blame everybody. As you're growing up, you hate your mother; you hate your father, you know, for giving away, giving you to other peoples.... (Tupuai)

Many factors influence the child's response to being apart from his or her birth parents. People and situations are individual. The circumstances of other foster children may be that the tamariki ēngai are routinely around both their birth and ēngai families and the social dynamics vary between households. Recognition and acknowledgement is the first step that family members undertake in order to understand and then to manage the reasons behind their own responses and the responses of others.

A tamaiti ēngai's feelings toward birth parents are unpredictable and vary individually. This is illustrated in Chapter 5, when Miro1 tells of having "a different feeling" towards the birth mother than for the estranged birthfather. The tamaiti ēngai felt closer to the estranged father who was out of Miro1's life for four decades, than to the birth mother with whom Miro had periodic contact and for whom Miro1 felt more apathy.

As adults, some tamariki ēngai feel marginalised by having the birthfather's name omitted from the birth certificate. These feelings can go on for years, such as for Tipani2 who tracked down the metua tāne ēnau abroad to rectify the situation:
I said, 'Dad, on my birth certificate, I have no dad. It's only my mum. Where is your name?' ... [Later] when I come back, it's already filled in. My dad done his job. Everything is done.

Ora's regret stems from not being registered: "[I]t's sad, I don't know if other metua āngai hand that to their children in Mangaia, but there's a lot, metua āngai-s, I don't know, but the only sad thing about is my mum didn't register."

Elena felt marginalised as a tamariki āngai living abroad because people only knew and acknowledged half her heritage. On returning from abroad, Elena was marginalised from her heritage for losing her ability to speak a previously known dialect.

Kuramai tells about the spiritual bondage of resentment: "It's the spiritual side with the suffering of tamariki āngai ... the longing of that connection back to the biological parents," of not feeling "secure or loved within the tamariki āngai arena" (Te Ruru A Rama). "I had to be spiritually delivered from that ... bondage" [of resentment] during a healing and deliverance ministry (Kuramai). As a young child, Kuramai's metua ānau separated. Years later, Kuramai had to be freed from emotional bondage stemming from the metua's divorce and rupture of the family to be able to go on with life. Kuramai felt helpless because the separation did not have anything to do with the children who were subsequently divided up tu'a tamariki:

It came as a clear vision, and I was just sharing, in front of the church, and I have found something that I have been looking for through my whole life; something that have been empty and lost. That day I was found. And when I was found, that's the day I forgave my parents, my 'feeding parents' and all those who have been an offence to my life.

Separation from parents is very painful and very depressing for young children (Maiata). Noo regrets not having time to build primary family relationships early in life: "I never really knew my parents, never really had time, yeah, not knowing your, your full family, and not having the time with your mother and your father... But that's the only difficulty that I can think of—is not knowing your two parents and who your brothers were and your sisters."

Some tamariki āngai may be jealous of tamariki āngai that return later to the same household:

[I]f [***] rung me, and [***] said, 'Mum,' and ask me how am I and this and that, and I said, 'Good,' then there's another thing will pop up to [***] and [***] said, 'Where's [Yyy] sleeping—is [Yyy] still sleeping in your room?' I said 'Yes, [***], why?' 'Oh put [Yyy] in the spare room.' Then you can tell there's a bit of jealousy. (Mata)
Outcomes

Until the tamariki āngai’s land inheritance rights are legally documented, this segment of society has no protection once the metua āngai pass away, a major dilemma for Mangaian tamariki āngai.

[T]his is an emerging problem in the society—that ‘feeding children’ are disowned or disinherited from where they were brought up as young children with their ‘feeding parents.’ Maybe they were safe when the ‘feeding parents’ were alive, but not now. In Mangaia, there’s no law made legal to that and I think it’s just talk. There’s a mouth just talking, ‘Oh, you have this when I pass away. This is what you’re going to get: this, this, and this,’ but forgetting that the ‘feeding parents’ have their own children, and they have more right ... than the ‘feeding child’ himself when the parents, ‘feeding parents’ passed away ... unless the families acknowledge the ‘feeding child’ in the family that he will be safe. (Te Ruru A Rama).

People may not know to whom the land actually belongs; some tamariki āngai can be greedy and demanding (considered inappropriate by Mangaians for claiming Mangaian land), or they do not know their genealogy (Maiata).

Without the consent of the whole, extended families and unless their adoptions are legally documented, children will suffer and rights neglected:

[I]f these two things doesn’t happen, then the child will suffer. Children are already suffering ... Their suffering is that the biological children seem to look after themselves, and they don’t respect the whole idea of the parents bringing the child into the family as their own. The biological children now seems to take care of themselves. Whoever comes into the family, whether it’s the parents’ uh idea of bringing the child in the family, and they’ve gone; they’ve passed away (Kuramai).

The degree of relationship between the tamariki āngai and the metua āngai factors in land disputes. Even though tamariki āngai are usually "related in part of the land we own on our island" (Tiotio), insecurity remains regarding their land eligibility. "Tamariki āngai is going to be a problem amongst my own children, but I’ve always assured them that they have to agree to what we have discussed, and they said yes, they won’t change anything after we are gone" (Tiotio).

Land disputes escalate insecurities that fracture families in Mangaian communities:

When her ‘feeding parents’ died, and my mother had us, she sort of got tied to the land where she was raised, never knowing that the family—her ‘feeding father’s’ family were after the land. So I have seen ... relatives would chase us away if they saw us ... she come out on the road and start yelling. If my mum’s there, they argue and then we, we took off and sort of run away and yeah, not wanting to see what’s happening. But I’ve seen that happen so many times. And then uh I don’t know what happen, but my mum then sort of left the land, yeah. (Te Ruru A Rama)
Maiata provides another example of family disunity regarding 'ānau-'āngai land disputes for tamariki 'āngai:

[M]y mum always said, I've heard her say many times that that boy will live on that land. Yeah, but, didn't happen. The uncle's children are now living on the land. So I think that's a sad thing for the tamariki, for anything to happen to tamariki 'āngai, eh?

Maiata avoids tamariki 'āngai inter-generational land disputes:

I don't want to be involved with their land disputes, so I try to keep away, but I could hear them. I could, especially that girl, she was shouting ... [The girl's mum was raised on the land.] 'Ah, that's my mum's land. It's not yours,' you know, she went on and on.

For a tamariki 'āngai to acquire land requires more than just being adopted into a good family, according to Maiata:

It goes back to humility—if you're humble: 'Take half the land.' 'No,' she said, 'I want the whole place.' 'No.' She's chased off the land.

Te Ruru A Rama discusses a phenomenon that can have an impact on a tamariki 'āngai's land security: "[S]ometimes, it's the 'feeding children' who go back and look after their 'feeding parents,' rather than the natural children of both." However, following that service, devotion, obligation or privilege, whatever it is perceived by the individual 'feeding child,' "they are not, [and] most of them will never be secure when their 'feeding parents' passed away" (Te Ruru A Rama).

Outmigration presents dilemmas and disincentives for Mangaians and their custom. It is an option for many reasons, such as when some tamariki 'āngai out-migrate because their ties to their 'ānau families have been blurred through customary adoption (Te Ruru A Rama). An example of this is tamariki 'āngai who disrupt their adoption and are then rejected by their natal family (Tupuai). Problems between natural children and 'feeding children' may result in the 'feeding children' leaving to live elsewhere. Tamariki 'āngai left behind on Mangaia may eventually join metua 'ānau living abroad. Leaving behind metua 'āngai to out-migrate can be difficult:

[W]hen I was told that I was to come [abroad], I hid. The day we were supposed to go catch the boat to go to Rarotonga, I hid. I wouldn't come out. I didn't want to leave my grandmother ... I mean, I look forward coming to see Dad, but I didn't want to leave my grandmother. So I hid that day I was supposed to come. Oh, Grandmother knew where I was. I can't remember the exact words she said to me, but I had to leave. (Noo)
Tamariki ōngai may be sent back and forth between New Zealand and Mangaia for behaviour problems in both communities (Tania). Some parents send their children to Mangaia:

[T]hey can't control them ... they think it's a punishment, but some children they go back, they find it's heaven ... They think grandparents are not their parents. 'Oh, I can say no to Grandma and Pa. I can do whatever I want to do.' But then, depends on the grandparents: if they are strict, they're going to be strict on them. And then you end up coming back. But for some, like I said, it's freedom... there are some children that have gone back and have never come back (Angelia).

Children ōngai-d later in life and who out-migrate tend to rebel:

I think they got uprooted from you know, something that they were comfortable with, and then they had to sort of adapt when they came here. And I don't think they were used to it, because they were older children. They weren't babies so they weren't, yeah, they sort of rebelled. (Mako)

Tiare Maori remembers in their family that tamariki ōngai "used to get into trouble a lot ... I think they were more unsettled or something."

Outmigration by a tamariki ōngai further weakens community status upon return to Mangaia:

The people who stayed [on Mangaia] will be more acknowledged within the society, rather than those who went away and came back again. That also applies to the 'feeding children.' They got no say, I believe. (Te Ruru A Rama)

There is the option of maintaining connection to the land or family following outmigration:

I think that's the problem of not keeping up the connection and communicating, and going home now and then. To go away for a long, long time, as a tamariki ōngai, and then all of a sudden you decide, oh, I belong there, I better go back there, there'll be no commu—there's a new community there who doesn't know, who doesn't know much of you, and hear you and knowing you—what you were there back then. (Kuramai)

Logistically, it can be difficult to stay connected to family when you are a tamariki ōngai living abroad. Outmigration limits contact between family members:

I just stayed [abroad] and I had no contact with them whatsoever ... I don't even recall the point of ever having a sister ... in conversations like inside in the house, yes, I used to. My aunts used to talk about the sister of mine, just mention her name, but at that point I didn't realise she was actually my sister. But I'd never forgotten the incident with my brother when he used to come to [Mangaian village] and stay with us. (Elena)

It is expensive to return to Mangaia (Maiata) which makes it difficult to reconnect or stay connected with family. Expenses also compound because tamariki ōngai have potentially
twice as many obligations for supporting and contributing to family (not counting extended family) than do non-tamariki 'āngai individuals (Angelia). It quadruples if two tamariki 'āngai marry as does extended family (Angelia).

Once tamariki 'āngai out-migrate, launch into adulthood, and Resettle, many remain abroad for various reasons. "For me, it was having the right education for my children and I made sure that they did have that" (Noo). Noo recalls hardship in early years stemming from language and educational differences between Mangaia and abroad: "[E]ducation level is different [abroad] than in Mangaia and not knowing English was an educational handicap [abroad] that extended for years ... I didn't want them to go through the hardship I had [shifting abroad] and not really knowing how to speak in English." In acquiring English, Noo lost the use of Māngai dialect.

There is a dilemma about not legally registering an adoption associated with outmigration:

Like my uncle [***], my grandparents came [abroad], his side to my grandfather's sister and they raised that child and right now, so when that child, he always take the name of the 'feeding parents' without knowing that he's not registered. So by the time they died, because the son 'feeding' the child, he thought that he was registered but, the 'feeding parents,' and the children came and claim, inherit the lands, and the 'feeding child' thought he was in, in tha: family, that child, they knows all of the, knows that 'feeding parent' didn't register him ... Yeah. Oh, to me that's bad, yeah, if the 'feeding parent' don't register.

In the absence of the metua 'ānau, the tamariki 'āngai sense of psychological parenthood shifts, sometimes painfully, to the metua 'āngai. Te Ruru A Rama tells that sometimes tamariki 'āngai reject their metua 'ānau because metua 'āngai provide the resources. It may be many years before tamariki 'āngai forgive the metua 'ānau for relinquishing, even when done so under extreme pressure by relative: "[***] hasn't forgive our father until today" (Tangi). Mako states, 'I think sometimes some adopted kids, they favour their foster parents rather than their real family, because they might feel like oh, they gave them up ... and then sometimes that" ... [Tiare Maori interjects:] "tension."

Tania explains that some tamariki 'āngai remain subservient under their metua 'āngai's control long after emancipation with no relief while the metua 'āngai is alive. Tamariki 'āngai may prefer their 'feeding mother' to their 'feeding father' if they felt that their 'feeding father's' treatment was harsh (Tania). 'Feeding children' report a sense of powerlessness about their station in life:

Sometime you find tamariki 'āngai is when they're young, for the pressure they're going through with their adopted parents—you do this, you do that—they couldn't hold that pressure. They leave and took off. Not until when they married, then they
come back. Then you see them crawling back to their, but that's what it is, what happened. (Tanga'eo)

_Tamariki 'āngai_ may leave the 'ānau household taking nothing for the interim service years (Tangi). Rescinding an adoption may mean forfeited inheritance, depending on the individuals involved (Tiotio). Some adult _tamariki 'āngai_ completely sever emotional ties with both the _metua 'ānau_ and _metua 'āngai_ (Tangi).

Maiata links esteem and passivity with an individual's social history and future: "I think if the _tamariki 'āngai_ have [focused goals] then they wouldn't be treated like the way some of them were treated, you know, looked down, and you know, pushed down, and had they been strong." Parenting deficits and powerlessness correlate with diminished success for _tamariki 'āngai_ later in life:

I think they are the ones who doesn't really become successful. Not all of the, some of them ... there was some _tamariki 'āngai_ brought up properly, some _tamariki 'āngai_ are used in families—slaves. I mean that's probably not the right term to use, but they'd be doing most of the work in the home. Can I give you an example? [***], she's like a slave. She does everything, in the house and outside the house ... she has no way of getting away from that place. There's no way she can escape because her relations, they knew about what's happening to her so they try to get her, you know, come and get her and take her away, but the māmā, she always say, 'Alright, if you want [***], bring me $30,000. Put it in my door, if you don't, go.' She says that all the time. She thinks they spent that much on that girl ... sometimes if I come in contact with her—we sit and talk and ... we cry together. Sometimes I tell her, 'Run, go, go on the plane—get,' but she's too scared to do it. She know if she goes, they'll get her back ... they've got none of their children living with them. (Maiata)

Much about _tamariki 'āngai_'s future as an adult depends on the values of the 'feeding parents' (Maiata). A _tamariki 'āngai_ is less likely to succeed in later life without the _metua 'āngai_'s encouragement and financial support to receive an education (Maiata). Academic success requires similar support in the community. Tiotio interpreted a non-typical action against a _tamariki 'āngai_ as an instance of discrimination by a non-islander school administrator. The result was that the _tamaiti 'āngai_ missed numerous years of education until after the child went abroad. (Tiotio).

Being raised in the same nest creates _faux_ siblings (Maiata). Incest prohibitions restrict _tamariki 'āngai_ from marrying children with whom they are raised. _Tamariki 'ānau_ raised together as _tamariki 'āngai_ can remain very close into adulthood due to sharing difficult times in the 'āngai household (Tangi). The practice marginalises other sibling relationships. Elena describes contact between 'ānau siblings raised elsewhere and the _tamaiti 'āngai_:
[W]ith my brother no contact. Uh, my sister, very rarely even though I've grown up as more or less as an only child you don't have that interaction; you don't have that closeness that you have when you've got siblings around you. I don't have that closeness with my own siblings. Even though, I think of them, like in our prayers every day. I might not speak to them, but there's something that binds us from my point of view, from where I'm at ....

For tamariki āngai growing up apart from āinau family, outmigrating and eventually establishing their own family apart from āngai family members, it means doing so without the typical family supports in place, such as for alternative childcare if running errands (Elena). Elena remembers managing busy days with young children, relying on the kindness of non-related neighbours for what family would have done back home.

Feelings stemming from the practice of tamariki āngai can contribute to family rifts that last generations. Kuramai describes:

[M]y father, now I ring him up. I know before when I start ringing up, he ignore me. But now I keep it up and call him and 'Dad, how are you? Look after yourself.' Now, when I ring him, [after 50 years] he's happy ... The first time we met our elder sister, it was fifty years separation—You see that's another side of ... suffering tamariki āngai.

Tipani2 illustrates an outcome stemming from long term subrogation:

I don't want my tamariki āngai to go through what I have experienced when I was tamariki āngai ... all the things [metua āngai] have done to me, I don't want to be, no I don't want to treat my tamariki āngai like what I come through ... You can sense there's favouritism there. Yeah. 'Oh, you're not mine, and this is mine,' yeah. 'You can have the good part of the food,' like—something like that—[and] 'you can have the tinned fish.' That's how it goes. Not me. Not my tamariki āngai.

Tangi describes a double-sided disincentive for the practice that transcends generations:

"[D]eep inside me, I don't want my own child to go through how I been through ... and I don't want to adopt any children." Similarly, Tanga'eo declined sharing tamariki:

[O]ne of the reasons I didn't want to do that, because I been there; I know what it is as a tamariki āngai ... I didn't have any interest of giving my kids to somebody else to look after ... When they had kids, I try to talk to them, help them to understand, you need that kids. Look after it.

Ora states:

I would never give my child up ... because I don't want them to go through my way—to go through the way I was brought up by my—I mean it's not a bad way, but at that time, I said to myself, it was bad, you know, because I didn't really find a loving parent there, but I found a parent that geared me with everything, but no love....
Personal history influences the practice and people’s perceptions of the custom. After first experiencing a number of stillbirths, Elena declined family requests for subsequent birth children to ‘āngai, adding: "[B]ecause I was a tamariki ‘āngai, and I know the down side to it … there’s loneliness there for you sort of, you know, because you kind of wonder what could have been if you were with your own family.” Manu’s reasoning focuses on parents: "I never got to know my parents and all that, Mom and Dad, so I said to myself, I don’t want my children to go through that, to go through that experience what I went through, you know.”

Summary

The dilemmas associated with the practice of Mangaian tamariki ‘āngai, as reported by my informant practitioners are sobering, and influence generations of people and the practice itself. I chose to acknowledge and include what was the most controversial part of the data to reckon and manage from the shared experience of the interviews in order to honour the challenges sustained by the practitioners in Mangai’a’s customary adoption. The emotional reactions that stemmed from recalled events were painful for some of my informants. That there is such a diversity of reactions is a measure of the impact of the practice on the people. However, several of my informants told me that the reflective process was healing. That my informants were all adults, makes the reader more cognisant of the long-term effects of the practice of tamariki ‘āngai, now and for future Mangaians.  

1Professor Michael Reilly noted that "Maori traditions often having teasing episodes of children, one of whose parents is not their 'legitimate' parents, and as a consequence, the child (young adult usually) goes off on a journey to seek recognition from that parent, usually from another tribe" (personal communication, 21 May 2009).

2Gill discussed the ease that predators enjoy in harvesting newly hatched turtles, and writes: "Hence the ancient Rarotongan proverb in reference to neglected or forsaken children, --'offspring of the turtle!' (anau a onu). This taunt is bitterly felt" (Gill, 1885, p. 130).

3There is an adoption family “Meetups” Internet website designed for Cook Islands tamariki ‘āngai to register within and thereby reconnect with other tamariki ‘āngai and family. Access through 'Internet Explorer' at http://adoption. meetup.com/cities/ck/mangaia/. This website is unused as of 30 June 2009.
Chapter 7 Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

As stated in my methodology chapter, this analysis incorporates a blend of perspectives defined as 'activities' or 'practices' research—which seeks to look at patterned practices, how these are "articulated, disarticulated and rearticulated" (Wood, 2006, pp. 45-46). The research seeks to provide feedback on those practices—arguably perhaps increasingly disarticulated in contemporary times—as a contribution to any rearticulation Mangaians, either in the diaspora or in Mangaia itself, may wish to undertake.

Issues were raised in the first chapter in this thesis alongside a general overview of historical, political and cultural Mangaia providing a context for understanding Mangaian identity and contemporary issues around customary adoption. Adoption is about identity and the management of relationships being altered. The first chapter sets the scene by also, in the above cultural context, identifying issues requiring management in the course of the contemporary practice of 'feeding children.'

The understanding of these issues is developed in the second chapter following an overview about what academics write regarding adoption generally, Polynesian traditions of foster adoption and those of Mangaia in particular. The literature review in Chapter 2 provides an historical foundation for moving ahead to define and describe Mangaian's experiences of contemporary practice of tamariki 'āngai. History is relevant to Mangaian people because they live close to theirs, especially 'back home,' which influences their contemporary form of customary adoption.

The informed and developed research questions seek the themes and patterns of this practice in the context of the Mangaian people's history and their independence and considering the incentives and dilemmas in the practice for participants. What are the goals and what do they want to achieve? What are the key issues which give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations, considering the incentives and dilemmas in the practice and given their history and their independence? What are the patterns for best practice within what appears to be the tradition's flexibility and wide scope and people's goals? How can these findings be addressed to strengthen Mangaian society?

My role in this research is to organise this information and return it to the Mangaian people who can determine for themselves if and how the findings that they own may be incorporated into their practice of informal island adoption to better meet their goals. I seek to do this by
providing a dynamic model of choice for decisions over tamariki ‘āngai and outlining how these can be worked through. To this end, the analysis chapter will cover:

1. A brief summary of the restated and examined 'responses' to the research questions in the results and the outcomes.
2. A framework for analysis 'grounded' in a relationship analysis—of dynamic relations within the triad of tamariki ‘āngai and as a customary practice within the relationships of modern development.
3. Analysis of incentives/dilemmas in management that the people face from the current protocol.
4. Discussion of issues and options for management.
5. Analysis of aspects of the practice that resist change and 'best practice.'
6. A summary of characteristics in the practice and conclusion of the analysis.

Section 1 Data summary

Practice protocols

Tamariki ‘āngai is Mangaia's generic term for an amalgam of various patterns of pro-parenting practices regarded as 'informal island adoption.' Levels of formality in the practice vary by how the practitioners define their expectations. It is their cultural norm to give or take tamariki ‘āngai or 'feeding children' to be raised primarily by adoptive parents. No official legislation by either traditional or post-colonial government regulates the informal shifting of jural responsibility over children between families. The practice is shaped and influenced by relationships, identity, mana and entitlement. Married couples and single individuals can informally adopt if they can find a birth parent willing to agree to the adoption of the birth child. In the case of very young birth parents that are not in a stable relationship or someone considered by family to be unable to parent, a representative for the birthmother arranges an agreement on the mother's behalf.

Following the identification of an available child, the salient feature of the contemporary tradition is that through an oral agreement between the birth parent and the adoptive parent, authority of some form regarding a child, shifts from the child's primary birth parent to a surrogate or informal adoptive parent. Mangaian adoption agreements are customised by the adult participants to achieve the best access to assets for themselves and their families. This pact covers the rights of belonging and differences stemming from the Mangaian child not
actually being the foster parent's birth child. The agreement may or may not include birth right land endowments as inheritance.

The covenant represents values, expectations and eligibilities held by both sets of parents concerned with the child. Unless the pact is negotiated to sufficiently satisfy both sets of parents, the transaction does not proceed to informal adoption or 'āngai status. If situations for the parent or child change substantially and both sets of parents are amenable to altering the agreement, it is verbally amended or rescinded to reflect the new circumstance; for example, an adoptive parent dies, leaving the surviving parent to look after the child, or a widow remarries. The actual duration of the transaction may differ from the adoption agreement if circumstances warrant modification.

At a minimum, customary adoption affects three parties: A benefactor birth parent gives a birth child to another individual to raise or the child is taken from the birth parent by someone in the birth parent's family who has sufficient mana to remove the child. The practice modifies social genealogy which means that the given child will very likely grow up in a family other than his or her family of origin. The adoptive parent contributes to the new generation by looking after the child, by teaching the child Mangaian cultural values, knowledge, dialect and lore. The 'āngai-triad plus the community live with this altered family arrangement that has an impact on generations by the ramifications of the negotiated agreement.

Evolutionary changes

Mangaia's customary adoption practice has evolved over time due to various factors that modify incentives and dilemmas. In the past, the Mangaians gifted children to family members for more reasons than today. As individual and collective values change from evolving ideologies, children do and do not get shifted for different reasons.

In the early 1820s, Christianity's arrival subverted the need to adopt children in order to save progeny born into tribes designated to provide the mandatory inaugural sacrifice to the (former) gods at the installation of the new leader. Contemporary mothers no longer arrange safe-haven 'āngai alternatives for their warrior sons since the last battle in 1828. Now sharing children is more likely to occur out of love or habit than due to earlier symbolic reasons practised in pre- and early missionary times such as the sacredness of primogeniture or signifying acceptance into the community of the new missionary family. Ecumenical values vary and some have slowed the practice in families unless the needs of the family coexist with or override the family's belief system. In the early days, tamariki 'āngai enjoyed prestige in
their status which could be marginalised depending on how individual families administered their negotiated protocol.

While the advent of family planning has decreased available children, improved medical interventions have reduced mortality rates in children, and improved the quality of life in Mangaian communities. Technologies have modernised weather warning systems, island transportation and labour-saving devices in the smaller households. More families today elect to retain the fewer children they are bearing.

The term 'āngai, in the Mangaian dialect, also refers to children who have been legally registered as adopted through Rarotonga's Land Court and who are more accurately classified as tamariki rētita. Informal 'feeding child' arrangements can develop over time to legal registration depending on the feelings and circumstances of the triad-members. It is customary for a legally adopted child to have resided initially as an informal island adoption in the āngai household prior to the adoption court hearing. On an increasing basis, 'feeding families' are choosing to legally register their 'feeding child' as a way to protect the child's inheritance rights from extended family members and to protect their relationship with the child to ensure that the birth parent cannot and does not reclaim the child.

As the old ideology changes to favour opportunity, there is a shift from the Mangaian sense of community and sharing, to be more individualistic which is apparent both at 'home' and in the diaspora. Mangaian informal adoption is influenced by world politics and economic factors. The practice gets exported with Mangaian outmigrants to be replicated in the new environment from which different motivations and dilemmas evolve over time in each 'space.' In the views of my informants, the environment in Mangaia and Aotearoa mutually influence the practice in the other location. The practice 'back home' is shifting to include more tamariki āngai sent 'home' from abroad if conceived from unstable unions. When the elder care-givers or grandparents eventually die, the child returns abroad to resume living with the birth parent.

In summary, Polynesian adoption was carried with the ancient mariners to different isolated shores where hybrids of the practices developed into their contemporary versions. Mangaia's customary adoption changed significantly with the advent of imported ideologies from European colonising missionaries. Early documentation of the practice provides an historical context for comparing the changes over time. Aspects of the practice that resist change over time remain the overall guiding contemporary protocol in Mangaia's customary adoption. These persistent aspects of the practice are, however, influenced by incentives and dilemmas faced by those involved. Since outmigration has become so prevalent to Mangaians, the ramifications of the composite practices have an impact on Mangaian communities 'back home' and abroad.
Incentives

Chapter 5 summarised incentives to Mangaia's traditional adoption that change over time due to social factors. The protocol and the agreement between the parent dyad are the outcomes of interactive processes and reflect values, expectations, and power and control differentials between the birth and adoptive parents in the adoption triad. Dynamic relationships eventually give Mangaian people agency to work out their own futures in the practice making the practice appear flexible when, in fact, it is what the people in the relationship allow it to be and to become. As stated before, the intent of the practice is honourable and it is always done for a reason or to advantage the needs of at least one member of the adoption triad. The arrangement is verbally agreed upon by both the adoptive and birth parents and is neither regulated nor enforceable.

Incentives for the adoptive parent to participate in the custom can be many, and vary according to the age and perspective of the individual in relation to other members of the adoption triad. For example, the 'feeding parent' may want to raise a child and experience parenting in response to infertility or to share the parenting experience in a later-life relationship, to balance gender in the home, for labour, aged-care, and companionship. Mangaians adopt out of love, to look after their own, to support and strengthen ties between family or friends, to protect and endow land or simply because the parent asked. Grandparents and extended family can demand and then expect to raise the infant because they are entitled to do this.

A child can be given because the adoptive parent was permitted to name the infant. The practice occurs as a result of the cultural dividing of the siblings between the mother's and father's sides of the family due to the death or incapacity of a parent as a form of 'social replacement.' The custom can be done to obligate, or in response to out-migrating parents as a way of ensuring future remittances. It can be an act of reciprocity, to pay back grandparents for raising the child's parent or because grandparents love grandchildren. The custom absorbs the offspring of young parents in unstable relationships to allow them to find their future.

Once a child is given in the 'āngai tradition, it does not mean that the parent child relationship is forever severed. For example, after the death of the 'feeding parent' and if both the child and his or her birth parent are amenable, the 'feeding child' may develop a close relationship with the natal parent and family. In this way the tamaiti 'āngai honours the relationship with their primary care-giver and can then develop a close relationship with the family of origin that was interrupted by the adoption agreement. This incentive also illustrates...
how the roles of the members of the adoption triad change in relation to each other as they mature through life-stages.

Mangaians, in general, tend to enjoy looking after young children. Sharing a child can expand assets, or protect land from being divided. The child may just prefer to stay in the adoptive parent's home or because there are more resources in the other home. Or the arrangement may represent a 'time out' for the child who is getting into trouble in a community where the authorities are considering punitive alternatives. It can also be a mechanism for 'creative avoidance' or 'time-out' if the child's behaviours surpass the tolerance and resource-expertise of the family and community. Incentives are important for the practice to regenerate over time as they outweigh the dilemmas in the practice, the next topic.

**Dilemmas**

Dilemmas in Mangaia's practice stem from how parents administer the protocol in the practice of *tamariki āngai* which affect both the practitioners and the wider society through different power dynamics manifesting over time. Dilemmas involve managing a process and the relationships in that process that centre on values, *mana*, identity and agency in a world that is building in complexity and stress. The data shows that such mitigating factors in some families inadvertently morph into neglect and abuse of the fostered youth.

Customary adoption is increasingly a dilemma for the Mangaian people 'back home' with regard to land ownership, if the parents do not bequeath land before they die. Once the 'feeding parent' dies, there is no one to protect the rights of the informally adopted individual or to advocate on the child's behalf in order for the individual to claim the land-gift promised by the 'feeding parent.' In this way, how the parents operationalise the practice marginalises land-rights-eligibility for Mangaian *tamariki āngai*. This particular dilemma affects the community in that land disputes threaten harmony that sustains the community's social equilibrium. The practice has an impact on the usual flow of rank and *mana* if situations develop whereby the firstborn loses his or her rights of primogeniture in the āngai family.

Outmigration for employment bifurcates dilemmas into different trajectories between Mangaia and abroad. The 'feeding child' may be confused about his or her identity and how to manage names appropriate in different locations and eras and where and how the child 'belongs.' Family obligations potentially compound for the adult *tamaiti āngai* by having to consider and balance the needs of the birth and the 'feeding families.' These obligations compound again when two *tamariki āngai* wed. More over, inter-racial marriage tends to
limit the 'feeding' practice as other cultures may reject the practice of giving away a birth child, even to a spouse's family.

Community and family resentment and concern results from children sent abroad for punishment when the recipient community is unprepared to address anti-social behaviours. Those born abroad in stable relationships may remain abroad to be raised by their birth parents if the family's cultural holds loosen since life abroad makes it easier to withstand the demands of the culture than living in remote, quiet Mangaia. Some dilemmas ultimately threaten the continuation of the practice under the current methods.

The task is now to analyse and discuss the process and pressures of the practice and the choices facing them as families, in a fashion that might also be useful to Mangaians. The first step here is to present the form of the analysis suggested to achieve this.

**Section 2 Analysis**

In terms of a constructionist approach to social reality defined in Chapter 2, seeing society as socially constructed through power relationships in practice ('transaction sociale'), the "trialectic" as a tool clarifies holistic dynamics in three-way relationships (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, pp. 22-23). Trialectic logic is useful to illustrate the core issues of managing the incentives and dilemmas by the triad within the culturally-based practice. The context, mechanics and relationships of informal adoption are fundamental to understanding the Mangaians' management of their practice. Mangaian heritage and shared community experience is the environmental context and foundation for the practice.

**Relational Analysis**

A pattern of significant relationships illustrate the components, roles and complexity of the practice, the interconnectedness of Mangaian adoption in the context of development in the diaspora and the effects that customary adoption has on Mangaian communities. The first of thirteen illustrated dynamic interactive relationships within Mangaian society's 'feeding' tradition begins with the following diagram.
In this figure, building on the first two chapters, the 'feeding child' is an entity in Mangaian families 'back home' and abroad. A family is comprised of individuals by consensus, recognised as such by the community and given entitlements because of this relationship and their relationship to Mangaian society. Examples of the major outside influences include such things as legal adoption registration, migration and the diminishing extent of spiritual influence in the contemporary practice, but which is still spoken about by the present day Mangaian people. Components illustrated in the figure have an impact on Mangaia's customary adoption in the past, present and into future generations.

The dynamic custom of tamariki 'āngai requires a form of analysis that can cope with relationships, contingency and uncertainty. In the framework of social transactions, trialectic logic is useful to illustrate the core issues of managing the incentives and dilemmas by the adoption triad within the culturally-based practice.
Recall that Mangaian genealogy stems from the birth parent-birth child connection, discussed in Chapter 2. This dyad represents the child's primary genetic relationship with another person. It also represents one-third of the adoption triad illustrated in the following diagram, of which the other two dyads are the adoptive parent/'feeding child' dyad and the birth parent/adoption parent dyad. The parent dyad requires a child in common to develop an 'āngai relationship. The parent dyad steersthe adoption triad to achieve its goals and thereby the dyad drives the practice and the culture regarding the custom. In Mangaia's 'feeding' tradition, jural responsibility for a child is transferred from the birth parent to the adoptive parent. Mangaian adoption is about social replacement between the parent dyad regarding the nurturance of a child that extends over generations making the following triad central to this thesis.

Figure 7.2 Mangaia's adoption triad

In the environmental context of Chapters 1 and 2 and building on Chapter 4, Mangaian people describe their customary adoption practice as "flexible," a manifestation of the dynamic interactions stemming from relational processes. However, my data shows that the flexibility manifests from how parents operationalise their agreement. The triad is a managed power-relationship. The non-enforceability of the dyad's agreement means that there are few outcome-guarantees over time beyond the fact that an additional parent is involved somehow in the 'feeding child's' life according to the agreement between the parents. Although it is said that the behaviour of the 'feeding child' influences the outcome, parenting styles and personalities also influence the behaviour and experience of child, even if this goes unacknowledged, hence the two-directional arrows in the diagram.

According to my data, Mangaian use power in their process of the 'feeding' tradition and as a resource in the practice. The power that each component represents in Figure 7.2, and how that power is operationalised in the composite of relationships stemming there from, determines in part how the triad relates as a whole and to other members of the society—the
outcomes covered in Chapter 5 (incentives) and Chapter 6 (dilemmas) of this thesis. The 'flatness' of Figure 7.2 masks the influence that each member represents to the other and the advantage or disadvantage that this creates for the members and the extended family in the wider community which depends on whether the parents have 'done their job' as outlined in the agreement. Power manifests in the ecological levels of Mangaia's tradition and in the six major themes discussed in this triad-relational analysis.

According to my data, each triad is as unique as the components because it represents a separate agreement between at least the parent dyad about the child they have in common. Hence, some families represent a composite of several triads and as many agreements when more than one 'feeding child' is included in the household, whether or not the 'feeding children' are sourced from multiple families. While each adoption agreement is expected to outline the expectations for the adoption triad to address contingency and uncertainty, it may not be comprehensive.

There is a tendency in customary adoption practices for the needs of the potential parent to supersede the needs of the child and the birth parents; however, triad relationships and roles evolve as the members mature and their needs change. The adoptive parents may see their 'feeding child' as filling an 'empty-nest' with new life or eventually providing labour potential to reciprocate for the hard work of raising the child and by contributing further with old-age care for the metua āngai until their death. For example, eventually a 'feeding child' may develop a close relationship with his or her natal parent and family after the death of the 'feeding parent.' In this way the tamaiti āngai first honours the relationship with the primary care-giver and then develops a relationship with the family of origin that was interrupted or severed by the adoption agreement, if both the parent and 'child' are amenable. This example illustrates how the roles of the members of the adoption triad change in relation to each other as they mature through life-stages. The triad is like a marriage of three entities that significantly influence each other and Mangaia's society, especially 'back home.'

The first of six major themes that emerge from my research is relationships. Following this discussion of relationships with the interactive triaelectic format kept in mind, it is important to focus on the central agreement which underlies every adoption triad and how this can be managed with respect to the other five major themes which are identity, eligibility and entitlements, emotional responses, agency and collaboration.
**Section 3 Practice analysis**

(a) The agreement

Customary adoption protocol is the agreement regarding options and choices between the parent dyad that creates a distinctive power relationship between the adoption triad and the society by the roles and responsibilities agreed upon between the parent dyad. Briefly, the role of the birth parent is to give the child; the role of the adoptive parent is to receive and provide for the child; and the role of the child is to flourish in the culture and care of the 'feeding parent' as designated by the agreement. The data chapters describe dynamics between the different relationships that advantage or disadvantage the individuals concerned, stemming from the agreement.

The agreement was emphasised in my data as being fundamental to Mangaian customary adoption. The framework of trialectic logic illustrates this dynamic relationship.

![Diagram](image_url)

**Figure 7.3 Impact of the adoption agreement**

The adoption agreement is the pulse of Mangaian tamariki ʻāngai tradition. It is about people collaborating and operationalising decisions that create and manage relationships over time. The options it represents define who is responsible and accountable to whom, in what way, for how long, and what birth right inheritance is intended for the child and to be given by whom. The agreement shifts the weight of expectation and entitlement from the birth family to the adoptive family. What the agreement does, and how it is executed by the triad and honoured by the extended families in the context of the communities influences the outcomes that have an impact on the society and the culture. Mangaian customary adoption is therefore a matter of managing a process and the relationships created through that process. The exclusive relationship of the triad represented by the parent dyad's verbal agreement changes
the triad's relationship with their extended family and society. While the intent of the agreement may be honourable, how relationships develop over time is unpredictable, especially if the relationship is not nurtured or people are dishonest. So again, the two-directional arrows indicate influence between the relationships. Looking at the outcomes from the agreement tells much about the stamina of the practice, Mangaian culture, and the people and their choices.

The following triad represents the relationship between the consequences stemming from the adoption agreement and the choices and outcomes that influence each other and the tradition:

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

**Figure 7.4 Adoption issues managed in Mangaian communities**

Past incentives and dilemmas influence the practitioners and protocol that expands the social experience for *tamariki 'āngai* and the wider communities now and in future generations, in a feedback loop of affect and effect. This diagram simplifies aspects of the outcomes which my data referred to as taking the 'good with the bad.' It is important to remember that the custom can represent simultaneously an incentive to one or two members of the triad while at the same time it can represent a dilemma for the third member, all depending on the perspective of the different participants over time as triad-members mature and how the choices made by the parent dyad are manifested. The elderly adoptive parent potentially benefits from delayed reciprocity in that the early investment of time and energy to raise a 'feeding child' provides companionship and eventual returns in the form of aged or hospice palliative care from the grown 'feeding child.' Meanwhile, the birth parent working abroad financially supports the 'feeding child' in the homeland that is looking after the aging grandparents so that the birth parent can continue to provide income for family ties 'back home' and support their fostered child. In this process, the connections between family
members in the different locations to their Mangaian family and their land-holdings are maintained and strengthened. The 'feeding child' that the metua-dyad has in common may forego pursuing educational opportunities in order to fulfil domestic and aged-care obligations stemming from the adoption agreement between the birth and adoptive parents.

The next relationship-pattern also stems from the adoption agreement and is represented in my data as a dynamic occurring between the parent dyad.

**Dyad competition**

Competition for affection features in my data, as a dilemma between the parent dyad regarding their relinquished or 'taken' 'feeding child' relationship, which then has an impact on the adoption triad as in Figure 7.4. Whether or not it is apparent to the child, a tension often develops between the benefactor and the recipient parent as illustrated in the following triad:

![Diagram showing the relationship between birth parent's enduring love, adoptive parent's power, and the child.]

**Figure 7.5 Competition stresses for Mangaian parents about their child**

In my western perspective, it would seem that both the natal and the adoptive parents would feel enduring love for the child they have in common. However, when I questioned this, my Mangaian informants remained steadfast. Physical relinquishment of a child by the birth parents is distinct from emotional relinquishment. While the process of the practice may appear to downplay or trivialise feelings, Mangaians recognise that emotional connections tend to persist—and not be severed fully as a result of the metua concluding and administering the agreement. After spending months in the intimate relationship of carrying a child through gestation, feeling the infant's movements, even breast-feeding the newborn for a period of time if permitted by the agreement and logistics, it was reported that the birth parent experiences an emotional void after relinquishing the infant.

Indeed, the power given by, or taken from, the birth parent and received by the adoptive parent over the adopted child can represent a loss or even multiple losses for the birth parent. Patterns of communication within the triad have an impact on the triad. While the dynamic in
Figure 7.5 may not be actively planned, according to my data, how parents choose to address and nurture the parent dyad relationship appears to influence adoption outcomes. The birth parent may wonder how things would have been different 'if only,' or they miss milestones of the child's development stages and live decades with the uncertainty about whether they made the right decision to relinquish rights to their birth child. Some live with ongoing effects of a broken parent child relationship with their birth child, such as being shunned by their relinquished child at a community event or until the 'feeding parent' is deceased.

It is not just the matter that both sets of parents do manage enduring emotions over their child's transfer to the 'feeding parents' but how they manage their enduring emotions. While the birth parent is more focused on the reality of someone else enjoying what would otherwise be the natal parent child relationship with their offspring, the 'feeding parent' faces insecurity stemming from what is reported as persistent emotions held by the birth parent for the child. This can motivate the 'feeding parent' to perform his or her role at a higher level of functioning, thereby deepening their commitment to the agreement to meet the child's needs. On the other hand, the 'feeding parent' may feel uncertain about his or her ability to fully 'replace' the birth parent's inherent status in the 'feeding child's' mind while the child develops the social-emotional tie between his or herself and the adoptive parent. The 'feeding parents' may feel secure about having jural responsibility over a child; however, they may feel insecure about the child's psychological and emotional loyalty. The parent dyad chooses how they manage tension between influence and innate love for the child stemming from the altered social kinship.

Closely related to this is yet another significant, however, lineage-based relationship emphasised in my data and the next triad.

**Family preference**

Mangaian customary adoption is usually conducted between relatives. Mangaian parents are aware of the significance of the degree of relatedness in 'feeding families.' The trend is that the closer the relation, the more likely the claimant will receive the child. Further to this, there develops a social polarisation in the 'feeding home' stemming from the lineage-gradient illustrated in this dynamic.
After the child is placed and over time, there is a tendency, if problems develop in the adoptive home regarding the 'feeding child,' for difficulties to develop between the lesser-related adoptive parent toward the child as opposed to the more-related parent. This proclivity is because Mangaian parents, by choice, tend to be especially invested in protecting and sustaining their side of the family, even when both sides are somewhat related. This can also explain the tendency for the 'feeding child' to be assigned by the family to the last place in line behind the birth children of the 'feeding parents,' to receive whatever is being divided, the lowest in the social system of the 'āngai household. Although the pattern is not universal as some 'feeding families' are quite the reverse, my data tends to show that the 'feeding child' grows to be his or her own best advocate because the child cannot assume that natal or 'āngai family, by choice, will be there to support it. It is also the case that because of this phenomenon, it can be rewarding and a source of genuine pride and satisfaction to the more-related spouse when the 'feeding child' openly prefers the company of the lesser-related adoptive parent; it is as though the metua 'āngai 'beat the odds' in bridging relationships.
The distinction between formal and informal adoption is increasingly evident in the contemporary practice. The tamaiti 'āngai who remains in an unregistered informal adoption situation is in a precarious legal situation with no protection if extended family members on the 'feeding side' choose to dispute the child actually belonging in the 'feeding family' following the death of the 'feeding parent,' and block the 'feeding child' from receiving a portion of land inheritance along with the other birth children of the deceased 'feeding parent.' Although in some cases, family members elect to disregard the value of the court-registered adoption, it is becoming a more accepted practice for 'feeding parents' to secure and protect everyone's rights.

I have now discussed an overview of the first major theme of relationships in my findings and how these are constructed and managed within 'feeding agreements.' The data in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 categorises different relationships and what dynamics stem from the combinations of the roles. Mangaia's primary adoption triad is bound by the adoption agreement as they outline the roles of each that govern their activities, which thereby sets into action an on-going series of relationships in which Mangaians make different determinations and the 'āngai-cycle continues. I have shown that when the parent dyad creates and operationalises the agreement, incentives and dilemmas in the outcomes manifest that must then be managed by the triad in the context of the community. The data emphasises trends within relationships such as competition between the parent dyad over the 'feeding child' and the tendency for lineage affinity to influence the 'feeding parent's' interactions with children in their household and to register the adoption.

I now turn to the second major theme, identity, which Mangaians derive from relationships.

Mangaian 'feeding' identity: What it is and what it does

Mangaian identity is the quality of recognition and differentiation between relationships that represent history and mana. Mangaian 'feeding' identity is political because it relates to acceptance and accommodation, tolerance, entitlements and limitations. The world of the Mangaian 'back home' is geared to community activities that immerse and reinforce the child in his or her environment wherein the 'feeding child' begins to distinguish between birth and 'āngai lineage and formulates the child's 'place' in the schema. According to their society, Mangaian identity begins at birth and is linked initially to the natal parent child lineage and security through that relationship. Identities develop over time, experience and location. Self-identity for the 'feeding child' is influenced by the individual's age, developmental stage and cognition about his or her culture and the 'āngai situation relative to other relationships in the tamaiti's life. The 'feeding child's' sense of identity influences how they feel about themselves
and how they perceive the world around them. Their question becomes, 'Where do I 'belong' if I'm adopted but not registered?'

Using the same trialectic approach, the following illustration represents the relationship between the 'feeding child' and his or her Mangaian identity.

![Illustration showing the relationship between natal family lineage, feeding family lineage, and feeding child.]

Figure 7.8 Force impacting on tamariki 'āngai identity on Mangala

Names are culturally important to Mangaian identity and a 'feeding child' may have a birth name given by his or her birth parents, a different baptismal name and another name given by the tamaiti's 'feeding parents' under which the child is registered, with all the names being different. The child's names may represent family members on both the 'feeding'- and non-'feeding' sides with important obligations for the 'feeding child' to know, prioritise and balance. The child is eventually faced with a challenge of knowing which name to use in the presence of whom and for public or legal matters.

The data shows that lineage identity is influenced by the degree of blood-relatedness and divisions of exclusive and inclusive statuses between individuals and what that represents to the Mangaian since the culture delineates land and social eligibilities, such as belonging, governing, partnering and incest-based on lineage and adoption. Without altering genetics, the tradition forever changes how the Mangaian 'feeding child' fixes their own identity and how others in the community view the adopted child, as compared to a non-adopted child.

Mangaian customary adoption identity is socially malleable, either imposed through the 'feeding' tradition or self-selected when the child stays because he or she wants to and the situation eventuates into an 'āngai identity. With maturity, the 'feeding child' identifies with a setting that takes on the meaning of 'place,' in an 'I-You-It' relationship, different from the child's own natal family's experience. The tamaiti 'āngai's perceptions mature as the child develops an awareness of his or her own 'self-relative-to-the-lineage-and-social-environment' identity.
Knowing where a Mangaian's 'place' is in the genealogy and being able to prove this position is paramount in reckoning identity. The 'feeding child' potentially has more identity options than a non-adopted child does because of the additional 'place' and 'feeding' relationships, if the 'feeding family' fully accepts the 'feeding child' and the child desires this acceptance. The term 'attachment' was referred to by several of my informants during interviews in the context that attachment occurs through repeated and routine care during which the guardian simultaneously forges emotional, psychological and social protective factors in the child who identifies with the guardian. Depending upon contingencies such as developed attachments that people manage through their own volition, the 'feeding child' may identify socially with either birth lineage or lineage through adoption, if the child feels equally accepted by the two sides, or neither family, in the case of the child who has not bonded with either family, and/or has been away from his or her 'nest-mates' too long. The child's 'internal' or cognitive identity may be different from the 'external' or imposed identity as seen by the tamaiti's community. The altered identity of being a 'feeding child' can cause tension in the community if the identity is linked to entitlements and the adoption is unregistered. Mangaian identity is influenced by choices about values as seen in the ecological diagram of Mangaian society, and whether the identity is worth the 'price' required by the culture. Additionally, the 'feeding child' may or may not have a choice about outmigrating, which introduces another identity.

Outmigrant identity

Using the same form of logic yet again, the following trialectic illustrates outmigrant tamariki 'āngai-Mangaian identity. This identity represents an interaction of perspectives for informally adopted Mangaians living abroad, wherein Mangaians as Mangaians are challenged and unsupported in the non-Mangaian community, and they adapt to or at least work within foreign ways.
As stated previously, the 'feeding' tradition bifurcates at migration adding another gradient of Mangaian-ness—stemming from 'place' which is related to identity and belonging. It becomes a matter of identifying with the experience of having lived 'back home' in the 'pure' or 'authentic' physical and social island-environment, or not.

My data shows that shifting *tamariki 'āngai* between locations and manipulating people's identities functions like a safety or pressure valve feature for 'feeding children' and communities from experiences and problems for Mangaians in the homeland and abroad; however, consecutive placements represent serial adjustments for a 'feeding child.' The outmigrant identity and experience bring different opportunities that relate back to Figure 7.4, the adoption incentives and dilemmas managed by the people. Each location provides unique opportunities that do, and in some cases do not, meet the needs of the re-'placed' 'feeding child.' Meanwhile, the dis-'placed' 'feeding child' develops and integrates another identity. Again, outcomes depend on how incentives and dilemmas are managed.

The next diagram combines the two previous triadic relationships because, for the 'feeding child' in the diaspora, these dynamics converge to influence the identity of the Mangaian adopted child. Identities manifest in behaviour which influences social acceptance—how individuals relate to others and how people spend elective-time, given social controls. Processing adoption identity is an ongoing psycho-social activity. This is important to remember because adopted children in the diaspora have the additional task of also integrating relationships from being in their new environment and culture in order to find their identity and their 'place,' which can, depending on how it is managed, distract them from being on a par with the usual developmental tasks of non-adopted children. Their brains have more information to process from having the additional relationships.
Figure 7.9 shows that the practice 'back home' in Mangaia is linked to, but different from, hybrid Mangaian identity developed in the diaspora; the practice in the less supportive environment is unlike the mainstream culture abroad and unlike society 'back home' in Mangaia.

Mangaians adapt to their cultural setting whether 'back home' or in Aotearoa. Outmigrant Mangaians adapt their 'home' ways within their communities abroad and remember how easy life was in the lush rent-free small island environment. Mangaians 'back home' think of life abroad as being physically easier for not having to look after the plantations. Comments like "You know how they are 'back home'" or "You know what it's like over there" convey the sense of different-ness from living in two different worlds. The 'feeding child' shifted between identities learns that Mangaians organise their lives differently depending on location, and how this is managed leads them to either conform, or not, to the local norms.

By being a 'feeding child,' the needs and strengths of the tamaiti āngai evolve in relation to either environment. The first generation Mangaians in the diaspora especially retain their sense of Mangaian-ness connecting them to their homeland and entitlements by virtue of their identity, their heritage. Replicating the tamariki āngai custom in the diaspora adds the different dimension to practising a custom apart from the mainstream culture where fewer families replicate the 'feeding' tradition, rather than it being common-place like 'back home.'
Families in the diaspora may consider having a 'feeding child' as a less automatic option, depending on what management choices they see as being viable. For an informally adopted Mangaian *tamaiti 'āngai* in the diaspora, living abroad is another step removed from his or her ability to claim birth right land if the child does not know or cannot prove the genealogical position in the individual's family. The child's ability to claim land 'back home' is seriously jeopardised.

Identity as a *tamaiti 'āngai* is influenced by the perceived quality of the time during the 'āngai experience due to how the child is treated, and the child's ability to maintain contact with those from whom the child is physically separated by being in an 'āngai household but with whom the *tamaiti* is emotionally connected. Occasionally, 'feeding' placements go awry for various reasons due to relationships illustrated in the following diagram in the perspective of the 'feeding child.'

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 7.11 Relational needs**

In the 'feeding' placement, the values and needs of society and the individual are combined as in Figure 7.11. What these values and needs are depends on how they are managed. In some families the 'feeding child' enjoys an elevated status by being adopted; however, this diagram illustrates the relational position of the 'feeding child' living subordinate to the Mangaian "society's values/needs" that the adopted child simultaneously supports through their service role in the adoptive family for the greater good of the community and society. In addition, the diagram shows the "personal values/needs" of the 'feeding child' being on par with the child—subordinate to the "society's values/needs." The solid lines in Figure 7.11 represent certain expectations, such as birth right land endowments, being met, while the perforated line emphasises the contingent and uncertain relationship perceived by the 'feeding child' between these two seemingly opposing "needs" actually being connected.
Management of these issues is important because discord represented in Figure 7.11 tends to be over an accumulation of little things—not one significant event—that becomes sufficiently intolerable that the 'feeding child' no longer looks to the community to reaffirm the tamaiti's value, status or identity as an adopted child. If the adopted individual perceives that his or her personal needs have not been met, are not being met, and are not likely to be met by the 'feeding' community enough to continue the child's commitment to relationships within that community; the child may choose to disrupt the 'feeding' placement, depending on what other options are available. The 'feeding child' interprets alleged exploitation or discrimination in the community as a statement that the wider society does not value the 'feeding child's' role and cultural contribution and is therefore unwilling to meet the tamaiti's needs, even though the child's kin community is capable of bestowing the birth right to the child.

Depending on how these issues are managed, the 'feeding child' readjusts his or her expectations and resolves their treatment by the community in the child's search for self-identity. The 'feeding child' either learns to either adjust into his or her Mangaian-ness or else the situation improves; for example, the tamaiti ōāngai identifies someone with whom it develops a relationship that fulfils a particular need. Or the child may discover something else that compensates for the disparity between expectations and reality in their relationship with the 'feeding family,' or the child leaves the placement. The options all have a variety of repercussions for the 'feeding child' in the 'feeding family' and natal family and the community. An example of one consequence is that the 'feeding child' views his or her 'feeding family' or community as a barrier to entitlements that must be tunneled through alone. Or the child feels 'sacrificed' or shunned altogether when the adoptive parents, as the child's sponsor, are no longer around to protect the child's rights as a Mangaian. In response, the child rejects the natal and 'feeding families' and their needs just as the adopted child feels that both the birth and adoptive families rejected the needs of the 'feeding child.'

Informants in my research indicated that it can be confusing for a 'feeding child' in the diaspora to understand how the myriad relationships fit together in the tamaiti's universe and from which the child develops his or her own self-identity. To illustrate the variety of relationships that the 'feeding child' may need to map socially, I now return to the basic dyad format that illustrates community relations available to a 'feeding child' re-placed in the diaspora. Eventually the tamaiti ōāngai uses his or her cognitive ability to process these connections, either 'back home,' abroad or both, depending on the individual's locus and on the support and encouragement the child receives. Tanariki ōāngai learn within their environment who is the lenient or tolerant person; who is indulgent; who is the compassionate person; who
is the volatile disciplinarian to be avoided and who are the safe, accepting peers. The following chart illustrates the different dyads mentioned by my informants during the data collection. This shows the basic complex world of relationships that a tamaiti 'āngai processes in forming identity and 'place' in his or her social universe, and why it can be confusing for a child to integrate, given the information or lack of information about identity and primary relationships and the reason for being raised as a tamaiti 'āngai rather than with birth parents. The provision of information is clearly important in how they manage these relationships.

![Diagram of Dyadic Relationships](image)

**Figure 7.12 Dyadic relationships influencing the 'feeding child's' identity**

Note the arrows in the highly simplified diagram that reflect the potential for relationships which are managed between the 'feeding child' and the other members of the dyad. To cap this discussion, these relationships are limited to interactions between living humans, but they can also include the memories of deceased family members and spiritual entities, which represent additional relationships. This diagram centres on the 'feeding child's' frame of reference. The relationships in Figure 7.12 represent a wide network of resources and obligations through these contacts.

Recall that a triadic relationship is comprised of three fundamental dyads such as the birth parent child dyad and that interactions potentially triple with the addition of a third component. To demonstrate the infinite triad-relationships embedded in Figure 7.12's
abbreviated diagram would result in a chaotic web; however, conceptually, an individual triad can be emphasised with the others in the background. For example, the 'feeding child' and the biological parent dyad is part of a triad that includes the biological sibling of the adopted child raised in an adoptive home on another island. Again, this diagram is highly simplified and illustrative; in reality, the web is much more complex.

All of the potential triadic relationships represented in Figure 7.12 may not be apparent to the other triad-members, which is another reminder to the adopted child that he or she is living in a different family format as compared to the 'feeding child's' natal household. Depending on how the relationships are managed, even though children may be raised apart from their family of origin, they can be attuned to their own original identity and retain a close mental affiliation with the absent parent and family. In this sense, a person is an abbreviated representation of his or her hidden genetic and social histories that include the never ending influence of adoption.

A further source of identity influencing, and influenced by, the tradition is the expatriate community. My data indicate that the identities of Mangaia's residents and those of the Mangaian residents living in Aotearoa although bifurcated by the diaspora, largely remain 'attached' through considerable interaction between people, including the exchange of children, in the different communities. Figure 7.12 illustrates how Mangaian identity compounds into hybrid forms from having families in the diaspora. Identities of the 'feeding children' and their families in each of the four communities in this study are unique from the other communities and their 'home' culture. The concluding figure in this analysis represents the complexity faced by people on both sides of the migration channel trying to keep an overall sense of Mangaian-ness, either from contact with family living abroad or from living abroad and keeping contact with family 'back home.'
Mangaian community in Aotearoa

Mangaian community in Aotearoa

Mangaia

Mangaian community in Aotearoa

Mangaian community in Aotearoa

Figure 7.13 Constellation of identity-complexities stemming from the diaspora

Just as Polynesian mariners calculated their location from distinctive wave patterns on the hulls of their vaka reverberating from different islands, culture affects Mangaians differently living in Mangaia and Aotearoa. While the people are connected by culture, they are also separated by culture on a different level because each community in the diaspora develops its own culture. They are 'in,' but also apart from, the mainstream culture, a subculture in their host communities abroad. Hence, the varied shapes in the diagram represent the unique cultures in different locations, shaped by communities being away from the 'home' environment as Mangaians re-'place' or transact Mangaian children in customary adoption.

The four Mangaian communities depicted in relation to Mangaia represent the four distinct communities that hosted 'uipa-anga about their adoption practice as part of this research project. Representatives in each location face challenges distinct from those living 'back home.' Their lives are organised differently because of the cultural and environmental differences. These differences give them choices and perspectives about Mangaian tamariki
\'\'\'ængai\' modified from their homeland yet they, especially the first-generation Mangaians in the diaspora, remain emotionally connected to their heritage and the birth right that it represents.

It should be emphasised that Mangaian identity for 'feeding children' at 'home' and in the diaspora is an outcome of the management of relationships between family, community and individual choice. Identity and relationships are linked to inheritance, the third major theme in this research.

**Eligibility and entitlement**

In the Mangaian culture people inherit land and mana from their parents. Lineage has a hierarchy and a child also receives mana from how well the parent loves and 'looks after' the child. Mangaian land is a finite, family controlled resource that is historically valuable and carries mana in the community. Birth children look to their birth parents for their birth right land. Because a family's land is valuable and owned by numerous people, many people are involved in decisions about the land being further divided and gifted amongst family. In customary adoption, eligibility and entitlement blur—who gives what land and when—depends on the oral adoption agreement between the parent dyad regarding the inheritance of the 'feeding child.' The exact details of the promised land are negotiated later in a family group conference. A Mangaian child can inherit land conceivably from both the birth and 'feeding families.'

Land boundaries are manipulated, strategised and disputed to advantage because ambiguities in the system protect landholdings and encourage further dialogue in dynamic relationships. Families keep the traditional governing body, the Aronga Mana, informed about shifting land ownership. They are the 'court of last resort' in matters of boundary disputes. Land given is land no longer available in the future unless families deem another request valid and appropriate that returns the land perhaps with another 'feeding child' or through other means. Over time, landownership recycles between families reinforcing their relationships. However, it appears that as families increase in number, controls over the land 'back home' tighten control for future claims by unregistered tamariki 'ængai' who were adopted before registration was emphasised and necessary to protect access to entitlements.

Mangaian eligibility for birth right land entitlement influences customary adoption of both legally-'legitimate' children and children conceived in unstable relationships which tend to represent the bulk of the contemporary 'feeding children' absorbed by the Mangaian community. A single-parent may give a child to 'feeding parents' without the consent of the classificatory father. Technically, the birth father can protect his family's assets from being
depleted by not claiming paternity on the child's birth registration, just as the birth mother can protect the birth father's assets by not notifying him of the birth. The birth child's paternal lineage is 'hidden' and unproven in matters of dispute over future Mangaian birth right eligibility for that child as a 'feeding child' from his or her father's side if the 'feeding family' does not formally adopt the tamaiti and bequeath land to the individual. The 'feeding child' can lose his or her birth right to land and be exiled by the actions of the birth and 'feeding parent' dyads.

Mangaians born and raised abroad are eligible for birthright land on Mangaia if they know their place in their family lineage and can prove their relationship. Some families view legal adoption as "just a piece of paper" and honour the informal arrangement 'as if' it was formal. Other families reject the notion that even court manoeuvres validly alter lineage-based land-eligibilities. According to my data, the latter tends to hold true in matters of traditional titles that are lineage-based and remain on Mangaia. Families are large and there is always someone on the island to fill a vacancy rather than the traditional title going to a less-related tamaiti āngai.

Still, some titles tend to drift when title-owners out-migrate leaving other people to look after the titles. However, people eventually restore the title to the rightful owner. Unless birth parents choose to raise their firstborn themselves or the child is not legally legitimate, or the firstborn 'feeding child' is 'fed' by his or her grandparent, the 'feeding child' abdicates the mataiapo status in addition to his or her status in the hierarchy of other grandchildren in the family of origin, when shifting to the 'feeding family,' even if the 'feeding child' is the oldest child in the 'feeding household.' Mataiapo-status is significant because the firstborn holds responsibility for all the family knowledge and leadership. However, the firstborn resumes his or her status upon return to the natal household, if the family accepts the child back. In any case, it can be difficult to resume one's birth status in relation to the constellation of grandchildren depending upon the acceptance of the adoption and natal family participants. If the child is rejected, he or she finds another living situation or someone in the extended family provides an option 'back home' or abroad.

This concludes my discussion of eligibility and entitlements relating to Mangaia's 'feeding' tradition that includes mana, land and titles. Now I discuss emotions stemming from the 'feeding' custom, the fourth major theme in this research.
(b) Emotional responses and their management

In my data, emotions relating to experiences in customary adoption are significant and have an impact on each of Mangaia's four ecological levels. Tracking how and why people affiliated with adoption practices experience and manage their emotions is challenging because human nature is dynamic and diverse; social interchanges between people represent subtle socio-cultural nuances that are sensitive to discuss even with 'outsiders' because emotions can make people feel vulnerable; and the nature of adoption is intimate. In subsection (b) my data indicate that identity affects how Mangaian adoptees feel about themselves and their relationships.

This subsection discusses adoption related emotions represented in my data from the perspective of members of the adoption triad and the community that can influence relationships and the quality of life for the society in general. Recall the comment by Rothaupt and Becker about migrants in general, that "those who grieve may feel the most isolated" (2007, p. 10). The authors' use of "may" indicates that feeling isolated is at least one response but does not necessarily describe every migrant's experience. Similarly, in this subsection about emotional responses, the responses do not reflect the universal experiences of the members of the same adoption triad or in all the adoption triads. It is impossible to argue that if X happens to one member of the adoption triad, then Xx is the emotional response by that individual and accordingly then Y, another member of the same triad will respond with a further predictable emotion.

This subsection is an overview of the reported emotions stemming from the informant disclosures that are important to include because they represent the heart of the influence of the practice from different vantages. Emotions manifest agency, tools, incentives and dilemmas in the tradition and they are important in an analysis of how and what Mangaians face when they manage customary adoption. This discussion reminds me of the cultural conflict and tension in the literary account of Poito when the son killed his father which was culturally prescribed but the son's act was not "admired" by the people (Hiroa, 1934, p. 105). Culture influences people's responses and their relationship with the society although the two are not necessarily congruent.

Additionally, emotions manifest in multiple ways in a person depending upon the individual's age, physical health, what aspect of their life they choose to emphasise or who they are with, and their innate resilience and development of coping techniques and social supports and where they are in reconciling their experiences. Having already reviewed the roles of the adoption triad members in the context of Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, I discuss the
potential emotional impact of adoption on each member of the adoption triad, and the community in Mangaia and abroad. Each of the emotional responses reported occurred in the scenario described but is not intended to represent all similar situations. I omit the pseudonyms and references to gender to protect internal confidentiality.

**Birth parent**

The emotional consequences of adoption on Mangaian birth parents are wide-spread and include love, affection, confidence and concern. Figure 7.5 emphasises inherent love and affection that the parent continues to feel for the relinquished or 'taken' child. Also influencing the parent is the nature and the extent that love is allowed by the 'feeding parent' to be demonstrated during on-going communication between the birth parent and the child. The emotional impact on the birth parent from sharing their child and being unable to raise the birth child tends to exist whether or not this is resolved in relation to the other members of the adoption triad. Depending on how the agreement is set up and managed affects the birth parents' confidence regarding agency and control in their decision to relinquish and concern regarding 'what are they doing with my child?' and whether the adoptive parents will fulfil their part of the negotiated adoption agreement. Experiences and outcomes that match positive expectations appear to ease the birth parent's post-adoption adjustments. Thus, management of emotions stemming from their dyad relationship is a matter that the metua consider.

The birth parents learn to manage the tendency toward a persistent tension developing between them, by being the natal parents, and the 'feeding parents,' their social replacements. This is a result of their kin removing their birth child and the responsibility for their child's care. The data shows that the birth parent tends to defer to the adoptive parent's decisions regarding the frequency and nature of the contact between the birth parent and their birth child, because as the natal parents, they no longer have the jural responsibility over their child. According to the data, having more choice and control in decisions about their given child, diminishes feelings of helplessness, grief, depression and despair that birth parents can experience. Subsequent satisfying contact with the other members of the adoption triad appears to ease, but not remove, the emotional impact that the adoption has on the birth parent, thus it is important for birth parents to deal with at the outset.

The research indicates that the extent and nature of the knowledge available to the birth parents about their child and what the birth parents perceive about the child's experience in the placement, influences the birth parents' emotional experience. Having additional and reinforcing information about the child can soothe feelings of loss and emptiness from the separation or make it worse depending upon how the birth parents choose to respond. Hence,
the location of the child in relation to the 'feeding parent,' if the birth parent lives in close proximity to the child, can influence accessibility and contribute to the birth parent's sense of hopefulness about the outcome of the arrangement and the child's welfare. Overall, the amount of information and reassurance about the child's well-being reduces anxiety in the birth parents about their decision to relinquish the child. Over time, the emotional experience of the birth parent depends somewhat upon the quality and extent of the ongoing interactions between the members of the triad—whether or not the birth parent wanted to breastfeed the child and was permitted to breastfeed the child and for how long, can influence emotions when the 'feeding parent' holds the jural responsibility over the child. These are all factors for consideration as part of the practice of customary adoption.

The emotional response also appears to depend on the birth parent's perceptions about what the newborn or older child represents to the birth parent and how the parents choose to manage their perceptions. To illustrate, the birth parent may feel resigned, regret or a sense of relief about relinquishing depending on whether the child was or was not planned, if the parent anticipated the pregnancy and birth and if the parent is prepared for the rigours of parenthood. The parent may feel melancholy about the adoption depending upon what he or she perceives to be the circumstances and stability of the relationship with the other birth parent, and how this is managed; for example, if the birth parent views the child as a reminder of a valued or problematic relationship. If and how the birth parent manages shame or resignation will influence the parent's decision regarding the birth child and any secondary emotions stemming from the placement. The birth parent may feel relief if he or she believes that the child has more opportunities living elsewhere with the 'feeding family,' or if land assets are thereby retained. In all these examples, the parent manages the outcomes through conscious choices.

Stress may stem from how parents adjust to their reproductive history. The experience of a birth parent who has had previous infants die may be different from the loss felt by a mother who has not experienced infant mortality. Stress experienced by the birth parent can be different for the metua who willingly relinquishes the newborn to another family member for gender-profiling, as compared to the birth parent that faces multiple losses when the partner dies in childbirth.

The birth parent's cultural perspective and cognition has an impact on emotionality; for example, the birth parent believes that they have no choice but to acquiesce in the claim by another family member because of the family's protocol, or another birth parent, already having several children, is sad at the loss of relinquishing a newborn, but may also feel compassion and a sense of duty to give the infant to a barren sibling. A birth parent may feel
consoled that the relinquishment strengthens family relationships or friendships. The fact that a birth parent has seen the 'feeding' pattern routinely expressed in the family and community can influence a birth parent's satisfaction by participating in this Mangaian tradition.

The birth parent's experience of releasing a newborn after nine months of gestation may be different from giving an older child after spending several nurturing years with the child before leaving the tamaiti behind with trusted family in the diaspora. The emotional impact on the birth parents can change over time as they process their adjustments relative to what is known or seen regarding the maturing child. The birth parent may regret the decision to relinquish a child if he or she perceives that there is treatment-disparity in the 'feeding home' by the 'feeding parents' toward the adopted child and the natal children of the 'feeding parents.' For example, the child appears more or less confident, happy, secure and carefree than children raised by the birth parent. The natal parents may grow to regret relinquishing the child depending on the own evolving religious beliefs or with the realisation that giving the child forever changes their relationship with that child to the extent that the intimate emotional parent child tie is broken in the child's formative years. The emotional impact on a birth parent may ease with distractions from developing a new partnership or other life events. Often the relinquishing parent may disappear altogether from the child's life and choose to wait for the child to pursue a relationship, since it was the birth parent that gave the child.

The birth parent may feel confident that their child is well-looked after by the 'feeding parent,' however, choose to reclaim the child if the child meets with tragedy while in the care of the 'feeding parent.' The birth parent expecting that life would be easy to resume after relinquishing the child to another relative can have a different experience and deal privately with the aftermath, more often the way that people 'manage' their responses. The birth parents can spend years hoping that their relinquished child will eventually want to resume and develop a parent child relationship with them once the adoptive parent dies. The extent that this materialises can have an impact on the birth parent's emotions over time.

Depending upon how frequently the birth parent chooses to remember the relinquished child, how often the parent is reminded by others about the relinquishment, and how the parent mentally rehearses the circumstances about their child's placement and the difference this placement makes in their lives, can influence the emotional impact of the adoption on the birth parent. If the child was removed from the birth parent by the 'feeding parent,' the birth parent may grieve that he or she cannot enjoy their birth child's affections or that the child looks to the 'feeding parents' and not them to meet the child's needs. Occasions such as family reunions can elicit emotional reminders about relinquishments and the difference this makes
in relationships if the child avoids eye-contact or an embrace with the birth parent. The parent must then negotiate the awkwardness this represents to both the parent and the child.

Birth parents who relinquish their birth children for customary adoption may pay a heavy emotional price; however, they may also eventually find solace, and in some cases reward, in the outcome. The parent who relinquishes his or her child in a legal adoption can experience the emotional impact of loss from the finality of the arrangement through signing the document. To the extent that the birth parent sees some benefit either personally or for their child or the 'feeding parent,' appears to positively influence some of the emotions felt by the birth parent about the adoption of their child. While the emotional impact of the adoption process on the birth parents may centre more on the inherent love and affection that the parents feel for their relinquished child and the loss of influence or control in the child's life, the birth parent's vulnerability has a different emphasis than what the adoptive parent or 'feeding parent' generally experiences from their role and vantage in the adoption triad.

'Feeding parent'

In many ways, a discussion of the emotional impact on the 'feeding parent' stemming from the adoption process mirrors the experience of the birth parent except that the impact on the adoptive parent generally arises from insecurity, because their relationship with the 'feeding child' is social rather than genetic, and their role in the adoption is different from the birth parent as depicted in Figure 7.5. The 'feeding parent' receives and operationalises jural responsibility and stewardship over a child birthed by another individual. Although the adoptive parents nurture their 'feeding child,' they may be unsure where the affection and loyalty of their adoptive child will eventuate—if the adopted child will prefer the birth parent or the adoptive parent, in the context of all their invested effort to raise this 'feeding child.' The 'feeding parent' cannot control the adoptive child's heart, mind, and behaviour, and hence, the 'feeding parent's' concerns persist at some level as people mature and events unfold. The surrogate parent may regret his or her decision to claim and adopt a child if the birth parent meddles enough to disrupt the adoptive relationship.

Emotional responses such as anticipation, relief and joy, or frustration, anxiety, disappointment, may be part of the 'feeding parent's' experience just from the interactions necessary to find a child and successfully negotiate a 'feeding' agreement with the birth parent. The impact on the 'feeding parent' may depend on the amount of anticipation or uncertainty that the 'feeding parent' experiences in advance of receiving the 'feeding child.' This can be exacerbated by incentives or pressures to secure the agreement if there are other competitors strategising for the same child. The research shows that emotions throughout the process can
be influenced by who initiated the adoption and what the adoption arrangement represents to the 'feeding parent' what the 'feeding parent' expects to receive from the adoption. The adoptive parents may feel empowered and assured regarding their sense of eligibility to adopt and the amount of choice and control they have in the decision to either claim a child or accept a child offered and to negotiate the agreement with the birth parent.

To the extent that the adoptive parents want to be the psychological parent to their 'feeding child,' the parents may feel threatened by the birth parent's physical or psychological presence. This dynamic can influence the adoptive parent to compensate for not being the birth parent by indulging the 'feeding child' with special privileges or withholding discipline to ensure the 'feeding child's' continued affection. The 'feeding parents' perception about their own adequacy can influence the parent's emotional experience; for example, having sufficient assets to meet the emotional and physical needs of the 'feeding child.'

The emotional impact on the 'feeding parent' from uncertainty can be different depending upon experience; for example, if the parent is a barren sibling of the birth parent, or has a history of failed pregnancies. Depending on the value placed on experiencing birth first-hand by the surrogate parents, it can be painful for some individuals to be reminded of their physical inability to produce a child and thereby experience the innate closeness to an infant from giving birth. The adoptive parent can continue to wonder what it would be like to have birthed the beloved child and imagine how the experience would have made a difference in their relationship with the child.

The pro-parents may feel more confident than an experienced parent with birth children living in the home or emancipated, depending upon how satisfied the 'feeding parents' are with the outcome of their earlier parenting experiences. The 'feeding parents' can feel gratitude or humility or an incentive to perform to the highest standard if they realise that their only chance to experience parenthood depends on another family member's sacrifice of their own opportunity to parent the new life.

The location of the 'feeding family's' household in relation to the child's birth family may influence the emotional impact on the adoptive parent depending on the nature, quality and extent of the ongoing interactions between the members of the adoption triad and the expectations held by the triad. For example, if the 'feeding parent' feels threatened or 'left out' by not being able to breastfeed the 'feeding child,' but permits the birth parent to feed the child can influence the 'feeding parent's emotions. The 'feeding parents' may tolerate this for the health benefits that their infant receives.

The impact on the adoptive parent will depend on how secure the 'feeding parent' feels about his or her relationship with other members of the triad, and how this relationship
compares to what the 'feeding parent' perceives is the 'feeding child's' relationship with their birth parent, and loyalty toward their birth parent over time. The adoptive parent may be concerned and hopeful that the birth parent will honour and fulfil the adoption agreement about the child in whom they each share an interest rather than undermine the surrogate relationship. The 'feeding parent' may revel in the intimacy and blessing of shared affection with the 'feeding child' and the motivation and vibrancy this responsibility brings to other relationships and routine tasks by having a refreshed purpose in life. Knowing what the child represents to the birth parent can increase the accountability felt by the 'feeding parent.' The 'feeding parent' may feel more secure and confident when the adoptive parent reassures the birth parent with positive reports on the 'feeding child's' development.

The emotional experience by the 'feeding parent' may depend on the age of the child at the time of the adoption placement. The data describes the sense of devastation felt by the surrogate parent after being denied the promised infant in one scenario and in another case, after the birth parent reclaimed the toddler that the parent previously relinquished. The 'feeding parent' can be surprised unexpectedly for receiving a newborn and feel resigned to the expensive and labour intensive first years in a child's life. The data indicate that a metua may feel compassion for very young parents or empathy for an older child in a family going through difficulties. 'Feeding parents' may experience satisfaction from acting on altruistic motives to support their kin when the needs were apparent. They may feel relief because they were in a position to help.

As the jural-parent, the 'feeding parent' that receives a young child carries the burden of informing the 'feeding child' or withholding significant information about the child's identity and history. The parent may experience stress over when, if, how and what to tell the 'feeding child' about the child's birth history or risk the adopted child learning first from other sources in their family or community. The 'feeding parent' may worry or fear that the adopted child will love the 'feeding parent' less the more the child knows about the circumstances of the tamaiti's adoption. The extent to which the 'feeding parents' want to and believe that they can and do emotionally replace the status of the birth parent in the eyes of the 'feeding child' can be emotionally fulfilling to the 'feeding parent' over time. It can be emotionally exhausting for a 'feeding parent' to compete with their psychological rival, the birth parent, even though the metua 'ângai holds jural responsibility over the adoptive child. The data shows that for some 'feeding parents,' acceptance that a situation will not change can be a relief or contribute to long suffering and patience. Sadness stemming from regret was another emotional response when events were disappointing.
The research indicates that the 'feeding parent' may experience anguish over the behaviour of an adoptive child over time in relation to the adoptive parent's tolerance for the behaviour. The parent may feel pride and resolute determination from receiving positive reinforcing appraisal by the birth parents and community, either directly or indirectly. The emotional impact on the 'feeding parent' may be satisfaction from giving the adoptive child their inheritance or otherwise fulfilling the obligations outlined in the adoption agreement.

The extent to which the 'feeding parent' is acculturated and adheres to Mangaia's traditional values influences the pro-parent's emotions about the adoption experience. 'Feeding parents' may feel resigned to adopt if their children do not want to or cannot parent their offspring from casual relationships. They may feel obligated to adopt according to other cultural protocol. The extent that the 'feeding parents' believe that supernatural forces operate on their behalf when claiming a child can influence the parents' emotional response about surrogacy. Since the custom is a societal norm, the 'feeding parents' may celebrate and strengthen a significant relationship by accepting their friend's child.

Mangaian 'feeding parents' adopt out of love for children knowing that there are no guarantees for a particular outcome. Because of the vagaries in human nature, a 'feeding parent' may feel powerless and vulnerable by not being fully in control of the 'feeding child's' problematic behaviour. The parents may experience embarrassment or loss if the 'feeding child' is not willing to conform to the rules of the household and the 'feeding family' depends heavily on the tamaiti's labour. The 'feeding parent' can feel grief and guilt either if tragedy befalls the 'feeding child' unrelated to the 'feeding parent's' care or due to the parent's negligence. The proxy parent can feel embarrassed or shamed in the community if the adoption disrupts due to their inability to fulfil obligations to the child, especially if the child prefers to live elsewhere when the adoption agreement expects the child to provide aged-welfare care to the 'feeding parent's' end-of-life. The adoptive parent may feel numb or bewildered if the 'feeding child' leaves the adoptive home to return to the natal family.

The emotional response by surrogate parents regarding adoption can change over time as the 'feeding parents' process their adjustment from their experiences, reassess the difference in their life brought about by the adoption and as their 'feeding child' matures. If there is a discordant relationship between expectations and the outcome at a given time, the effect is influenced by how important the disparity is to the 'feeding parent' at the time and if anything might be done to alleviate the difference. The 'feeding parent' may feel very satisfied if, in time, the 'feeding child' is more attentive and supportive to the 'feeding parent' than the birth children of the metua 'āngai.
The adoptive parents may be satisfied or disappointed depending upon how the 'feeding parent's' emotional 'investment' in the raising of the child is reciprocated by the child over time. The emotional impact on the proxy-parent may depend upon the child's consistent behaviour, how warmly the child responds to the 'feeding parent.' This relationship may change and thus influence the emotions differently over time for the adoptive parent. The parent may be pleased with the match or troubled over the disparity, between the adoptive parent's initial and revised expectations for the outcome of their 'feeding child.'

The 'feeding parents' may feel proud when their 'feeding child' goes abroad for education or employment and demonstrates loyalty toward them through continued contact and according to the nature and quality of the contact. For example, the adoptive parent may feel relieved or that their role is reaffirmed if the emancipated 'feeding child' returns to the adoptive parent or sends remittances in the interim. The adoptive parents feel pride in their role in the adoption when their 'feeding child' publicly acknowledges the psychological role that the adoptive parents represent in the life of the 'feeding child.'

The 'feeding parent' pays a heavy emotional price for their role in the adoption triad. Depending upon how much the birth parent competes for the affection of the 'feeding child' has an impact on the emotions of the adoptive parent. Having more control in the life of the child and control in subsequent contact with the other members of adoption triad appears to ease the emotional impact of the adoption on the 'feeding parent.' To the extent that the 'feeding parents' see some benefit either personally or for their 'feeding child' or the birth parent, influences emotions felt by the 'feeding parent' about the adoption. While the emotional impact of the adoption influences the parent dyad members individually, both metua benefit from operationalising more advanced coping techniques than the infant or young tamaiti 'āngai has available.

'Feeding child'

Emotions and values influence behaviour and experience that contributes to how 'feeding children' perceive identity and relationships and their place in the Mangaian world. Emotions experienced during a 'feeding child's' early identity-building are a large part of the child's adoption experience. The child may not be aware of his or her genetic history for years; however, as soon as the child learns this information is when the grieving begins for many children regardless of whether they learn from their 'feeding parents' or within their community. It is routine that if the child has feelings of loss in response to knowing about and being separated from his or her birth parents, it is hidden from and not acknowledged in or by
the wider community. The research shows that it is understood that in many cases the child is aware of his or her status from treatment by the community.

There appears to be a pattern correlation between the emotional impact of the practice on the 'feeding child' and the age of the 'feeding child' at the time of the placement, with the younger child tending to manifest a smoother transition between care-givers. Mangaians believe that the newborn emotionally bonds to care-givers who meet the child's needs and that there is less emotional impact on the infant from being transferred between the birth and the 'feeding parents' than on an older child that transferred. The data shows that the older child at placement has more relational adjustments to integrate about his or her identity and environment if the tamaiti or tamāine āngai has bonded emotionally with the primary care-givers before they shift to a 'feeding' household. Another age-correlation is that the 'feeding child' placed with an aging 'feeding parent' who has limited ability to look after the 'feeding child' will have a different emotional experience than if the 'feeding child' is placed with a more active and involved adoptive parent: By having an older 'feeding parent,' the child can face consecutive placements and additional adjustments when the aging adoptive parent dies.

As reported by my research participants, 'feeding children' had difficulty reconciling "why me?" regarding their situation of feeling 'singled-out' and raised apart from their birth family and their natal siblings, even if they know why their birth parents relinquished them. An informant explained that the 'feeding child' can feel left out of activities and relationships with his or her birth family that the child would prefer to be included or to participate in their own volition. In time, the 'feeding child' may identify with the expectations of their 'feeding family' and community. It was reported that the 'feeding child' does not always understand what he or she is told about the circumstances of the living situation; however, the data shows that āngai-d youth experience shame from how peers or other people in the community reinforce their status as tamaiti āngai. The 'feeding child' may enjoy regular contact with the birth parent living next door and run to the birth parent for a cuddle when the child is being disciplined by his or her 'feeding parent.'

The child's social awareness, temperament, resilience, and the refinement of the coping skills, what the individual knows about the history and nature of each previous adoption arrangement; for example, whether the adoption was crisis-driven (parental death) versus an elective placement (because the parents request), appears to influence experiences that are recalled by adult 'feeding children.' Similarly, the amount and nature of the advance preparatory information that the 'feeding parents' give the child in advance of the shift, the child's experience with adjustment prior to the shift, and the child's perceived isolation from biological siblings and previously established social supports in the new situation, also appear...
to have an impact on the quality of recalled experiences. The level of negativity towards their 'āngai situation reported by the informants tends to increase with the age of the child at the time of the adoption or disruption of the 'child's' primary living situation, especially when the child has developed a meaningful relationship with the care-giver that the tamaiti 'āngai leaves behind. The child may be bewilderdd about why he or she is treated better than other children in the 'feeding family' or worse than them. The 'feeding child' is more likely to resent having to work when others in the 'feeding family' can rest. The 'feeding child' lives in a social world interacting with the 'feeding parent,' peers and what amounts to many surrogate care-givers in the community who are aware of the child and 'look out' for him or her.

The data shows that the 'feeding child' is more likely to feel valued when 'feeding parents' invest their attention in developing a relationship with the 'feeding child.' Otherwise, the child can feel "dumped" and forgotten by the birth family while the child is expected to serve in the 'feeding family.' An informant explained that the tamaiti 'āngai who feels ignored by the 'feeding parent' may interpret this response to be a second rejection, like an emotional 'assault,' following the initial relinquishment by the natal parent. The adopted child develops relational or behavioural coping strategies even if the individual is to 'retaliate' through anger and rebellion. The foster children can compensate by making choices that reject cultural values and community supports that have worked previously for them and their 'feeding parents.' It was reported that the tamaiti can feel abandoned because his or her 'real' family out-migrated leaving the child behind, however, at the same time, the 'feeding child' eventually resolves this loss and develops closer bonds with the metua 'āngai. The research revealed that foreign influences and the behavioural choices made by parents and children challenge and support cultural values held by adopted children and their host communities.

As a consequence of the cultural incongruence between the generations, members of both age groups become frustrated about how to bridge the widening gap between them. My data show that unless relationships are nurtured, there are repercussions. If troubling behaviours worsen, families can be faced with the detrimental option of the juvenile 'feeding child' entering the justice system to carry that record for the rest of the youth's life or being shipped off to another placement in a different community which might conceivable match the child's needs, however, carry the effects of the māpū 'older child' having to adjust to yet another move. This returns us back to the issue of processing multiple moves and identity.

The 'feeding child' may be surprised to learn that who the tamaiti thought was his or her birth parent is not and be confused as to why the tamaiti 'āngai must leave their 'feeding parent' to go abroad to live with the birth parent whom the child does not know if the 'feeding parent' becomes incapacitated. Or the 'feeding child' may be sad because his or her 'feeding
parent' dies and the child must then out-migrate to live with another relative whom the child does not know. The tamaiti may also be unhappy because he or she does not want to go live in Mangaia with family that the child does not know well if they speak the dialect that is unfamiliar dialect to the child. However, the tamaiti 'āngai may find that life is different from abroad and thrive in the freedom, adventure and social world of a small island environment.

In the 'perfect' world, the Mangaian 'feeding child' learns of his or her heritage from the caregiver and does not receive punitive reminders in the social environment about not growing up with the tamaiti's natal family. Ideally, a Mangaian 'feeding child' feels secure that the community is supportive and ready to mobilise on the child's behalf rather than the child being reminded that he or she is different from children surrounded by their family of origin. The 'feeding child' desires to feel integrated with the 'feeding family,' to feel included like the birth children in the home and not humiliated by being treated as second-best. Depending on the child's perception and experience in their society that reinforces a sense of identity and belonging, the tamaiti 'āngai can choose to adhere to his or her heritage identity and believe that their socio-emotional needs are met sufficiently to stay invested psychologically with the community, even when the 'feeding child' is disciplined.

Without emotional support, the research shows, the foster child can feel unsettled when meeting someone that claims to know the child's deceased birth parent especially if the 'feeding child' perceives that the person knows more information about the child's identity than the tamaiti 'āngai does. Even a well-meaning encounter with a stranger can cause a 'feeding child' to detach from the present into an emotional 'time out' state, while the child attempts to mentally piece together bits of information about missing relationships from the stranger's comment. One informant as a child questioned if the stranger could be trusted and whether the information was accurate, and even, if this individual was old enough to know the unknown parent.

The child is left wondering what to do with the information: should the information be accepted or rejected? If the information is integrated, it can change the child's identity that may or may not be an improvement. The child's mind is busy processing while family members are oblivious. Such mental positioning can divert and delay the child from attending to other age/stage-appropriate development skills. The child processes the feelings that arise from this social encounter, such as curiosity to learn more from a new source of information or defensiveness stemming from having a sense of vulnerability over recognising the difference in not knowing his or her family history that a reasonable child could conclude that non-adopted peers would be expected to know from living with their natal family. While this scenario represents normal issues in adoption identity, the foster child may be socialised in the
tamaiti āngai's household to deal privately with such adjustments and consequently, this important process gets overlooked by the family and community.

This emotional impact on an individual may seem insignificant to adult non-adoptees because they have a different frame of reference from the 'feeding child,' however, such situations and responses occur as part of the adoptee's experience. In some cases, the seemingly moot 'non-issues' fester in the background, sometimes for years, continuing the disequilibrium that comes to the child's mind and can manifest in the child's behaviour until the matter is resolved by the child.

Each family relationship is unique and it becomes the Mangaian's 'feeding child's' hidden legacy to uncover these different connections. The research shows that the search generates various emotional responses during the child's perpetual discovery process. Adopted children may see their biological siblings regularly in the community and know who they are, or they may not know their genetic identity and relationship. The 'feeding child' may not have information about his or her birth siblings because the information was withheld by the 'feeding parent' or the 'feeding parent' does not know about the child's existing birth siblings. The integral part of the discovery process stems from the child being a tamaiti āngai.

The adult 'feeding child' may eventually choose to interpret the difficulties he or she faced in the 'feeding environment' as a strengthening process in relation to experiences had by non-'feeding children.' The mature fostered individual may take pride in emancipating from the placement without support, and go abroad to build his or her own life. As an adult, the tamaiti āngai may appreciate that he or she can inherit land from their 'feeding family' or feel angry that people choose to withhold what the child has grown up thinking is his or her birth right heritage by being a Mangaian, when, in fact, neither the birth family nor the 'feeding family' organised a land parcel for this informally adopted person. After caring for, and following the death of the aged 'feeding parent,' the adopted child may seek the birth parent to resume a parent child relationship if both feel the risk of being rejected is worth the opportunity to restore and forge a parent child relationship.

The psycho-social nuances in these examples are significant in that social relations, and/or the vague or uncertain possibility of having hidden obscured connections, reinforce to the child that he or she is adopted and out of the mainstream of immediate and invested family protection, and living apart from the primary and immediate family's knowledge. The paradox is that while the 'feeding child' feels supported by the community from the 'many eyes looking out for it,' the tamaiti āngai comes to understand that ultimately, there are no institutionalised guarantees for protection. The foster child is his or her best advocate and guardian, and as such, the 'feeding child' honed their survival skills and is buffeted emotionally in the process.
Extended family and community

The adoption triad exists in the context of community and thus, extended family members are also emotionally influenced by customary adoption. These and other relationships are illustrated in Figure 7.12. According to the data, 'feeding children' develop different relationships from being in the 'āŋgai environment and in the diaspora, than they might otherwise. Although this resembles an emotional cushion, these supports get interrupted or lost through shifting locations or placements. Sometimes friends do not get to bid farewell to each other when the child unknowingly gets sent 'home' to live as a 'feeding child' with a relative that the tamaiti does not know. Similarly, birth siblings raised as 'feeding children' in the same family, may develop a stronger bond between them than they may have by remaining with their natal family because of the genetic link with their natal identity that each sibling represents to the other. The 'feeding child's' birth siblings may feel cut-off from the 'feeding child' that is 'back home' or in the diaspora if an affinity existed between them prior to the separation. Then, too, there are the birth siblings who do or do not want their mata'iapo-sibling that was given as a 'feeding child' to return to their household because they grew up estranged. The return of the mata'iapo to the natal home may represent a downward shift in household status to the rest of the siblings.

When adjustment stresses that are normally left to the child to manage among peers evolve into problematic behaviours for the communities to manage, children may get shifted in the diaspora or 'back home' as extended family collaborates on behalf of the 'feeding child.' As the people flow back to Mangaia to renew ties or re-'place' tamariki āŋgai from abroad, older 'feeding children' can import behaviours and values from their environment. The communities address the needs of the individual depending upon the level of advance preparation and according to available resources. If this community intervention fails, the child is re-'placed' again until the tamaiti finds the right situation in which to thrive or the āŋgai-d child emancipates into adulthood.

Re-'placing' children manifesting reactive behaviours has an impact on community members. If the behaviour outcome is good, then the community is satisfied that a youth has been helped. In contrast, if the outcome is that the community must deal with outbreaks of vandalism and physical assault, the emotional impact on the community detracts from the cultural emphasis on sharing and harmony, and satisfaction about the adoption tradition. Families may decline to accept the older 'feeding child' that is manifesting problematic behaviours, challenging the robustness of previous family supports. The adolescent 'feeding child' may have emancipated abroad and returned 'back home' to find his or her identity,
causing difficulties in the community until someone 'back home' finds work for the former foster 'child.' Families faced with accepting 'feeding' youths involved in troubling activities may reject attempts by community members to assist, leaving people feeling frustrated if not angry. Enough negativity has an impact on Mangaian choosing to replicate their tradition that has served practical purposes for many generations.

Summary of discussion on emotions

It is important to remember that each member of the adoption triad and the community that is emotionally influenced by informal adoption experiences responds differently in ways that the individual must manage in order to get his or her needs met and thereby survive in the environment, as well as for the custom to survive in the culture. The people choose how they react to the behaviours of others that, in turn, influences future interactions with their family members and community members with whom they have relationships and rely on for potential support. The different roles have different needs and power levels that change over time as the adoption triad ages. In time, the 'feeding child' may choose to look after or not look after the 'feeding parent' and perhaps develop a later-life relationship with his or her absent birth parent. The fortunate child may grow up between his or her birth family and the 'feeding family' and feel secure in knowing tamaiti's identity from being equally loved by two sets of parents.

My data indicate that when each member feels valued as a person and for their role by other members of the triad, relationships are strengthened. Similarly, when other family members not in the triad, but residing in the same household, see that each individual contributes to the family unit in the sharing of age-appropriate chores, there appears to be more satisfaction by the 'feeding children' about fairness than if the tamariki āngai are expected to labour as servants to the 'feeding parents' and on behalf of the same-age non-'feeding children' in the 'feeding household.' In retrospect, while the latter treatment was believed by the recipients to strengthen their character, in some cases, the disparity over time surpassed the child's tolerance and resilience and defeated relationships in that āngai family. This is important because it also means that the lines of future support and obligation are severed that could otherwise benefit the 'feeding child' and the tamaiti's former āngai family and his or her own natal family.

Trying to export troublesome tamariki āngai or arranging other options is challenging for families and communities alike on both sides of the diaspora. Ideally, Mangaian communities want to help; however, they resent having problem-children 'dumped' on them without advance preparation for the additional challenge this presents to agencies to organise
resources designed to meet the child's needs and minimise negative influences on, and subsequent reactions by, the rest of the community in this fast-changing world. The effects of these influences and relationships have long term consequences to the people's unity and support networks that have historically served them.

Just to cap this discussion on emotional effects from the practice, stresses in the community 'back home' surface in the advent of a returning tamaiti 'āngai whose adoption is not registered. While 'feeding families' consider registering their adoption to protect the rights of their 'feeding children,' there are many former informally 'fed' children who have aged out of the legal age range for adoption, and who were adopted before the need was apparent to secure hereditary right. These alumni return expecting to 'fight' for a claim to a piece of birth right land. The weight of entitlements has been for them a tenuous wait for entitlements due to their marginalised status as tamariki 'āngai. At the same time, families abroad continue to send children 'back home' to be raised by their relatives as tamariki 'āngai and look after the 'feeding parent' and family holdings until the 'feeding parent' dies.

There appears to be a gap between the perspectives of the communities abroad and the tamariki 'āngai who have served families for years, about access and availability of the land 'back home' as compared to the families living in Mangaian who manage and conserve resources for future claims on land that is multi-owned. This is especially difficult for adult informal 'feeding children' to accept when they know that children raised in their natal families, that the 'feeding children' perhaps served in previous years, are more secure in claiming their inheritance-land that they are not obliged to share with the tamaiti 'āngai, after the 'feeding parent' is dead.

With the introduction of legal adoption and the trend to discriminate against those whose adoptions were not legally registered during a time when it was not deemed necessary to protect the child's rights, these tamariki 'āngai have fallen in a 'crevasse' created by the legal system, through no fault of their own and not by their choice. The tamariki 'āngai can interpret this as a two-step travesty. First, their natal families use this prevalent tradition against selected children by either giving them or allowing them to be taken from their family of origin, and second, that families are using foreign standards against their own people. Previous generations did not foresee the implications of inaccurately registering births and not registering adoptions, both regulations imposed by alien influences.

If the parent dyad does not legalise the adoption, and if the 'feeding child' does not know or cannot prove his or her lineage relationship, the foster child as an adult, seriously loses the right to claim endowment land. This brings me to my fifth major theme from my data, agency.
Agency

By choice, Mangaians operationalise their 'feeding' tradition for love and other benefits that, at the same time, tie them into relationships with other members of their adoption triad and extended family of those that link lineages in the community and Mangaian society. Agency ties in with the other five major themes in this analysis. Agency in customary adoption depends on the child's age or development stage and the role of the person in the adoption triad in relation to the other members of the triad and their community. People exercise agency about what they choose to emphasise in their lives in the context of the situation, whether this be individuality or community-mindedness.

While the 'feeding' tradition is about the parent dyad's agency to nurture the new generation, being a 'feeding child,' initially, is not a choice for the infant. The 'feeding parent' influences the options available to the child who has narrowed choices by being younger. Choosing to formally adopt a 'feeding child' changes his or her legal relationship with the parent dyad and gives the child legal standing in the community 'back home.' The infant 'feeding child' has no influence about what household will raise him or her unless the child happens to be the gender being sought after by someone who is considered eligible, or the child is born on the side of the family making the child more likely to go to a certain lineage depending on the birth order. During the tamaiti 'āngai's formative years, his or her opportunities depend largely on the agency, and cultural values and practices of the child's 'āngai family.

The 'feeding child' may be given agency and freedom by his or her 'feeding family' or the child may have little influence about the 'āngai situation until the 'feeding family' releases the 'fed' child from the 'āngai duties after the adoptive parent dies. The 'feeding child' chooses from his or her options, which family the tamaiti 'āngai' will emotionally adhere to according to the values the child has developed in the interim. Over time, the 'feeding child' decides if and how he or she wants to honour the agreement by the parent dyad or the foster child may choose to walk away and accept the consequences, knowing that in the future, the child may be excluded from the 'āngai family if the child stays until the death of the 'feeding parent.' The 'feeding child' may exercise his or her agency about what conditions in the tamaiti 'āngai's environment are tolerable enough for the foster child to stay or the child devises alternative plans. The 'feeding child' elects whether and how to or how not to strategise relationships in the pursuit to attain his or her birth right land. At some stage, the 'feeding child' may choose when, whether, and how to or not to reestablish a relationship with the birth parent if the tamaiti or tamā'ine 'āngai' has been estranged from their birth family.
The parent dyad selects if, how and when to manage their protocol and how their relationships evolve over time in the context of their extended family. The *metua* integrate how and when to intervene, abandon and re-negotiate their agreement. The parent dyad decides when to convene a family conference to discuss land conservation relative to the adoption. How they operationalise their agency in the adoption agreement creates outcomes of incentives and dilemmas for which people develop management strategies depending on their role in the tradition.

The Mangaian community exercises agency about 'feeding' relationships by how individuals overtly support members of the adoption triad and/or how they respond to the triad-members in the community. For example, teasing a 'feeding child' about his or her status is more likely to occur if a 'feeding child' is legally 'illegitimate' or when the 'feeding child' is not physically among and thus protected by other adults. Yet another manifestation of agency is how a community organises its governing bodies that regulate people and prerogatives. Mangaian lineages have a status-hierarchy with roles of privilege, responsibility and accountability.

The nature of adoption creates choices about the social politics of personal heritage, belonging, and identity, and why contingencies exist and when to inquire of whom to know more about one's identity. Contemporary Mangaian culture is more amenable to having fewer secrets making choices easier and more available for 'feeding' constituents even as the practices lessen in prevalence. While the trend toward placing tamariki in 'āngai placements appears to be narrowing to absorb more legally illegitimate children, this situation has its own bearing on choices about identity in the 'feeding' practice. 'Feeding children' are influenced by their birth status to the extent that they know or suspect that they are adopted through their interactions in the community.

People choose identity to orient themselves in time, by activities and human and spiritual associations. Eventually, adult-'feeding children' may exercise their agency to resolve their 'feeding' identity. The 'feeding child' may choose to locate his or her unknown birth parent only to complete his or her birth registration, a manifestation of the natal identity. Birth and 'feeding parents' choose how they respond to that request. People have agency in their relationships about who they want to identify with and how, according to what they perceive their options represent, that is, what the identity through relationships can provide and achieve.

'Place' is another dimension for agency and identity. People choose their 'battles,' how they want to expend their energy. Adults who were informally 'fed' as children eventually choose whether to attempt to 'fight' for their birth right land or abandon the effort. Adult formally
adopted children choose between accessing and abdicating their eligibility to land entitlements when they shift in the diaspora. The significance of belonging can also be apparent when an individual is re-'placed' into a markedly different culture through the diaspora. Choices about identity help people to know their place and how to organise their lives or how to achieve their potential in society. The 'feeding child' may choose to live in the "pure" Mangaian environment rather than access different opportunities in the diaspora. The birth parent may choose to send 'home' a newborn to be 'fed' by extended family in order to demonstrate the parent's intent to eventually claim land on which to build a retirement home.

Choices about identity spur additional choices and interactions regarding relationships having mana levels above and below the individual. Knowing identity and where people belong gives individuals choices about strategising their lives according to the information. The parent dyad uses agency to negotiate relationships and access tangible assets; when to invoke reciprocity and how to protect and share assets to achieve their goals. The birth parents decide how to manage their feelings for the child they relinquished or how to preserve the birth parents' influence in the child's life. The members of the adoption triad and the community choose how to regulate the individual emotional effects stemming from outcomes of the adoption agreement. In addition cognitive awareness influences how the people choose to respond to their environment and their relationships. What people choose to emphasise in their relationships introduces values that influence agency.

Values

Ritchie and Ritchie wrote of the central importance of "collective action" in Polynesian life (1979, p. 36). Making choices requires integrating values and accepting accountability related to an entity which may include benefits, obligations and sacrifice (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979). Cultural values such as informal adoption are intimate and reveal important information for understanding an individual's perspective or a society's frame of reference. Returning to Mangaia's outer-most ecological level in Figure 7.1, values occur in the dimensions of time, human relations and activities, and relative to the nature of beliefs and culture. Values influence choices and emotions.

My data appears to agree with Ritchie and Ritchie's claim that "there is in adoption a hidden set of value judgments" (1979, p. 36). The Mangaians have individual values and collective values of community. They appreciate what customary adoption can do for them but not against them. Mangaia's customary adoption tradition is considered honourable and hinges on an oral agreement that is unregulated and non-enforceable, and that indicates that the practitioners value the power of language and social skills and knowing how to manage
these. The informality shows that the people value trust and obligation, and that they are hopeful that the informal pact achieves its design for sharing and reciprocity.

By their choices, Mangaian people demonstrate that they tend to value past, current and future relationships that emphasise lineage, support, cultural identity and security in social, emotional and spiritual alliances with family and community. These factors have sustained the people for centuries. Mangaians tend to integrate and replicate many of the values espoused by their ancestors. However, while, adults have years to process issues of identity, the child's context of experience is shorter. Tamariki ‘angai value having sufficient information to understand why they were given or taken by their parents, even if it takes years for the children to understand. The data indicate that people generally value immediate and tangible realities, such as having a 'feeding child' helping in the home, more than the future unknown relational factors, such as the uncertainty of whether the child will remain to provide attentive hospice-based palliative care.

The people value land ownership for the food, security and identity that it represents. They value innovative, yet non-extreme, ways that the parent dyad is permitted to customise and modify their agreement. Managing land ownership also indicates that Mangaian families value autonomy in individually strategising apart from the wider society, however, in the context of their lineage group. They tend to value parenting and the social replacement-relationship that their tradition operationalises. The data shows that the Mangaians are realistic in not expecting life to be wonderful all the time, but that they prefer that the contingencies and their relationships are sufficiently rewarding to continue investing their energy.

The 'feeding' process shows that Mangaians value political order, lineage hierarchy, seniority status and traditional leadership when each manifests integrity in their role; however, what represents integrity shifts depending upon the perspective of the individual in relation to what assets are claimed or lost to other claimants. The data shows that the people value collaboration to the extent that the effort is not used against them, even if the other individual feels justified. Justification is important because it substantiates claims and supports harmony in the community. The society values knowing the cultural process of when and how its people can self-advocate independently or function collaboratively to solve conflicts—knowing how and when to conform and acquiesce to the mana of the group, when to question and when not to, and how to cope until conflicts can be respectfully resolved. The process of the practice shows that the people value diversity and respect for people's differences even if this is problematic.

The data shows that the people appreciate being valued for their contributions, having a secure sense of being wanted and belonging, and not just needed in their 'feeding' home. The
'feeding children' value being accepted as having the same status as the natal children in the household and not rejected by the group. The data indicate that 'feeding children' value having a balance of time between family duties and participation in cultural, religious and secular education and community activities. People raised as tamariki 'āngai value having the opportunity as youth to learn marketable skills and earn and manage pocket money.

Other values highlighted in my data include the preservation and transmission of Mangaian cultural heritage, and peer-socialisation which includes how to decathect to regroup and heal alone. The 'feeding children' eventually value delayed gratification, and managing rejection in a small community with many parents. While the data emphasise the importance of justice to the Mangaians that includes fair or uniform treatment, having this outcome generally depends upon an individual's status and perspective. The tamariki 'āngai advocate for similar entitlements to what others in their host family receive which does not necessarily match what the members of the 'āngai family desire if land assets are at stake. In time, the people value survival, even if personal dignity is violated and they choose to 'survive' in the diaspora. Their values give them stamina and hope that difficulties do improve eventually, and a sense of pride and strength for having developed coping skills sufficient to get by while living in Mangaia's social history. Mangaia is, in the words of Tony Walter, a "culture of containment" that favours wider harmony through an individual status based censure of emotions rather than a "culture of expressivism" (2000, p. 111). Children learn to manage or "police" their grief (Walter, 2000, p. 101).

Another value in customary adoption is collaboration, the sixth and final major theme.

Collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation

By now, it is evident how important having commensal stewardship is in Mangaian communities, but especially 'back home.' Historically, control equated to war over resources and then management of the resources, including people, to maintain access to the assets that secured survival for the triumphant side. Even though the taiki 'spear' is retired, the 'battle' over strategies for survival continues. Relative to 'āngai relationships, this is especially true if the child's 'feeding' arrangement was not legally registered.

Mangaian people want the best for their families and themselves. They manage their premium land through multi-ownership, and they have each other that represent relationships to the land that, in turn, sustains them and reaffirms their identity, 'place' and history. However, without being wanted initially, rules have been added that get used against some of the people. Now parents know the value of registering 'āngai-d children that was previously
unforeseen and how not registering adoptions can leave children exiled from their land in today's more legalised world.

The 'feeding' tradition and the Mangaian culture are about collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation, all of which are about securing consensus and predictability with known resources. The parent dyad mediates the adoption agreement and collaborates with family over asset-transfers relative to the agreement. The two sets of parents confer as events occur in the child's life. Mangaia's family conference process manages relationships and disputes involving adoption and inheritance through mediation, giving family members who participate, a voice in the process and relationship to their multi-owned assets which can shift relative to adoption.

Informal adoption is about cooperation in managing motivation and access to resources. It is about 're-moving' constraints and 're-placing' conditions in the context of community. It is about managing relationships, accessing and managing knowledge and managing expectations and emotions. The process of collaboration solves dilemmas by transacting children through families, while refreshing past connections. Mangaians tend to be selective about how they expend their energy and time and want something to show for their efforts. Investing time in family is satisfying and brings cultural and practical benefits. Customary adoption's cost-benefit ratio is highly responsive to getting their cultural and social needs met through the transacted children. It constructs and invites future eligibilities through relationships. It is about balancing independence in the context of collectivity that requires participation for representation.

Ideally, collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation serve the families well. However, the dilemma remains in contemporary society that there is no mechanism for yesterday's 'feeding children' to rectify what their 'feeding parents' did not foresee necessary, that they did not do and in retrospect should have done to protect their 'feeding child's' connection to the child's identity through the land. There is no process whereby 'feeding children' can vicariously do their 'feeding parent's' work of formally registering their 'āngai relationship. Their only recourse is the integrity of the families to honour the informal agreement by which they conducted their lives when the 'feeding parents' were living.

In conclusion, I have discussed themes stemming from Mangaia's 'feeding' practice. People influence the practice across time and their relationships and, in turn, relationships influence people and their 'feeding' practice by their experience in the family and the practice. People achieve or lose identity through their relationships. These relationships connect them to eligibility or for some, disconnect them from entitlements. In time, people have additional choices about their relationships and what effect those relationships have on them in the
context of their community. The values of the Mangaian people influence their relationships, their identity, eligibilities, and agency and how they chose to participate in their community. The data shows that the six major themes of relationships, identity, eligibility and entitlement, emotions, choices and collaboration interrelate with patterns of relationships, emotions and values. Each of these components can function as resource tools for and by the people. Now I discuss the key issues that give Mangaian people agency and control over their futures.

Section 4 Key issues that give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations

The data in the first two sections of Chapter 7 suggest how and why the people might operationalise agency and control over their future and management of resources on Mangaia's three inner-most ecological levels. The key issues that give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations are the incentives in the practice. The incentives stem from the people making choices having a cost-benefit ratio, and leaning toward what will benefit them or their families, the basis of a supportive community. As stated before, while it would be helpful to suggest an equation such as "if X does this then the outcome for Y is thus and so," this would be conjecture and it assumes that people are automatons. The options derived from dynamic human interactions are varied and tend to depend on the collaborative nature of the individuals and how they choose to make things work. Consequently, to answer such questions as 'what will happen if...?' warrants a more realistic response such as 'It depends.'

(a) Individual level

Of Mangaia's three inner ecological levels, the contemporary 'feeding child' tends to be the youngest and least powerful member of the adoption triad during the initial placement phase because of the child's dependency. By the infant's age and dependent status, the child is the most vulnerable due to many factors stemming from adoption. Until the fostered child develops the maturity to be accountable and responsible for their actions in the social environment, the tamaiti 'āngai remains largely at the mercy of others.

However, ideally, the 'feeding child' has allies in the family and community that can mobilise to help support the child and advocate on the tamaiti's behalf. From these allies, the fostered child learns valuable lessons about collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation in the context of their community. The child learns emotional intelligence early
and how to use this information to survive. The 'feeding child's' community is their resource in that the tamaiti 'āngai is immersed 'back home' in a society with many mothers, a society that is rich in culture and heritage and a society that is innovative and resourceful. The child views their society as the teacher and nurturer, from which the child learns valued traditions, their dialect and to prepare to accomplish surprising achievements depending upon the choices made over time by the child. Mangaian children are generally valued along with the motivation that they bring into an aging household. 'Back home' the 'feeding child' tends to benefit from being 'fed' by older family members that have more time to devote to personal relationships and mentor young workers. Or the child can thrive transplanted into a culture modified through the diaspora.

My data indicate that the 'feeding child' develops emotional intelligence and masters socio-cultural skills in the adoption placement. For example, at the same time that the tamaiti 'āngai processes their identity relative to the biological family and the 'āngai family members, the foster child also finds their identity relative to the community both past and present. The fostered child masters the sense of autonomy in the context of community and their sense of emotional access to, or isolation from, individuals that represent meaningful supportive relationships according to the child's perception. The child measures family and community concern and empathy directed toward the child and their situation of being separated from the birth family; for example, the teacher who buys coconuts from a tamaiti 'āngai so that the foster child can have spending money for incidentals 'back home.'

The 'feeding child' masters his or her temper, learns resilience through discovering and developing compensatory factors and relationships. The tamaiti 'āngai develops patience because adults make the rules and wield authority over children. In time, the child learns that the culture values harmony and individualism in the context of the wider community. The fostered child balances self-advocacy in terms of cultural requirements for humility. Eventually the tamaiti 'āngai learns that childhood is a temporary situation, while 'āngai status permanently influences relationships. The 'feeding child' is conditioned to understand that this is not a perfect world and to adjust to societal expectations.

The 'feeding children' adapt their resources to meet their needs in a variety of situations that strengthen character on their path to finding identity and discovering and recruiting advocates along the way. While there is a welfare officer on Mangaia, there are also clergy and school staff besides other community leaders intended to mentor the new generation. The 'feeding child' may develop a concurrent plan to mobilise if or when events and relationships evolve differently than anticipated.
The 'feeding child' does have choices available to manage the future, perhaps not so much about the extent of the service requirements from being an tamaiti āngai, but how the child performs assigned duties—through behaviour and attitude, how the foster child interacts and responds within their relationships in general and other affiliations that stem from being fostered. This interaction occurs in several ways that have an impact on the community. One way the 'feeding child' exerts agency and influence on the island is when the 'feeding child's' behaviour and attitude conflict with societal rules in events such as theft, vandalism and sexual assault that violate property and people in a small community. The stress is heightened when people feel vulnerable from living in a small environment, living close to the violations and see the perpetrator in their community. 'Back home' there is no escape but to out-migrate which is culturally and financially expensive.

The second way the 'feeding child' exerts choice and influence is when the 'feeding child's' behaviour conforms to social rules. If the informally adopted 'feeding child,' after serving the āngai family for years, feels stressed, insecure and impatient to receive his or her birth right land that may not be as certain as for members of the non-'feeding' population, the extended family members and the community share in the tension until land matters are decided by the families. This becomes tenuous if the 'feeding parents' failed in their duty to their child before they died. Hence, the 'feeding child,' by being delegated by family to be a 'feeding child,' can expect tension whether or not he or she conforms to the rules.

Although the 'feeding child' has learned to cope with respectfully self-advocating in the community, that is, the child has learned how to assert his or her needs without being alienated, and to match the needs with resources when the opportunity avails and emotions surface, the cumulative effect is that the adult foster 'child' resents and questions why he or she can never be allowed to 'grow up' and achieve the cultural acceptance and entitlements that mature non-tamariki āngai routinely enjoy; that the individual must humbly 'beg' like a child for what the non-'feeding' population can expect naturally. The tamaiti āngai is blamed for the tension that may remain hidden to maintain harmony in Mangaian society, but appears to surface when issues of endowment lands are raised by adult fostered children with regard to their entitlements and eventually their children's entitlements. What 'feeding children' receive from their birth parents, their status identity of being Mangaian, the children in some cases, depending on the individuals involved, also forfeit from being given in the customary practice. In a way the tamaiti āngai represents an eventual threat to the harmony of the community by the likelihood that the child will eventually claim a piece of land, if the metua designated to bestow the endowment fails to provide the land prior to the parent's demise. Thus, another key issue that gives the tamariki āngai equitable agency and control over their future and
management of resources is how the other members of the adoption triads perform their roles through their personal choices they make about the children's inheritance.

At some point, possibly years down the road, the 'feeding child' resolves their understanding of the reasons behind living apart from the biological family and the position this puts other people in, in their community over time. A large part of customary adoption for the 'feeding child' is acceptance of what has happened that he or she cannot change. The 'feeding child' reconsiders the extent to which the tamaiti identifies with the group or as an individual, and the extent to which the individual values and expects to develop or continue this association in the future with their natal families and 'feeding' families and community. The child reassesses the extent to which the tamaini or tamā'ine perceives the community is supportive and responsive in general from observations made of interactions over time as well as between the child's own perceptions relative to matters of choice to conform and integrate with the wider community. The child strategises compensatory factors that level the perceived outcomes between the individual and the other non-'feeding children' in their community.

The Mangaian 'feeding child' influences their future in the context of contingencies by, according to the data, tracking conditions to strategise the child's options, many of which are initially determined by the next ecological level.

(b) Family level

The key issues that give Mangaian families equitable agency and control over their future management of resources on Mangaia between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations stem from their cultural emphasis on having agency to operationalise collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation. In this discussion, the issues centre on agency or choices about adoption, relationships and land. When parents choose to participate in the 'feeding' tradition and enter into an adoption agreement negotiated by the parent dyad they choose to bind the adoption triad together and outline subsequent relationships that the extended family members and the community are expected to honour across generations. Therefore, in this sub-section, the 'family' is conceptually split between the parent dyad that creates the agreement and other family members who are consulted, with these components discussed separately. The parent dyad chooses how to manage their relationships with each other, the child and with each of their families.

If the adoption parent dyad chooses to operationalise an adoption agreement, eventually their choice is how and when to transfer the birth right land inheritance that the metua of the parent dyad is expected to provide at some point to the child they share. This may not be an
initial priority; however, it will become important as the child matures. Ideally this inheritance-transfer is arranged in advance of the 'feeding parent's' death. If the parent dyad acts in the best interest of the 'feeding child' and both of their families, they fulfil their obligation to transfer the birth right land to the child. The parent dyad works with their families to ensure that the families accept and cooperate with the wishes of the metua and accept the altered relationship stemming from the adoption and what it represents to the birth and 'feeding' siblings of the shared child. To ensure that their families adhere to the wishes of the parent dyad, and because of the increase in legal assurances available to protect the child's rights, the parent dyad may also choose to legally seal the adoption.

This cooperation between the families is more likely to occur if the parent dyad chooses to nurture their dyad-relationship in ways that enhance communication. When the parent dyad attends to their relationship, each metua becomes a resource for the other metua and two families become a resource for the shared child and the other family. By maintaining contact between the families, each member develops a sense of shared identity that reinforces the family connections and supports the foster child. The 'feeding parent' is confident that their 'feeding child' knows his or her birth lineage without feeling insecure about the foster child loving members of both families. The birth parents see that their own significance in the natal child's life is acknowledged. Through cooperation between the metua, the 'feeding parent' ensures that the tamaiti 'āngai continues to grow secure in the knowledge of his or her identity; the foster parent's role and the natal parents' role support each family and the child. The child feels valued and supported by both families and not forgotten by the natal family even in the context of a supportive community. My data emphasise that the family of origin remains significant in the reckoning of identity by the 'feeding child.'

Another choice that the metua have is how to treat the child in the context of the other members of their households. Either parent can choose to consistently treat their 'feeding child' equal to other children in the home or otherwise. The 'well-treated' child receives mana from his or her parent by how the 'feeding parents' demonstrate their commitment to the foster child. The treatment of the child is noted by other family members. How the 'feeding parent' helps the child to develop his or her identity and feel valued for their 'person-hood' is another choice that a parent manages. Yet another aspect of agency is how much time the parent is willing and prepared to invest to help the child learn their heritage, prepare for their own future and support them through that process. The 'feeding parent' chooses to know what the child's wants and needs are and how the foster parent and child can work together realistically to manage and meet those needs.
Finally, the last key issue about agency and matters of control over their future and management of resources involves the families separated in the diaspora. When tamariki 'āngai fail to find acceptance in their foster home, it usually evolves cumulatively and incrementally rather than from an isolated event. If this situation is irretrievable, then the metua and families can choose to strategise ways to re-'place' the 'feeding child' into a more favourable environment. Both communities collaborate on how to achieve the best situation for the 'feeding child' to return the tamaiti back to a safer and supportive path. The foster child feels valued as does each community. The ties are strengthened between the two communities so that neither community feels exploited.

Family members related to the adoption triad also exercise their agency and management of resources between the 'feeding'- and non-'feeding' populations. They do so by choosing to participate during family conferences and voicing their opinion concerning adoption plans. Family members choose how to support the parent dyad's agreement and the extent to which they accept and respect the child's split identity and the foster child's allegiance to both households. Family members choose to accept or disregard the altered relationship stemming from the adoption. They choose to support or reject the wishes of the metua in the future and what the wishes represent to the birth and 'feeding' siblings of the shared child. In addition, family members choose how they respond to the foster child over time, if they include the child in activities as an equal and make time to get to know the 'feeding child.' They also exercise agency about how they respond to the foster child regardless of the outcome of the 'āngai arrangement. Family members choose how they cooperate with the decisions made by the metua about plans for providing endowment land to the tamaiti 'āngai. This agency by the family members also extends to how they facilitate the wishes of the metua regarding the land endowment gift to the foster child after the parents are deceased.

(c) Community level

In Sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, 13 diagrams illustrate dynamic relationships that influence the practice and occur in the context of the community. Community in the Mangaian context implies collaboration, mediation, cooperation and participation that can extend across generations. As previously stated and illustrated, processes involving dynamic interactive relationships give rise to the various outcomes that make Mangaia's customary adoption tradition appear to be 'flexible,' when in reality, the outcomes of the practice are the workings and re-workings of complex relationships in Mangaian families and communities. How the members of the different trialectic relationships choose to relate to one another, and the
influence or vulnerability that certain members of the community represent in the society converge to produce varied outcomes depending upon how identity and eligibilities are defined and strategised in the extended families across generations.

Mangaia's stateless society manages itself through relationships designed to nurture and strengthen family and community bonds, many of which stem from the extensive customary adoption practice. The issue of timing in management rights may seem ambiguous depending upon how people choose to operationalise their roles of jurisdiction, such as who controls whom and what and when in extended families and the community. However, the Mangaian communities know their roles of stewardship and what is necessary to achieve their goals. This is important because success implies management and the benefits stemming from management, namely, eligibility and entitlement for the community members.

The management role of the Aronga Mana, Mangaia's traditional leaders in their society is, by custom, their island's 'court of last resort' when all other efforts fail to solve problems in the community. In matters stemming from adoption agreements, the Aronga Mana is notified when land-transfer is involved. However, beyond this, Mangaian families, not the Aronga Mana, choose how to exercise their agency to manage their adoption issues.

While identity manifests through a parent having recognised Mangaian heritage which is key to eligibility for a portion of birthright land 'back home,' as the custom now stands, entitlements may be denied to a tamaiti 'āngai by the actions or inaction of the living metua or by the action of their families after the death of the 'feeding parent.' Mangaian extended families and communities choose from numerous options. They can leave unmanaged issues to fester and erupt as they do now when informally adopted Mangaian children return to claim their heritage land, which, as stated before, causes considerable stress in the community.

Another alternative issue for the extended families is that they can encourage the parent dyad to adhere to the adoption agreement stipulations in respect to their families so that the families and community will not be ruptured by the belated and thus controversial, endowment, and members of the community will not be alienated by not receiving their promised birthright. Yet another option for the community members is to create a mechanism whereby the informal 'feeding child' can have some 'safe' recourse if the 'feeding parent' does not fulfil their land-transfer duty to the 'feeding child' before the surrogate parent dies. An example of an option is that a default clause be considered wherein any informally adopted child whose 'feeding parent' or family fail to provide a share of family land as promised in the parent dyad's 'feeding' agreement, can expect to claim land through the biological family of origin. A further issue for the community to consider is to assign and pay a neutral ombudsman-
arbitrator to help families comply with the agreement following the death of the 'feeding parent.'

At the same time, the community leaders separated in the diaspora may want to discuss more pointed solutions about Mangaian birthright land expectations so that neither the communities 'back home' nor the 'feeding' claimants have to live in fear of stressful interchanges over adoption agreement matters unresolved by the parent dyad. This team-collaboration facilitates addressing other challenges each community faces when 'feeding children' are shifted between 'home' and abroad for a tamaiti 'āngai's problematic behaviour. Dialogue between the communities separated by water sensitise each other to the unique challenges faced by the other community and identify realistic and efficient solutions to address the needs of the foster children and their families. The key issue that gives Mangaian communities equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-'āngai populations is how they operationalise their agency to decide what works to benefit Mangaian society.

(d) Cultural level

It can also be argued that Mangaia's fourth ecological level, culture, controls the 'feeding' practice for all of the influence that it has on the practice, the communities, the families and the 'feeding child.' The tradition, by being a tradition, takes on its own mana to condone and generate the outcomes of the custom in the community. If the custom is controlled by its history, ultimately the argument returns to the people whose choices influence the future practice, the 'feeding child' and the parent dyad, their immediate and extended families and the community.

Section 5 Analysis

Aspects of the practice that resist change

The aspects of the practice that resist change over time become the contemporary process and relationships that people choose to manage in their practice. Chapter 4 discusses the definition and protocol of tamariki 'āngai and Sections 2 and 3 of this chapter provide 13 diagrams of relationships that figure prominently in Mangaia's adoption tradition. Tamariki 'āngai is an amalgamation of various patterns of pro-parenting behaviours and individual levels of commitment by its practitioners. No official legislation governs the informal shifting
of jural responsibility over children between families. Fundamentally, the practice continues
to mean that a child will be raised primarily by someone other than his or her birth parents. At
the heart of the custom of informal island adoption is the verbal pre-adopt agreement between
the birth and adoptive parents. The cultural value and strength of the adoption agreement
appears to persist over time even if the prevalence of the practice is diminishing.

The covenant itself represents values, eligibilities and expectations held by the parent dyad
concerned with the child. Unless the pact is negotiated to sufficiently satisfy both sets of
parents, the transaction will not proceed to the informal 'tamariki ōngai' status. The initial
adoption pact may or may not specify responsibility about bequeathing endowment land to the
'feeding child.' However, if this component of the adoption agreement is left unfinished by the
death of the 'feeding parent,' and if the land gifts intended by the deceased 'feeding parent' are
unsupported by the birth siblings and classificatory siblings of the informally adopted child,
then problems with land claims are more likely to develop for the 'feeding child' if and when
members of the child's families consort to block the adult 'feeding child' from accessing the
rights provided either by the birth or the adoptive families following the death of the parent
that was obligated to bequeath land to the foster child.

Depending upon the choices by family members involved in issues of land inheritance,
disputes worsen for 'feeding children' who out-migrate and eventually return to Mangaia to
access birthright land claims from their ōngai and/or their ōnau families, because the foster
children have been given informally in adoption and they have been living abroad. It is not
guaranteed that a child denied his or her promised land endowments by the ōngai family can
return to the birth family and automatically expect to be granted the birthright if the child is
estranged from the family through the 'feeding' arrangement. Primogeniture is important to
Mangaians although birth siblings may resent the return of the firstborn child to the natal
household.

What appears to be flexibility in Mangaia's custom and protocol depends upon how the
parent dyad chooses to operationalise the customary adoption agreement and how the families
and extended families in the community choose to support what the adoption agreement
represents. The flexibility of the tradition, therefore, is its adaptability outwardly manifested
through the adoption triad and the community. The integrity of the adoption agreement and
the inheritance endowment depends on the unanimous support of the family members of the
parent dyad across generations, because the entire community lives with the consequences of
the adoption agreement. The protocol represents both strengths and weaknesses, depending
upon how the practice is administered in each 'feeding' situation by the practitioners and
thereafter supported by the family and community.
Whether or not modifications occur in the custom, there is usually a reason. The endurance of the practice has built-in insecurities for the adoption triad and the wider island community, especially 'back home' where the family land is and depending upon whether the parent dyad fulfilled their duty to the 'feeding child' to protect the child's rights to his or her land inheritance.

There are persistent trade-offs in the practice having seemingly endless reasons to give and not to give a child that reflect individual and cultural values emphasised in the data. The birth parents, or individuals who are eligible to make the arrangements on behalf of the birth parents, are selective about the recipient of the child. Mangaian parenting continues to be about social replacement in that the adoptive parent hopes to be survived by the adoptive child. Nurturance toward the child is ideally geared to this end. Especially young children are indulged with attention on Mangaia, but as they grow out of babyhood, the cultural values of the parent and patterns of discipline tend to drive children to their less punishing peers from whom they learn social lessons.

Although the prevalence of informal adoption throughout the Pacific may give the impression that families share children without feeling emotional loss, information in my data contradicts this. Instead, the trend is for the birth parents to learn that over time and distance their relationship with a given child is stunted from the relinquishment and separation. Adoptive parents experience anxiety knowing that upon their demise, there is no one to replace them who will look after their tamaiti āngai with the same level of commitment.

I discussed nine trialectic diagrams along with two modified patterns of relationships stemming from the practice that appear to resist change depending upon the choices people make in their interactions. Relationships are one of six themes highlighted in my data. The other five persistent themes include identity, eligibility and entitlements, emotional response, agency, and collaboration. All of these connect to a consistent pattern of values.

Customary adoption tends to blur lineage identity which can, in turn, compromise a 'feeding child's' eligibility to land entitlements. However, a select minority of foster children are fortunate to inherit land from both the metua ārumu and their metua āngai. Mangaian identity is important and linked to the land that is also valued; each influence how people feel about themselves. Thus, adoption relationships, also closely related to identity and land, are packed with emotion. People make choices about their interactions, all of which are influenced by personal and cultural values that persist over time.
Best practice and outcome

The data indicate that 'best practice' depends on the age and perspective of the reporter, with 'success' defined according to the individual's values. How is outcome measured when adoption is a lifelong process that influences generations? I believe the answer would be 'very tentatively.' And what makes the adoption successful and in whose terms? These answers change according to the individual's perspective about a particular outcome; for example, does the arrangement strengthen ties between the families? 'Best practice' implies that success is a model to emulate and replicate. Yet, who is to say whether 'best practice' necessarily leads to a 'best outcome' given the variables of different personalities and parenting styles? The data indicate that this is impossible to determine because there is no guarantee for 'best' outcomes, and the definitions are subjective and again, individually determined.

This subsection looks behind subjective definitions. Given my practices-based and relational analysis approach, this returns us back to the key issues that give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-āngai populations. For the 'feeding child' who tends to exert the least influence in the initial agreement, the data indicate that the child appreciates being treated like other members of his or her 'feeding family,' not second-best or isolated from the rest of the family or activities, or the last to receive what is being shared in the family. The child values feeling protected, but treated equal to other family members and being appreciated for their contribution to the family. The child wants to understand the reasons for his or her placement and to know the tamaiti's heritage in the context of the community, to be able to have contact with the natal family that shows the 'feeding child' is not forgotten, at the same time that the child feels wanted in the 'feeding' environment. The 'feeding child' wants to feel secure that his or her 'feeding family' will support them to develop adult skills so that in time the individual can provide for their own family and eventually enjoy the same eligibility and entitlements that others in the community enjoy.

The perspective of the 'feeding' families depends on the dynamics and values of the parent dyad. For example, the birth parents want to feel that their love for the birth child is not replaced by the 'feeding parent' while the 'feeding parent' wants assurance that the 'feeding child' continues to feel love and loyalty as a child to their metua ʻāngai. Ideally, the parents want their agreement to be fulfilled and their child to grow up well-treated in a safe home. Those parents in the diaspora want their relinquished child to preserve their birth family connection to the homeland while the outmigrants work to send their support and return...
periodically to renew relationships in person. They want their natal child to conform to traditional expectations so that the adoption triad and the community can live harmoniously.

The community 'back home' wants the parent dyad to fulfil their inheritance agreement responsibilities to the 'feeding child' before the metua die so that community tension regarding the land endowment for the foster child is alleviated. When people know what to expect about land ownership shifting between family members, anxiety decreases in the family and community. Mangaians can then self-determine with assurance that they belong and are accepted in a supportive community. The communities in the diaspora want to maintain their ties 'back home,' but not be financially burdened by the additional needs of frequent travelling parties fund-raising from other Mangaia communities because they have their own living costs to meet.

The answer to what makes for 'best practice' depends on the individuals associated with influence in the triad of adoption relationships; generally these are the parents who create the 'iingai situation and operationalise the agreement. Eventually the 'feeding child' matures and also influences the success of the adoption as do the immediate and extended family members and the community.

According to informants' reports, 'best practice' appears to be if the expectations by the 'feeding child' are met regarding there being a reasonable standard of demonstrated love and nurturance, discipline, and commitment, or in the case of a household blending 'feeding children' and non-'feeding children,' and those same demonstrated qualities are equivalent to what the biological siblings receive in the natal household. Here again, operative definitions of 'reasonable,' 'demonstrated love,' 'nurturance,' 'discipline,' and 'commitment' are subjective.

While the Mangaian people 'back home' are more likely to live in the past and the immediacy of the present, the protocol of the adoption agreement shifts jural responsibility to the 'feeding parent' that requires many choices between the parent dyad about their future and the future of the child. Mangaians living abroad may have a perspective that places more emphasis on the future orientation of current decisions stemming from the demands of their environment. Hence, there may be dissonance in the time orientation or paradigm in the context of modern development between Mangaians living 'back home' and Mangaians in the diaspora. This does not have to be judged negatively; however, it does introduce factors that the people may want to discuss openly in negotiating an agreement that meets the future needs of the 'feeding child' in a changing world.
**Conclusion**

Section 1 reviews the protocol in the process of Mangaia’s customary adoption and the incentives and dilemmas that families manage by the choices they make. Sections 2 and 3 provide a total of 13 diagrams about relationships that the people manage stemming from the choice to adopt a ‘feeding child.’ From these relationships stem more choices and outcomes which are the incentives and dilemmas in the practice that the families and communities manage through their agency. Besides themes of relationships stemming from the adoption agreement, I identified five other major themes regarding customary adoption in my data that people manage by choice. These include identity, eligibility and entitlement, emotional responses, agency and collaboration. These themes include a pattern of cultural values that influence choices about adoption.

Section 4 summarises key issues that give Mangaians equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the ‘āngai and non-‘āngai populations in relation to the ‘feeding child,’ families and the communities. The ‘feeding child’ flourishes in his or her formative years developing their cultural and emotional intelligence in the tamaiti’s social environment. As children mature, they regulate their choices through behaviour. The ‘feeding children’ choose to conform to societal norms or to conflict with the rules which expand or narrow their choices. They have relationships imposed on them and choose other relationships. The ‘feeding child’ processes his or her identity in relation to adoption and integrates the difference this makes in support networks to be raised apart from their family of origin.

The families also have choices about customary adoption. The parent dyad develops the initial agreement that begins a series of relationships which will present choices. The dyad chooses how the metua nurture their own relationship with the other parent and how the child is treated in the ‘feeding’ home. The parents work with their families to assist in the adjustment that the adoption represents to the two families. They collaborate with extended family to meet the needs of the child separated by the diaspora that may be having behaviour issues leading to a shift in placement. Family members such as siblings also have choices regarding adoption outcomes. They can choose to support their birth sibling or ‘feeding child’ in his or her placement by how they treat the child and maintain contact.

Mangaian communities contribute to the outcome of the adoption by how they choose to respond to the triad-members. The Aronga Mana, Mangaia’s traditional leaders, defer to the adoption arrangements made by the families and may want to unofficially encourage their constituents to collaborate to develop options that work for the families and reduce the
tensions in the community that families have come to expect from foster children and land issues.

Aspects of the practice that resist change include the agreement and that the choices made by the parent dyad when constructing their pact contribute to the different outcomes that make the practice seem flexible. The extent of the emotional responses stemming from adoption and how this influences people's choices and relationships is especially evident in the data. Significant emotional features expressed include the following: People want to be valued for their role in contributing to support the culture. Children want to be treated the same as non-'feeding children' in their home and the community. Children want to understand why they were placed in a 'feeding' home, and they want to know their heritage and identity that provides eligibility and entitlement. Birth parents want to continue emotional ties with their children and 'feeding parents' want to secure the loyalty of the 'feeding child' 'as if' their tamaiti 'āngai was a birth child. Communities want to live peacefully without miscreant 'feeding children' or land tension from 'āngai claimants.

From this analysis it is clear that choices, relationships and behaviours mutually influence each other and the culture. Because the parent dyad controls the design and implementation of the initial agreement, their choices influence trends in agreements and how the tradition manifests in the home and community as long as they live or for as long as the agreement is specified to operate. Although the parent dyad creates the agreement, it can choose to delay fully operationalising it. Being a Mangaian 'feeding child' can be an advantage because Mangaian parents and families have the flexibility to be extremely generous and grant a 'feeding child' unconditional birthright land from both sides of the dyad if this is their desire. The adoption dyad holds extensive political leverage in Mangaian society. These eight characteristics that Mangaian parent dyads manage in their customary practice reduce down to managing the practice and the relationships that stem from the adoption agreement through the choices they make. The Mangaian people have many options from which to choose that potentially 'raise the performance bar' for parenting the next generation. By their choices, they alone hold the keys to their legacy.
Chapter 8 Conclusion

A contextual description of Mangaia's heritage sets the scene for this thesis about the practice of tamariki ʻangai. This heritage is the foundation that supports cultural values developed either along transit routes by mariner settlers hundreds of years ago or, according to Mangaian legend, by the first indigenous people who are said to have ascended from a hole in Mangaian soil. Over time Mangaians manipulated their environmental resources, including the allocation of children, for survival. European missionaries introduced many changes such as literacy, whereby the Mangaians and others could document the oral histories recited by the elders. Eventually foreign politics encroached and imposed a government that continues to this day to operate parallel to Mangaia's traditional leadership.

The Cook Islands (including Mangaia) became independent in 1965; however, the country remains politically affiliated with New Zealand. Techno-developments have made travel safer and easier and continue to increase opportunities for the Cook Islanders abroad. Much of Mangaia's population has out-migrated for employment, leaving older family behind to look after their heritage land and 'feeding children' that keep ties to their homeland robust. Through all these changes, status and lineage remains crucial to Mangaian identity. Being adopted assigns a different status to a person from being a non-adopted individual.

Mangaian children learn early about their cultural birthright to land. Land is their Mangaian's identity. Throughout their lives, this relationship is reinforced in family discussions, most especially in the community 'back home' where people continue to live close to their land. Finite Mangaian land is valuable and entitlement to it is through inheritance or as a gift. Ownership or stewardship over the land is traditionally shared among family, so claims to the land affect many people. Holding on to the land is important for future claims which are decided upon during family meetings. Hence, matters that involve Mangaian land are very political and subject to rivalry; tensions tend to develop between the 'gatekeepers' and the claimants, especially when the latter is an adopted individual and even more so if the tamaiti ʻangai claimant has been living abroad and returns after the adoptive parents died.

Even before the missionaries arrived in the 1820s, Mangaians gave considerable attention to the spiritual dimension. Their cultural and religious values since then continue to reinforce the people's connectedness to the land and each other and the spiritual realm. Families were large and fundamental for survival. Cultural practices such as adoption, names and naming, and ties to different families through birth order were and remain significant to the people. Names and naming were important and spiritual sanctions supported this. Daily life was
sustained through relationships that created reciprocity, obligation and expectation. Mangaian people in Mangaia continue to live close to their oral history and value their written records accumulated over the last 180 years since literacy was introduced.

In the last half-century, diaspora has depleted the population 'back home' and has led to an increase in the number of Mangaian born and raised abroad. However, the people living abroad, especially first generation Mangaian, continue to think of Mangaia as 'home.' Most Mangaian who travel abroad plan to return eventually and build a retirement home to live out their days. This is itself a source of change.

In the traditional Mangaian family, the child still learns early about its cultural legacy from its family and the community either 'back home' or abroad. The new generation whether 'feeding children' or not, learns about its role in supporting and continuing Mangaian heritage that its members respond to along a continuum between acceptance or rejection depending on a number of individual factors. In either case, children pattern cultural lessons from societal values and customised precedents. The 'outcomes' of conditioning with regard to customary adoption manifest when as an adult, the individual chooses to or chooses not to practice the 'āngai tradition as a 'feeding parent.'

Chapter 2, the second-half of the two context chapters, includes the literature review of the intellectual context around adoption. It begins with an introduction of what may be thought of as human universal experiences that, from my brief years of living on Mangaia and later from field interviews, appears pertinent to this study if thought of in terms of adapting the information to the Mangaian paradigm and experience. For example, adoption is a variously embodied universal that often has associated with it attachment and loss issues about which the Mangaian people are much attuned. Human identity, described as another universal, develops along cultural lines, as do emotions and morality. Again, the Mangaian people are keenly aware of their identity through their relationship to their land and lineage.

The three Mangaian social levels influenced by the adoption practices include the individual, family and community or society. Each level mutually influences the other levels, even if customary adoption is about the family. The Mangaian adoption triad includes the birth parent and adoptive parent and the child. Like New Zealand adoption practices, Mangaia's 'āngai or feeding traditions continue to evolve and bring different opportunities to the practitioners. Here we find similarities between what the two styles generate for those involved; for example, the search for a secure identity and knowing how people 'fit' in family relationships.

Mangaia is fortunate to have a number of early historians who wrote information that gives a rich sense of customary adoption in the last several hundred years. A summary of the six
features that I found from the literature review specifically about Mangaia's customary adoption practices include:

1. Mangaian tamariki ōngai occurs for a variety of reasons that evolve over time.
2. Lineage remains paramount in the protocol and protocol.
3. The adoption triad exists in every arrangement of tamariki ōngai.
4. Warfare strongly influenced the early practice of Mangaian customary adoption.
5. Tension exists between what is traditional practice and what is culturally approved.
6. There can be major differences between community cultural expectations, family and individual expectations because of the social alterations as a result of adoption.

Chapter 3 outlines the inquiry methods to conduct a qualitative study about this ancient parenting practice. The task is to blend three disciplines, Social Work, Anthropology, and Maori and Pacific Studies, using a combination of practice-based, traditional, and indigenous interpretive research methods that make the process interactive. I use narratives from thirty-two informants along with historical literature, other interviews, archived information and community discussion groups. In this way, my findings remain relative to the culture as I reflect back to the people what they are telling me about their practice. By doing this, I seek to raise the consciousness of the Mangaian people about their valuable practice. My thesis becomes a tool that the Mangaian people own and can choose to expand upon in the future as a means to raise consciousness about their custom for the next generation.

Chapter 4 defines and examines the protocol for the evolving practice of tamariki ōngai, (both informal and formal because children routinely live informally with their adoptive parents prior to the adoption being legally registered to formalise the status). The protocol consists of an important agreement, pact, or covenant that is negotiated between the claimant-parent and the donor-parent about the parameters of care and responsibility over a child. This pact can occur prior to or following the birth and can be amended if doing so is agreeable to the two metua. The covenant forever changes the relationship between the families and the status of the child. It influences the child’s relationship regarding mana, entitlement to the child’s birthright land inheritance and political opportunities for advancement, depending upon how the metua and/or the families on behalf of deceased metua manage their choices and relationships stemming from the agreement.

How the agreement is operationalised by the metua significantly influences what become the incentives about the tradition. Chapter 5 examines the incentives in tamariki ōngai and how these can vary within different relationship dyads and triads. Chapter 6 delves into the dilemmas stemming from how the practice is managed as stated by the informants; and again,
like the incentives, the dilemmas vary depending upon an individual's vantage relative to the other members of the family affiliated with the adoption practice.

Chapter 7 briefly reviews the incentives and dilemmas that stem from the protocol because these three components are central to my analysis. I begin Chapter 7 with a relational analysis that addresses human interrelationships operating across Mangaia's four ecological levels in customary adoption practice. From this arises a series of other diagrammed patterns of relationships that help describe the influence of the practice on Mangaian society stemming from the adoption agreement between the parent dyad.

Relationships are the first of six major themes highlighted from the data. The other five themes discussed include identity, eligibility and entitlements, emotional responses, agency and collaboration in relation to Mangaia’s ‘feeding’ tradition. The emotional component of adoption issues is noticeably underrepresented in traditional anthropological studies of Oceanic societies, including Mangaian literature. I described emotional responses from the perspective of the members of the adoption triad and then from the extended family and community.

My study highlights a pattern of cultural values that influence the culture and Mangaian people who exercise their agency relative to their values. Finally, the ‘collaboration' theme section includes mediation, cooperation and participation which is historically connected to survival in Mangaian society. This is especially important because it shows that the people value what my research approach argues, that being, for Mangaian communities to enter into constructive dialogue about how families can pro-actively manage their future customary adoption tradition in ways that will strengthen families, enhance harmony in the community and achieve other goals that they desire.

I then describe the key issues that give Mangaia's four ecological levels (that being individuals, families, and communities with regard to their traditional adoption practices), control over their future. The key issues that give Mangaian equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the 'āngai and non-‘āngai populations are how the practitioners choose to manage their relationships and how they operationalise their hybrid agreements that the metua develop. The Mangaian people's choices generate the incentives and dilemmas for their families and communities that vary widely depending upon many factors that narrow to how the practitioners choose to implement their customary adoption traditions, and what role they have in the adoption triad. Some practitioners have more choices than others, again for widely varying reasons. I examined aspects of the practice that resist change and what comprises 'best' practice and outcome.
This led me to conclude that there are nine characteristics of Mangaian customary adoption that the parent dyad manages through their choices.

The first issue is that the adoption agreement is highly variable in non-extreme ways by the parent dyad, depending upon how the adults choose to manage their relationships and operationalise their adoption agreement. This verbal pact may have considerable flexibility over time according to how the metua choose to revise and implement it. The agreement is what the parent dyad wants it to be. Initially, it may not be well-defined, and it may not reflect consensus by other family members although ideally, it does. The agreement does not necessarily address issues about timing for such things as when aspects of the agreement are to be operationalised. It may not include a concurrent plan protecting the child if the 'feeding parents' die or fail in their obligations outlined in the agreement. When aspects of the agreement are left open to interpretation or later negotiations, contingencies can be manipulated by families. For example, following the death of the 'feeding parent/s,' the 'feeding family' becomes the administrator over the assets and may re-interpret parameters of the adoption agreement.

The second characteristic is that although the initial adoption agreement is negotiated between the birth and the adoptive parents, everyone in the Mangaian community lives with outcomes from the original adoption agreement. Again, this returns to how the practitioners manage their relationships and operationalise their role in the agreement. The adoption triad influences harmony in the community because the parent dyad has the agency to stall fulfilling their responsibility regarding the gifting of the 'feeding child's' allotted land endowment. In time, tension heightens in the community when the mature foster 'child' attempts to claim his or her land inheritance. In subsequent generations, tension may erupt when extended family members mediate the land claims made by the biological children of the foster child. The power dynamics represented by each member of the adoption triad evolves over time. Each person of the adoption triad and extended family and community members physically and emotionally integrate the difference that the adoption makes in their lives and then live with the aftermath of that agreement.

Even if the intent of the practice and the agreement are honourable, it may not be easy for the community 'back home' to live with the agreement. For example, because it is not a perfect world, it can be embarrassing or awkward in a small community where people are related, when events stemming from the adoption agreement go awry, especially if the birth and adoptive parents who designed the adoption agreement live in the community affected by the agreement, as in the case of disputes over land endowments claimed by a mature foster 'child.' 'Back home' in contemporary Mangaia, the smaller population lives with heightened effects.
from the practice because, as stated before, the people are immersed in their culture and live close to their history and land. Parenting styles vary and the community has opinions and suggestions, whether or not they voice any directly in order to 'keep the peace.'

The third characteristic is that the 'feeding' tradition solves and creates social problems for the child, family and community, depending upon how the practitioners manage their relationships through the choices they make. For example, the effects of migration have had a significant impact on the practice and the community, especially back 'home.' While there is considerable utility in having a 'feeding child' in Mangaia to maintain ties to the homeland, the tradition can challenge a community population comprised largely of young and old residents and a lesser population of middle-aged residents to support the infra-structure needs of Mangaia. The outcomes from the practice have evolved with development just as have the motives for continuing the custom.

A fourth characteristic is that because of ambiguities in the initial agreement, the outcomes resulting from the agreement tend to be unpredictable in the community over time. This again, depends upon how the practitioners choose to manage their relationships and implement their adoption agreement. Whether the outcomes are incentives or dilemmas for the people stem from many factors, most of which can be controlled initially by the metua dyad under the current practice by how they manage the outline of their agreement. If the parents are deceased, however, further negotiations occur through dynamic interactive family relationships in the community and the responsibility shifts to the extended family members to operationalise the original agreement or negotiate a different agreement with the birth parents.

Problems about the land in relation to the foster child's birthright are more apparent following the death of the parent dyad that negotiated the adoption agreement. For example, if the scope of the agreement is meant to extend into perpetuity, subsequent generations may not necessarily want, or feel obligated, to honour the agreement regarding the original 'feeding child,' who by then may be deceased. For auxiliary family of the 'feeding parents,' they may choose for the strength of the agreement to dissipate over time; whereas the claimant relatives of the original 'feeding' ancestor may want to access birth right endowments through the 'feeding' family's lineage and their landholdings.

The customary agreement transfers some level of parenting responsibilities from the birth parent to the custodial parent regarding the child. Still, there is uncertainty in the community about what the agreement will ultimately represent when the power shifts as the adoption triad ages especially regarding issues of land entitlement which is sometimes left unfinished by the parent dyad. The uncertainty creates suspicion about motives for adoption which can undermine trust in relationships in the small community 'back home.' The human factors in the
practice coupled with ambiguities in the agreement contribute to stress levels and problematic outcomes in the community.

The fifth characteristic in Mangaia's 'signature' practice is that although the negotiated features outlined in the agreement have an impact on the community and the outcomes of the tradition, the practice is unregulated. Accountability is informal between the parent dyad. There is no mechanism to enforce the parameters of the agreement and how it is administered and to protect the community and their assets. No one is fully in control of any other person. Hence, responsibility and accountability for the agreement and the outcomes are also non-enforceable which can create problems for the community, especially 'back home.'

The sixth characteristic of the practice relates to the nature and frequency of adoption problems that develop in the community. Even when the intent of the tradition is honourable and 'feeding' children devote years of service to 'feeding' families in their community, Mangaians have come to expect problems eventually from having 'feeding children.' 'Back home,' the community intimately lives with extensive repercussions from the tradition. Yet my analysis indicates that the people manage choices that can minimise dilemmas in the practice.

Often problems centre on how people choose to manage heritage land, land being a birth right of every individual having Mangaian lineage. While the 'feeding child' may represent love and labour to the 'feeding parent' and the community, he or she may eventually 'bite the hand that feeds it' by attempting to claim their birth right if the parent dyad fails in his or her obligation to bequeath the inheritance to the 'feeding child' before the metua dies. Land disputes stemming from the agreement, create tension in the community 'back home' that people recall for years. The intensity of the land disputes reflect the 'fight' for eligibility and identity by the 'feeding children,' a segment of the Mangaian population that appears to be institutionally disenfranchised because of how the adoption agreement is honoured, interpreted and administered by the families. Frequently, these problems result in bitterness that fractures relationships in the community for generations.

Even if the adoption agreement is well-defined, families can manipulate the adoption agreement to control assets such as bequeathing or withholding land to claimant-'feeding children' by their management choices. It may be that some adopted children are indulged by permissive 'feeding parents' and exploit their privileged position. If this is resented by the birth children of the 'feeding parents,' past treatment disparities may eventually rebound when birth children of the deceased 'feeding parents' block the endowed land being claimed by the 'feeding children.' It may also be that the adoptive and birth parents and community benefit equally or one benefits more than the other.
The seventh characteristic of Mangaia’s adoption practice is that there is no entity abroad other than the families to correct problems from the process not being regulated on the community level when the matter arises of problematic ‘feeding children’ being re-placed in a different community. Interventions can be difficult when distant kin are involved, not just in a small community ‘back home.’ The custom is extensively practised and the outcomes influence the culture differently in the individual locations. There is no ombudsman or mediation committee on the structural level in Mangaian communities in the diaspora to liaise in advance with Mangaia’s welfare officer before sending foster children ‘back home’ or to other communities abroad to ensure that the challenges represented by a ‘feeding child’ being transferred are matched with appropriate social services in the receiving community. The families individually organise transfers of their ‘feeding children’ which can present, and has caused, problems in both communities. Communication requires collaborative effort and Mangaians prefer to respond to advance notice and time for preparation.

The eighth characteristic of the practice is that the unpredictability in the custom, that flows directly from the choices practitioners make about managing their relationships and operationalising the adoption agreement, compromises the community's future cultural investment in Mangaia’s tradition and commitment toward fulfilling assigned obligations outlined in past adoption agreements. In many ways, Mangaian society ‘back home’ and abroad still depend upon the valuable service provided by the ‘feeding children’ and the ‘feeding parents’ ‘back home.’ For example, if the adoption agreement specifies that the ‘feeding child’ looks after the ‘feeding parents’ until their death, but the ‘feeding child’ disrupts the adoption, then the birth family of the ‘feeding parents,’ who may live abroad and support their birth parents through remittances, are left with the responsibility to look after their aging parents or send someone in their stead. If family abroad is not available, the responsibility to provide that service to the ‘feeding parents’ falls on the community members, which takes away from time available for their own families.

Lastly, and most importantly, the ninth characteristic of the practice is that lineage continues to be the pulse of the Mangaian tradition from its inception: Everything about the custom revolves around the importance of genealogy. Even if the spiritual nature of the practice appears to have faded somewhat over recent decades, the importance of the bloodline remains strong as it connects the Mangaian to their land and identity.

This is why, in the context of contemporary Mangaia, social problems stemming from the marginalised status allotted to the tamariki āngai rift families and communities in troublesome ways for which there are no universal solutions unless constituents choose to manage their practices differently. Issues of identity faced by foster or informally adopted
children are complex and marginalised in many societies. The challenges faced and how they sometimes erupt can baffle families and communities.

The Mangaian communities on both sides of the water may want to collaborate on how they can manage challenges that youth manifest on their own turf so that neither community feels like they are imposed upon which recalls that sense of powerlessness that Mangaians reject and reminders of colonisation that they did not appreciate. In many cases, the tamariki ‘āngai feel that they are "dumped" on their kin by their birth families.

I have explored and described a traditional domestic practice that continues to benefit the Mangaian people. While I am ever mindful of Raymond Firth’s (1957) counsel for researchers to abstain from imposing alien methods upon those people researched, because I was asked by several informants and members of the ‘ui’pa ‘anga if I would make suggestions, I did compile some concepts that Mangaians may want to consider, subordinate to their own ideas in future community gatherings, to continue the discussion about this valuable social practice.

1. Each of the ecological levels regarding tamariki ‘āngai influences the other levels. How people choose to fulfil their role influences the other levels.
2. Mangaian families have choices about practising customary adoption. Choices people make contribute positively and negatively toward adoption outcomes and thus societal harmony.
3. Mangaian family members can choose to support their birth sibling or ‘feeding child’ in its placement by how they treat the child, maintain contact with the child following placement and the extent to which they fulfil their obligations specified in the adoption agreement.
4. Mangaia’s family patriarchs and matriarchs may want to informally encourage their constituents in view of contemporary adoption factors to explore options that assist their families.

Again, these supplemental points only serve to stimulate the people to explore their own ways that work for them to manage their practice in view of modern development.

In final summary of this thesis, I have addressed my four aims in this research. I have described the Mangaian tradition of tamariki ‘āngai, the first aim of my research, and the relationships that stem from the protocol and how these influence each other in different ways ‘back home’ and in Aotearoa, according to what I have understood my informants to explain. I have presented implications, my second aim, stemming from the Mangaian cultural practice of customary adoption that arise from the relationships within the protocol, and the incentives and dilemmas of the practice. Mangaiaans have equitable agency and control over their future and management of resources between the ‘āngai and non-‘āngai populations by
how the practitioners choose to manage their relationships and how they operationalise their negotiated covenant. Certainly the Mangaians enjoy more choices about their practice than do other Cook Islands. The third aim of my research was to discover the complexity of the practice that clearly emerges in all eight chapters.

While I cannot expect to fully comprehend or convey the depth of the topic from an insider's perspective beyond what my informants confided while engaged in interviews and 'ui'pa'anga during my inquiry, I achieved the final aim of my research, that is, to raise consciousness in 32 informants and four Mangaian communities about my findings and the importance of their tradition and illuminate ideas that they may want to discuss within their families as they revisit their adoption custom with refreshed eyes that strengthen families and focus on a pro-active future.

Mangaia's tradition of tamariki 'āngai remains a valuable asset for their communities 'back home' and abroad. How Mangaian families choose to manage their practice in the future will very likely continue along an evolutionary path that reflects their changing needs in a modern world. The practice of tamariki 'āngai and how the Mangaians manage their relationships within customary adoption is their legacy for the next generation.
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Appendix 1 Adoption practices in Polynesian nations other than the Cook Islands

An overview of Oceania adoption literature provides an outline of informal adoption/fosterage related traditions in the Polynesian Isles that begins with the apices Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i, and Rapanui, and shifts to the islands located between. The literature reveals that certain aspects of Mangaia's practice are stable over time whereas others have changed.

Aotearoa New Zealand

There are several versions of who settled Aotearoa New Zealand. According to Elsdon Best (1915, p. 64), it was settled by migrants from the Mangaia, Cook Islands and Tonga, whereas Kirch and Green widened the general scope to include mariners from Tahiti and environs (1987, p. 437) over 1200 years ago (Macpherson, 2000, p. 114). The early Maori maintained their land through military conquest, held property communally and by occupation, and exchanged gifts (Metge, 1967). Their world view is "holistic and cyclic," Tania Ka'ai and Rewinia Higgins explained (2004, p. 13), and Maori native life, according to Best (1924, 1974, pp. 89-90), was regulated through tapu:

The system of tapu was a series of prohibitions, and its influence was very far-reaching [and] affected all crises of life—birth, marriage, sickness, death, burial, exhumation; all industries; and no person in the community was exempt from its stringent rules. To disregard those rules meant disaster to the individual; but the punishment meted out to the transgressor was not inflicted by his fellow-tribesmen—it was imposed by the gods.

To fully understand the depth of tapu probably requires having Maori heritage. (N. Pewhairangi, 1992, cited in Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 20).

The early 1800s were marked by chaos and Maori disunity, missionary evangelising and British annexation (Campbell, 1989). The New Zealand Maori lost their land and authority to colonisation, according to Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin (1996). Through the resettlement turmoil, accounts by various authors attest to tamariki whāngai ('feeding children') continuing to be commonly practised in Aotearoa New Zealand (Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Mead, 1990; Metge, 1967).

In the New Zealand Maori culture, children complete a home and having many children is an accomplishment no matter the outcome; they adopt to strengthen distant ties or
grandparent-grandchild ties, to fill a childless home and revive inheritance rights (Metge, 1967). Young children are indulged until a younger child arrives, Metge explained, and then the older toddler undergoes a social weaning that makes him independent from his parents until as a teen, his orientation shifts from peers back to his parents (1967). Metge stated that a Maori follows his parents' tribal membership, and an adopted child loses all inheritance to his natal parents' land (1967). "Foster children usually know their real parents and the circumstances of their fostering," Metge emphasised (1967, p. 100). Foster children also know that their natal parents can come and claim them at any time, which Metge believed makes the children insecure and therefore they manifest behaviour problems (Metge, 1967).

Metge's writings from 1976 discuss the pros and cons of tamariki whāngai 'customary adoption.' She explained that the practice provides additional parents rather than substituting them and when the adoptive parents become too old or ill, the whāngai returns to his natal parents (1976). In adoption, Metge argued, the needs of the parents and the child are considered equally important (1976). Metge acknowledged that the custom is criticised for its problem cases, and she presented arguments for both sides: Tamariki whāngai can minimise damage done in parent child personality conflicts; the custom can lower marital stress in unstable unions or following remarriage subsequent to divorce or death; it promotes self-reliance and social ease by widening social and instructional models for children (1976). However, Metge claimed, having additional parents can mean that no one spends enough time with the child to recognise and attend to emerging emotional or physical problems, that some children fail to identify deeply with an adult which deters the child from developing lasting relationships later in life, that some parents may either over- or under-discipline and children may respond by aligning with peer group gangs (1976). Metge advocated for "a properly controlled study to investigate whether such difficulties arise more frequently in the case of whāngai than of other children and what proportion of all whāngai relationships run into trouble" (1976, p. 146). Tamariki whāngai problems result, Metge believed, due to human failure, or unfavourable or unfamiliar circumstances (1976).

Metge's third cited work (1995) is a culmination of 40 years of Aotearoa New Zealand Maori whānau (family) research. Metge (1995) illustrated elasticity in the term whānau: what it is, from immediate family to unrelateds, such as a sports team; what it does, such as support and insurance; and what are its values as in aroha (love) and mana (power) (1995). The author stated that whakapapa (genealogical knowledge) is important, but the elders consider ancestral information prior to grandparents as tapu (set-apart) and that "refraining from teaching the young too much too soon protects them against unwitting blunders" (1995, p. 91).
Metge (1995, pp. 140-141) explained *whānau* duties such as teamwork and reciprocity and includes four *whānau* principles that focus on children:

- "Children are to be valued for being unique individuals ... and links in lines of descent that stretch from the beginning of time into the future, and as nodes in the kinship network which connects living individuals and groups."

- "Children belong, not to their parents exclusively, but to each of the *whānau* to which they have access through their parents."

- "That rights and responsibilities for raising children are properly shared by the adult members of the *whānau* to which they belong and in some cases reserved to particular senior relatives."

- "Children also have rights and responsibilities ... They have rights to their genealogical identity, to love, to support and to socialisation in *tikanga* Māori [rights], from other members of the *whānau* as well as and sometimes instead of their parents."

Metge stressed that the *whānau* is expected to supply a parent when one is missing (1995). *Atawhai* (informal adoption) situations tend to be community knowledge, Metge advised, and in time, children find out their origins (1995). *Atawhai* is determined by the quality of relationship rather than the duration, according to Metge (1995). Grandparents have a claim on their first grandchild and children raised by grandparents receive extra attention and learn more about their culture, although, Metge argued, they may feel lonelier than if raised with their siblings (1995). Furthermore, there is no single rule regarding inheritance by *atawhai*, Metge advised (1995). The best safeguard against *whānau* resentment toward *atawhai* in matters of inheritance is to legalise the adoption (Metge, 1995). The author discussed the controversial history of legalised adoption acts and amendments in Aotearoa, and explained that informal arrangements continue to be the most widely practised form of this tradition (1995).

In a 1994 adoption conference address, Dame Georgina Kamiria Kirby stated, "*Tamaiti whangai* is misunderstood by many people—including some Maori people" and yet the practice has been around since "time immemorial" (Kirby, p. 20). Hirini Moko Mead's paper on Maori customary adoption practices included that "there is every reason to expect that being a *tamaiti whangai* (feeding-child) can be ané should be a good positive experience which will help to bring out the pu manawa (talents) of the individual" (Mead, 1994, p. 94). H. Mead explained that the child is the most important *taonga* (responsibility) to be considered in adoption and summarised four rights of a *tamaiti whangai*: to know the circumstances of one's adoption; to know one's *whakapapa* "and be able to get in touch when a need is felt"; of *whanaungatanga* (the kinship-belonging aspect)—to be related somehow to the
adopting parent); and lastly, cultural integrity, that is, to be brought up in one's own culture without alienation (1994, pp. 88-95).

Binney and Chaplin (1996) compiled narratives of Maori women who were tamariki whāngai including one subject, Meri, who survived capture in a massacre at Waerenga a Hika and later brought up four generations including her great-granddaughter, Heni Brown, from babyhood to womanhood. Brown related the following:

"The concept [of tamariki whāngai] is ageless," according to Kirby (1994, p. 23), however, Tim Watkin wrote that contemporary birth parents have more of a choice about participating in tamariki whāngai and can "choose to keep their child" (2002, May 11, p. 2).

**Hawai‘i**

Howard, Heighton, Jordan and Gallimore (1970) wrote about adoption patterns and motivations for adoption in aboriginal Hawai‘i. If a closely related child either "wet or soiled" a chief, the child must either be adopted by him or killed (Handy & Pukui, 1958, cited in Howard et al., p. 26). Another early belief was "una kapu 'taboo lap"' in which some women were so favoured by "a personal or family god" that their children must be raised by others else the children meet with tragedy; a child could also serve as an apprentice in the home of an expert (Handy & Pukui, 1958, cited in Howard et al., 1970, pp. 27-28). Other beliefs include that "twins must be reared apart lest one or both die," (Hormann, n.d., cited in Howard et al., 1970, p. 27); "[a]li‘i [birth siblings given in adoption] siblings of the opposite sex might be raised apart in order that they might marry later in life without regarding each other as brother and sister" and their eventual offspring would outrank the grandparents (Green & Beckwith, 1924, cited in Howard et al., 1970, p. 28). Refusal to hanai a child meant that the "jealous would-be adopter" might use sorcery to inflict illness upon the child (Yamamura, 1941, cited in Howard et al., 1970, p. 28). An adoption "contract was binding and [supported by]
supernatural sanctions"; for example, if the two sets of parents quarreled and the natal parents retrieved their child, the child could become unwell and die (Howard et al., 1970, pp. 25-26).

Howard et al. (1970) explained that aboriginal kinship adoption served to consolidate and preserve the mana within the clan in that childless chiefs could only adopt their nieces or nephews. Some adoptees were servants to the natal children in the home (Howard et al., 1970). An early form of traditional fosterage was "luhi" (temporary burden), which, according to Howard et al. (1970, p. 29), resulted when the parents became ill and unable to care for their children; however, upon recovery, the children returned to their natal home.

The early missionaries opposed the practice of shifting children between homes: "The mission publication A Few Words of Advice for Parents (Sandwich Islands Mission, 1842) cautioned mothers against leaving their infants to cry in another's care while they went off wherever they wished.... But beyond everything else, infants should not be given away to relatives, but reared by their biological parents in the one home" (Grimshaw, 1989, p. 38), yet, the practice persisted. Hawaiians desire to always have children in the home and large families are considered "stingy" if children are not shared out because sharing is acceptable behaviour, whereas, according to Howard et al., withholding is not (1970, p. 45). Even men, who are "not so directly socialised in the nurturant role, [consider] babies to be the safest creatures in an unpredictable world and are motivated to have some in their households" (Howard et al., 1970, p. 48). Howard et al. derived from the current frequency of adoption and fosterage in Hawaii that this aspect of Hawaiian culture endured colonial influence very well, even if adoption in Hawaii "is so often the focus of concern and powerful expressions of emotion" (Howard et al., 1970, p. 29).

The modern version of adoption type kinship transactions alters relationship rules among family acting in 'as if' roles and can amount to formal/legal adoption, "hanai" (informal adoption) with a transfer of primary jural rights, or it can amount to fosterage, without a transfer or jural rights (Howard et al., 1970, p. 21). Hawaiian adoption usually occurs between matrilateral kin who desire newborn infants or those recently born and prior to emotional attachment developing (Howard et al., 1970). Howard et al. explained that Hawaiians believe that traits are heritable and the people are more comfortable knowing 'what' they are getting (1970). In addition, Hawaiians believe that children benefit from knowing their parents' identity as they grow up, which is more easily managed within kin alliances (Howard et al., 1970). The Hawaiian culture upholds nurturance; "people are expected to take care of those in need, the strong were expected to assist the weak and prestige accrues to the generous (Howard et al., 1970, p. 46).
According to Howard et al. (1970), Hawaiians believe that adoption improves subsequent fertility. Another belief is that individuals align most closely with their foster parents, although foster parents encourage continued association between the adoptee and the natal parents (Howard et al., 1970). The same authors posited that having a negative personal adoption experience can discourage a natal parent from allowing his or her child to be adopted out (1970). For those that do, however, adoption and fosterage within kin relationships can become confusing and create "genealogical shadows," as illustrated in the following description of a woman with regard to her hanai daughter:

Kealoha is my brother's child. Of course my brother isn't really my brother as both he and I are hanai children of my father. I guess my father isn't really my father, is he? I know who my real mother is but I didn't like her and I never see her. My hanai brother is half-Hawaiian and I am pure Hawaiian. We aren't really any blood relation I guess, but I always think of him as my brother and I always think of my father as my father. I think maybe Papa is my grand-father's brother; I am not sure as we never asked such things. So I don't know what relationship Kealoha really is though I call her my child. (Hormann, 1960, cited by Howard et al., 1970, p. 43)

The above quote makes me wonder if not inquiring about relationships is an individual family norm or a wider cultural norm, as it seems to be with Rapanui Polynesians, shrouding their kinship in mystery.

**Rapanui**

Grant McCall (1994) wrote about adoption and fosterage practices on Rapanui, the easternmost vertex of the Polynesian triangle, describing the perspectives of the adoption triad, the process and some reasons for the practice. McCall (1994) emphasised that Rapanui families enjoy children: Having children is a living legacy for a person's existence; whereas infertility is viewed as punishment for past disobedience or the result of a curse. Childless couples, McCall explained, may approach a pregnant woman and request the child upon birth, providing care and food for the mother in the interim (1994). According to McCall (1994), people might give up a child in adoption if they are indebted to the requesting party. The mother may be grateful if she is young and without a permanent partner (McCall, 1994). The author described that older Rapanui with adult children often volunteer to foster both a young single mother and her infant so that they can look after the child and the mother can enjoy her single years (1994). McCall wrote that Rapanui elders may request the first-born of "young parents, on the grounds that people so inexperienced should not be allowed to care for so important a representative of the future of a family" (1994, p. 91). Sometimes the elderly insist
upon caring for an infant of married parents; the single elderly "badger" their progeny for children to gain additional domestic help or validate their "seniority" (McCall, 1994, pp. 91-92).

McCall (1994) described families as organising mechanisms for survival. He explained that true Rapanui adoption is signalled by a shift in households, additional land and labour access, and that true adoption alleviates the tension of childlessness or rids of the "embarrassing reminder of a temporary infidelity" (1994, p. 93). According to McCall, the reactions of adult adopted children vary "from gratitude to the parents who chose them to strong resentment of their natural parents' supposed rejection of them" (1994, p. 93). McCall stated that today, adopted children avoid contact with their natal parents including eye contact, and that "[s]corned mothers report especially that this treatment emotionally devastates them" (1994, p. 94). From McCall's description (1994), it appears that adoption rifts the natal parent-child relationship at the same time that it bonds the natal couple to the adoptive couple for their lifetimes, even in the infrequent cases of Rapanui adoptions by outsiders. McCall discusses shrouded family connections: "[W]ho is and who isn't, is one of the most coveted secrets on Rapanui, a secret which changes with circumstances, a mysterious basis for alignment or resentment which people have in the back of their minds as they face present problems and future uncertainties" (1994, p. 99).

This concludes my presentation of variations of foster/informal adoption customs in the Polynesian apices. Now follows similar writings about island countries within the triangle.

**Marquesas Islands: Motane and 'Ua Pou**

The Marquesas Islands is a group thought to have one of the longest histories of inhabitation in the region and to be an early and major central oceanic emigrational hub with mariners heading out in every direction. Ethnographers and historians elucidate familiar motives for this exodus. In Edward Robarts' pre-missionary journals (Dening, 1974), he wrote that war was endemic in this cannibal-society. Willowdean Handy (1965) and John Kirkpatrick (1983) described that periodic drought brought famine and tidal waves brought desolation with the lingering effects. This combination was exacerbated by the absence of lagoons or coral reefs surrounding the volcanic islands to ease fishing and buffer *tsunami*. Moreover, sailors brought disease that decimated the population (Dening, 1974) and decreased fertility for the women (Handy, 1965). Thor Heyerdahl illustrated (1974, p. 276) an example of post-contact (and pre-World War II) change when he described the only case of adoption on Motane:
[1]n Ouia lived an old man called Tei Tetua, all alone with his little adopted daughter. All the tribes had died out. All the valleys were empty of people.... A relative in Omoa had brought Tei Tetua Tahia-Momo, Little-Tahia, the young girl that kept him company. Otherwise he would have been entirely alone.... He was the only one left of those who had eaten human flesh.

Handy (1965) stated that in 1921 when she accompanied her ethnographer husband on a Bishop Museum expedition to 'Ua Pou, "[w]e were told that that year for the first time births had equaled deaths. (p. 191). Handy observed that children are nearly always carried until they can walk, that parents and grandparents play with children as "companions and equals" and that the first-born son traditionally becomes head of the house at birth, issuing orders that are followed (1965, p. 190).

John Kirkpatrick examined life, aging and personal identity on 'Ua Pou where he declares that "fertility, life expectancy and prosperity" have increased (1983, p. 48). Kirkpatrick (1983) reported that Marquesan blood establishes similarities and relatedness; however, this can be modified through environment: In an ideological nature-nurture discussion that Kirkpatrick had with one informant, the man expressed that he had acquired some of his fosterer's characteristics. Distinguishing between nurturing situations of adoption or fosterage on 'Ua Poe is "problematic," according to Kirkpatrick, due to the prevalence of co-residency (1983, p. 42). He added that on this island, "small children abound in Marquesan households, even ones with minimal production levels and no active adult workers" (1983, p. 19). This poses a dilemma about definition within research premises: If, as Kirkpatrick claimed, the child and the community do not know whether the situation is fosterage or co-residency and child co-residency is extensive, then examination and classification complicates cross-checking distinctions for validity. Or the information must be framed under the combined definitions.

Kirkpatrick (1983) described a trend on 'Ua Pou toward out-migration of wage-earners to Tahiti, and for family remaining in the hinterland, to bring up the children. Some of Kirkpatrick's informants mistrusted the fosterer's ability or willingness to administer appropriate discipline or even to care for another's children (1983). Kirkpatrick wrote that parents are expected to provide the mechanics of care, that being clothing, hygiene, discipline; whereas the tupuna hōkai 'feeding grandparents' "feed ... cherish ..." or nurture the child (1983, p.173). Note that Kirkpatrick's discussion of parental discipline roles (1983) contrasts with Handy's earlier depiction (1965) of the firstborn son directing his mother's actions.

Another trend on 'Ua Pou that Kirkpatrick described is that about half of the families with foster/adopt children live in nuclear, as compared to multi-union, households (1983). The Catholic Church, according to Kirkpatrick, opposes the latter household structure, as well as the practice of informal adoption when shared children are raised elsewhere in Protestant
homes (1983). Kirkpatrick found several community-fosterage attitudes centred on labour expectations, not surprising considering that households in this society have an age-, rather than gender-division of labour, and co-residency is the norm (1983). Kirkpatrick’s informants explained that fosterers acquire children for domestic labour, as opposed to the fosterers’ counter-complaint that birth parents may attempt to later reclaim their older child when his labour is valuable (1983). Children also bring entitlement: As long as a person is responsible for a foster child whose natal parent is absent, the foster parent can work on the natal parent’s land and keep all profit resulting there from and land access ceases subject to the return of the natal parent (Kirkpatrick, 1983).

Kirkpatrick suggested that adults on ’Ua Poe "need to have dependents whose existence testifies to their nurturers' competence" (1985, p. 103). The Marquesan desire to welcome a child for however long is ever present, since "Marquesan careers as caregivers usually continue until their deaths," according to Kirkpatrick, and adult Marquesans like to see their households as "self-sustaining and reproductive units" (1985, p. 91). Although legal adoption is not common throughout Polynesia, Kirkpatrick noted that Marquesans make wills and legal donations of land to provide for foster children, the same as for natal offspring: "The idea of excluding heirs altogether is unacceptable" (1985, p. 92).

Marquesan informal adoption/fosterage customs endure and/or adjust in the face of ecumenical opposition and malleable values, while the islands’ populations increase. Kirkpatrick’s contributions (1985) focused more on identity, such as fosterer influence, and aging than on protocol of customary adoption. Understanding how people are influenced by a practice is preliminary to constituents evaluating the cost, benefits and goals of their practice and either defining their autonomy in relation to the practice or revising the custom. Marquesan literature is the reminder for socio-cultural researchers to incorporate how indigenous people define their phenomenon rather than trying to impose western parameters.

**Niue**

Niue or Niue-fekai/Nuku-tu-Taha/Motu-te-fua/Fakahoa-motu/Nuku-tuluea, is a raised coral island about 40 miles in circumference. In 1899, Niue’s population was 4576, according to S. Percy Smith and Pulekula (1993, p. 7). Several kin categories used by Niueans include fagai 'which Smith and Pulekula speculated stems from family members ’feeding’ together (1993, p. 36) and hiki-tama "adoption of children ... especially those of relatives" (Smith & Pulekula, 1993, p. 38). Hiki-tama was prevalent and adoptees received "all the rights of those born to the parents adopting them," according to Smith and Pulekula (1993, p. 38). These authors
explained that in traditional times, rank was not hereditary: the people of Niue chose their 

Niue’s practice of 	extit{fagai/hiki-tama} was recalled by Pulekula, Smith’s assistant (Smith & 
Pulekula, 1993, pp. 114-116) in an example of historical adoption related lore:

Matila-fo[a]foa [an expert dart thrower] had a son born to him, which he took and 
cast away in the forest that he might die in the first heaven. Some \textit{hiapo} cloth was 
sealed into the child's mouth, which became full of the spittle, and this became as 
milk for the child. So the child ate it and lived, and grew up to run about, but he 
knew not who his father was. [He went through many trials to find his father and 
eventually learned through a blind woman's direction.] "The boy went and awaited 
the chief of the plaza when he cast darts. Matila-foafoa was the last to act; and the 
dart went right to the place where the boy was sitting, who seized it and broke it. 
He jumped up and wrestled with his father, saying, "Matila-foafoa, O my father! 
why did you cast me away?" The son had found his father.

Although Smith and Pulekula referred to the familiar theme of "magical darts" suspended in 
the "confused and sketchy nature" of this Niuean story (1993, p. 116), I am struck by the life-
quest of the boy to find his father and a sense of self-identity, another familiar theme in 
adoption/fosterage studies (Haines & Timms, 1985; Howarth, 1988; Morris, 1994; Howe & 
Feast, 2000; Schooler & Norris, 2002; Javier et al., 2007).

Judith Barker (1994) discussed Niuean out-migration's influence on its elder population 
and informal social supports in the 70s and 80s and states that grandparents may ask for 
grandchildren as labour repayment, to cement friendships and link generations, and for 
companionship with the understanding that "adopted children, \textit{tama hiki}, girls especially, are 
explicitly and repeatedly reminded of their strong moral obligation they have to care for their 
adoptive parents" (p. 71).

\textbf{Rapa}

According to Gill, in the 1860s, Mangaians made it to Rapa by way of Peru after servitude 
as slaves. Only one of the original 360 human cargo survived the journey and "[a] third of the 
population of Rapa was cut off by [smallpox or dysentery] contagion" (Gill, 1876a, p. 105). 
F. Allan Hanson (1970) described adoption practices in Rapa, part of French Polynesia. 
Hanson wrote that Rapan land is not surveyed, bought or sold, but is held in group ownership 
by ramages or families who record their own birth/death records that validate land rights 
(1970). Hanson explained that membership in multiple ramages is claimed only by children 
born in a legal parent-child link (1970). Land is not divided, Hanson argued, but rather willed
in advance of the death of a shareholder to a child or *tamariki fa'a'amu* 'feeding child' to stop the threat of confiscation by natal children (1970).

Rapan people are under no obligation to provide land to *tamariki fa'a'amu*, according to Hanson (1970). Rapan fostering is common: Hanson's sample revealed that over half the people had foster parents (1970). A child may be spoken for prior to or following birth, but remains with the birthmother until after weaning and the ultimate jural authority remains with the natal parents until adulthood (Hanson, 1970). The practice of *tamariki fa'a'amu* is intended to last a lifetime; however, Hanson stated that the ultimate decision of where to live is left to the child to "avert friction" between the natal and foster parents (1970, p. 150). Foster parents work hard bestowing edible treats or balloons to retain the allegiance of the child (Hanson, 1970). A childless couple, Hanson commented, will foster five or six children in hopes that several *tamariki fa'a'amu* will reciprocate by looking after the surrogate parents in their old age (1970). Hanson explained that people foster children for numerous reasons besides aged welfare, including and not limited to, sentiment for having children or grandchildren around, cementing relations with favourite relatives and redistributing children to fit economic resources (1970).

**Samoa**

The Rev. George Turner wrote about adoption practices in Samoa in 1861 when it was customary for a couple to adopt children and have their own children adopted by others (1984, p. 179). Turner (1984) propounded that an adopted child became a channel for native property reciprocity between the birth- and adoptive parents. This practice, according to Turner, was challenged by the teachings of the Christian missionaries who advocated instead that the parents take personal responsibility for raising their own children, as parents have to eventually "account unto God for the manner in which they train up their children [which is] paramount to the inferior concerns of secular traffic in fine mats and foreign property" (1984, p. 180). In response to these admonitions parents had difficulty retrieving their children from the adoptive homes because some adoptive parents did not want to give back their adoptees, and in some cases the natal parents were strangers to their children (Turner, 1984).

Margaret Mead (1939) described Samoan households as ranging from nuclear to extended families with everyone blood-related to the *matai* 'headman'. Relations, Mead (1939) claimed, are equated with claims and obligations. The most important bonds are brother-sister, whether they be consanguinal, affinal (as long as the marriage is sound) or by adoption, and between younger and older generations (Mead, 1939). It would be unusual, according to
Mead, for all the natal children in a family to reside with their birth parents, but that in times of illness or need at home, the call goes out and wanderers return to help (1939). The author also stated that in Samoa, titled rank overrides birth rank (1939).

Bradd Shore described how Samoa's adoption institution interacts with alliance and political mobility (1976). Although there is no Samoan term for foster child, Samoans refer to such a child as tausia (cared for) by those outside the natal home and other than the child's natal parents (Shore, 1976). The custom does not constitute babysitting in the western sense, Shore argued; rather, it balances domestic labour between households and provides temporary relocation for education, or when a child prefers to reside with a favourite relative or friend (1976). One-half of fosterage cases result from educational needs of the children, according to Shore; another trend tends to be a male gender bias in fosterage and especially adoption (1976).

Shore explained that Samoan terms for "adopted child" include tama fai (made child) and tama vavae (separated/divided child) (1976, p. 166). Living situations may seem casual to an outside observer, Shore posited, however Samoans know their categories even if there is some confusion over what constitutes a "made child" (Shore, 1976, p. 166). True adoption is distinguished from fosterage by a legal name change and "explicit acknowledgement of the transfer of primary jural authority over the child" (Shore, 1976, p. 167). The emphasis in adoption is on the new life-long alliance created rather than the severance of the fragile natal parent-child bond that can vanish with a single adoption bid, for such is never refused nor is the arrangement terminated, according to Shore (1976).

Shore cited internal and external reasons for adoption that mirror the practice in other island countries; examples include infertility, abandonment, unavailability, and out-migration (1976). Samoan adoptions are routinely arranged between close kin—usually matrilaterally, or by the father's sister; however, an exception to this is when a new pastor validates his presence in the community through adoption (Shore, 1976). Genealogical and adoptive ties are "behaviorally based and conditional rather than categorical," according to Shore (1976, p. 175). Shore articulated that a history of sharing and service or substance and code are fundamental to Samoans and adoption; actual, not just expected, generosity is paramount, resulting in an undercurrent of tension (1976).

Shore (1976) described Samoan kinship groups: 'aiga (bilateral kindred) with agnatic toto mālosi (strong blood) or itū mālosi (strong side) while matrilateral links are toto vaivai (weak blood) or the itū vaivai (weak side). However, Shore believed that kinship reckoning is flexible—agnatic, cognatic or affinal and operates with a male gender bias to maximise options for status and political mobility (1976). Shore advised that prestige is eroding in a glut
of titles (1976). Succession-mechanisms for political mobility are complex and emphasise service in addition to "an aptitude for and diligence in learning lore" (Shore, 1976, p. 180). Shore elucidated how these mechanisms: competitors, incumbent's wishes, descendants of previous titleholders, descent lines, orators, Samoan's court system, gender, male sibling seniority, direct succession, primogeniture and physical characteristics, all figure in title succession (1976). Achieved and ascribed statuses are linked to Samoan kinship parameters of substance and code, explained Shore, which relates to adoption because what an adopted child lacks in substance, he can "claim by service to his [household] kin groups and the chiefs" (1976, p. 183). According to Shore (1976), alliance through adoption, marriage and titles factor in Samoan kinship descent.

**Society Islands: Maupiti and Murifenua**

Ta'iti/Tahiti is one of the Society Islands, from which Mangaia's earliest missionaries came with a Bible in a language of which Mangaians were already familiar (see Appendix 12). Anthony Hooper wrote about customary adoption practices on Maupiti and Murifenua, and explained that fosterage occurs with variable frequency on all the Society Islands "in spite of the wide variety of social and economic conditions which prevail in the group" (1970, p. 52). Hooper (1970) provided a general overview in which he explained that French laws respect and maintain indigenous ideology (to some extent) in that laws link land rights and succession with membership in a descent unit. Hooper explained that as the population increases, land gets divided into smaller parcels and that some co-owners live near and work on their land, whereas others reside elsewhere, either by a spouse's land or in locations having wage-based economies (1970). According to Hooper, these people have lost their early native tribal system based on inherited rank and mana to legislated universal suffrage (1970). However, Hooper noted that their religious and indigenous beliefs operate simultaneously (1970). Although many of the early traditions have vanished or have been modified in response to imported clergy, laws, and changing economic conditions, Tahitian ideology about customary adoption endures, as does some of their language (Hooper, 1970).

Language conveys ideology and experience. Several of Hooper's translation equivalents include: "tamari'i fa'amu 'children who are fed"'; "tamari'i mau 'true children' or 'real children' or tamari'i fanau 'born children'[, and i]n other contexts, both may be simply referred to as tamari'i" (1970, p. 56). In addition, significant terms apply to children who live with adults other than their natural parents, without being catagorised as 'feeding children'; for example, "'mea taponi mai 'a thing hiding here' such as a child who ran away from home to live with a
relative after a beating; "ha'apao 'looking after,'" an example being the mother who goes away for a year to work and sends "payments of child allowance" to the caregivers; "mea haere noa mai 'a thing which just came," refers to the child that remains "because he enjoys it" (1970, p. 57). This information is relevant because it illustrates that the people in Maupiti and Murifenua have not only retained their indigenous terms for traditional adoption since colonisation, but at some point have organised categories for housing arrangements that may appear to be, but are actually distinct from, tamari'i fa'amu.

Hooper (1970) explained that children, personal names, and land are considered family resources (which is calculated by blood relations.), plus values, expectations and entitlements under a web of reciprocity; for example, grandparents have the right to demand grandchildren for which children are obligated to consent as payback for being raised by their parents (1970). "Fa'amu" ['feeding'] provides a haven for those children whose "fanau" [born]-parents are unable to fulfil their obligations, with the hope that the "tamari'i fa'amu" 'feeding children' will look after them in their old age (Hooper, 1970, p. 56). Hooper wrote about the preference for adopting close kin (or otherwise, the family feels devalued); single adults of either gender can validate their adulthood by adopting children insuring that, at death, someone will bury them properly (1970). Adopting children in early infancy binds tamari'i to their fa'amu parents, but maintaining contact with the fanau family prevents the child, later as an adult, from feeling uncomfortable around them (Hooper, 1970). This is the only mention that Hooper made concerning the long-term effects of fa'amu on tamari'i (apart from entitlements), and it is couched in the managed tension between the fa'amu and fanau parents over a tamari'i's allegiance (1970). Hooper cited incest taboos observed in tamari'i fa'amu and that arrangements may be rescinded if abuse is discovered (1970). Hooper wrote of fa'amu humiliation if the tamari'i prefers to return to his fanau home, and that subsequent recompense is due the 'feeding parents' for their investment in the child's upbringing (1970). Tamari'i fa'amu are not expected to help their fanau parents and have no legal claim to fa'amu estates without a will (Hooper, 1970). Hooper stated that potential entitlements are not discussed during initial fa'amu negotiations as a hedge perchance the fa'amu relationship disrupts (1970). Finally, because people are aware of their poverty, the out-migration of wage-earners looking to help their families living in a subsistence economy leaves behind a high percentage of youth or social substitutes to look after the aging population (Hooper, 1970).

According to Hooper (1970), the islanders trade economic shortage for adult labour pool poverty to address infra-structure and heavy maintenance needs on these two outlying islands.
Society Islands: 'Piri'

Robert Levy, a medical doctor from the United States, wrote about customary adoption protocol and psychological messages imbedded in the Tahitian practice on one of the Society Islands that he referred to as "Piri" (1970, p. 75). On Piri, most households have been touched by the practice, termed "fa'a'amu," but not in response to economic motives (Levy, 1970, p. 75). Rather, arofa, an "act of love and charity" by the petitioner is seen as major motive in Piri's society that values selflessness (Levy, 1970, p. 77). Other reasons to fa'a'amu include birth parents not being ready to settle down, or adults wishing to strengthen a relationship with the natal parents, or wanting to add new life to a home (Levy, 1970).

Levy explained that the culturally ideal response is to accept the bid for a child as normal, but he alludes to some families who are not happy about such sharing (1970). Likewise is the reaction of the Mormon Church which during Levy's era was newly established on Piri (1970). The clergy encourage self-sufficiency—looking after one's own children, but Levy quoted a cynical viewpoint: 'People take children because later the children will help them, and they can share in the profits of the children's property' (Levy, 1970, p. 77). However, secular sanctions also discipline motives and intervene against potential fa'a'amu arrangements if any overture of impropriety by the adopting parent is suspected (Levy, 1970). Levy described Piri's parent-child reality: "[C]hildren are kept by their parents, not because of the natural, given order of things, but because the parents happen to wish to, and are allowed to by others in the community" (Levy, 1970, p. 82). Levy posited that parent-child relationships "are fragile ... contingent and interchangeable, and must not be taken too seriously...." (Levy, 1970, p. 84). Individual or family strength defers to the wider harmony and sends a message that fa'a'amu on Piri does not occur in a vacuum, but under a watchful audience (Levy, 1970).

Levy conducted psycho-dynamic interviews with members of this audience to learn if there were any noticeable differences between adults raised as fa'a'amu children and adults raised in their natal families (1970). Levy found no appreciable differences for them, but he noted subtle, not gross differences, in fa'a'amu parental behaviour toward their natal and adopted children (1970). Another message frequently conveyed is that casual teasing about separation occurs early and reinforces a social weaning: It is non-productive to think about one's mother; emotionally involved relationships are unsafe; be ready to shift allegiances or be vulnerable; goals and personal possessions are tentative (Levy, 1970). Levy's data indicate a pattern of what seems to be detached and devalued relationships promoted in a sharing society practising the durable custom of fa'a'amu (1970).
Even so, Levy explained that reports persist of children having "peculiar feelings" when they see their birth parents and the reverse, and that the people experience these feelings, although they are conditioned to detach or disengage (1970, p. 85). Levy's writings about influences that fuel social detachment link to theories of attachment and bonding behaviour in western adoption studies (1970).

The difficulty of Levy (1970) using a pseudonym for reporting customary adoption practices in a particular locale is that it becomes problematic for other researchers to conduct longitudinal studies for comparison in tracking development. On the other hand, Geoffrey Walford stated that naming a research site warrants increased discussion about possible effects on the internal confidentiality of those studied and that an outsider's account can benefit the subjects (2002).

**Tikopia**

Tikopia is external to the Polynesian triangle but researchers believe that it is culturally affiliated with Samoa (Oliver, 1952, p. 56). Firth (1957) explained that for Tikopia, kinship equals genealogy plus behaviour; land equals wealth and food resources; and freedom and restraint are Tikopian kinship watchwords. Firth summarised the Tikopian kinship system: "[I]ts bonds serve as channels of communication for the members of the society, as a framework for economic and social co-operation, and as a factor of stability in throwing a recognized bridge between differences of material interest" and that the nuclear family remains central to the Tikopian community, and its religious and political life (1957, p. 578).

Within Tikopian kinship, Firth stated that the "fiction of adoption" diverts the otherwise "permanent until death" kinship tie (1957, p. 577) Although Tikopian children prefer their natal parents, according to Firth, Tikopia's society has two components for weaning children from their birth parents (1957). In the social weaning, the kin compete with the birth parents for their child's affection so that the child will not cry when separated from its parents (1957). The physiological mechanism is to remove the child, *tama fakapiki* "an adhering child," from the parents after weaning to be brought up apart from the natal household (1957, p. 204). Each mechanism reminds children and others that "affections for parents ... should not be allowed to dominate the social life," that the bonds of the nuclear family "threaten the wider harmony" and that the child "belongs to the larger social group" (Firth, 1957, pp. 205-206). This behaviour system, according to Firth, strengthens kinship ties, especially over distance; it demonstrates the parents' confidence in the proxy-parents as well as respect for the children (1957).
Tokelau

Atafu, Nukunonu and Fakaofo are three atolls in the Tokelau group of islands. Judith Huntsman conducted doctoral fieldwork in Nukunonu in the 1960s. In her thesis, Huntsman explained that children are given to replace parents who have left the island through death or migration, to obviate infertility in couples, to provide labour in households and when parents are somehow unable to provide care (1969, pp. 101-102). "[T]he permanency of the gift [of a child is] related to the relationship between the giver and the recipient" (Huntsman, 1969, p. 101). Huntsman explained that the offspring of sons often reside with their paternal aunts as tamafai 'given children' (1969, p. 97) and these children "frequently receive special estates from their adoptive parents when they reach maturity" (1969, p. 154). However, land is not to be alienated from the family at the expense of the rights of descendants (Huntsman, 1969, p. 154). Several decades later, the Tokelau Book Committee confirmed that adopted children in Tokelau still have land "rights to small sections" (1991, p. 155).

Tonga

Tonga is considered the last Polynesian monarchy (although Mangaia has a titular queen). Charles Urbanowicz (1973), writing about adoption and fosterage in aboriginal Tonga explained that Tongan adoption was distinct from fosterage, and that early fosterage did not permanently alter the child's rank. Urbanowicz included five aboriginal Tongan kinship transaction-related terms classed under 'adoption': ohi 'adoption,' pusiai 'fosterage,' tauhi 'guardian,' fakahingoa 'name-giving' with a possible change of rank for the child and ngaohi 'name giving' with no change of rank for the child (1973, pp. 110-111).

Keith Morton wrote about contemporary Tongan society, explaining that it has four strata: tu'i 'kings,' 'eiki 'nobles/chiefs,' matapule 'chiefs assistants' and tu'a 'commoners,' "the bulk of the population" (1976, p. 65). Morton (1976) added another kinship term: "Tokanga'i [to care for] another's child" with only a temporary transfer of parental rights (1976, p. 66). Morton (1976) also stated that Tongan ohi is one avenue to parenthood and parenthood validates adult status. He explained that jural parenthood extends to those who look after any children that happen to be in their home at the time (1976).

Tongan adoption, according to Morton, is "goal-directed kinship behaviour" wherein children, being highly valued resources, may be reallocated in a general system of kinship reciprocity that solves socio-economic problems (1976, p. 64). Ohi-pusiai goals evolve to address fluctuating needs within the developmental phases of the nuclear family that include:
dependent nuclear, independent nuclear, mature, and declining phases (Morton, 1976). Kinship reciprocity. Morton (1976) described, is "expectable" behaviour especially amongst siblings (p. 73); the custom also obligates relatives to assist kin who request a child in a society that values generosity. A person who adopts or gives a child in adoption is considered generous, and generosity merits prestige (Morton, 1976). Ohi may generate from gratitude for past services, Morton emphasised, and Tongan children are obligated to assist aged parents who can be satisfied by offering a child to them in adoption (1976).

Morton explained one Tongan ohi strategy that is considered 'incomplete' if done by grandparents with their grandchildren, because in the event that the grandparents should die, the child would return to the natal parents for care (1976). Tongan ohi increases incest parameters for commoners where taboo reckoning includes consanguineal and ohi relationships, "no matter how remote," Morton stated (1976, p. 78). All Tonga ohi involve children (Morton, 1976). Morton held that usually the bilateral kin approach a relative to discuss the possibility of an ohi arrangement several weeks prior to or following parturition, and before attachment is said to occur between infant and mother (1976). Both parents must acquiesce, but no ill-feelings result if affines decline the request (Morton, 1976). If an agreement is forthcoming, Morton alleged, then so are obligations by the adoptive couple toward the natal parents in the form of increased future exchanges that go unreported (to eliminate gossip that the child was purchased) (1976). In this way, according to Morton, Tongan ohi strengthens relationships between both sets of parents (1976). No recompense occurs if the adoption is later dissolved (Morton, 1976). Tongan adoption doubles an adoptee's access to filial resources including rank that can be manipulated to advantage, Morton advised (1976).

Morton explained that labour is a part of Tongan life that influences and is influenced by ohi-pusiaki arrangements (1976). Tongans observe an age and gender-division of household labour: boys look after livestock; girls look after younger siblings and perform household tasks; and for some, adoption serves to fill domestic role vacancies (Morton, 1976). Tongan society and ohi-pusiaki have been influenced by contemporary wage-earner out-migration in many ways, according to K. E. James (1991) and Helen Morton Lee (2004). James explained that remittances sent back to the adoptive parents by the emigrants help offset expenses of child care and reinforce emotional and kinship attachment by the natal parents to the adopted child back in their homeland.

According to Lee, some children emigrate abroad with their parents, and later the children are returned to their Tongan village to learn the language and "anga fakatonga [the Tongan Way]" (2004, p. 141). In some cases, Lee asserted, children develop discipline problems
abroad and are sent back to their island village as punishment; the returning youth essentially reject *anga fakatonga* and present foreign and defiant behaviours that elder fostering kin are ill-equipped to handle (2004). Some Tongans return the children to their overseas parents decreasing the likelihood that those youth will become second generation remitters through not maintaining close ties to their island kin (Lee, 2004). Typically the literature documents the movement of children "between host and home societies, while neglecting the impact of such movements on individuals," and Lee added, "[t]he emotional impact on children who are moved between families should not be under estimated" (2004, p. 141). Village families, according to Lee, are stressed between needing the remittances to cover burgeoning costs of life in general and the additional costs of an extra child to look after while honouring their kin commitments (2004). The author noted that literature has been slow to address these developments and told that some youth report feeling 'trapped' by traditional limitations in their home society after being exposed to the independence of their host society (2004, p. 142). It becomes a management issue of preserving or blending cultural differences (Lee, 2004).

**Tuamotu: Rangiroa Atoll**

Rangiroa Atoll, the largest island in the Tuamotu Archipelago was home to about 700 residents in 1970. Paul Ottino (1970) wrote that the ancient practice of *fa’a’amu* is the norm throughout this archipelago, ranging from voluntary to quasi-obligatory sharing, although it is difficult to find parents who want to give away their children. Ottino quoted one informant: *'One must give when kinsmen ask'* (1970, p. 104). In former times, adoption, along with marriage/post marital residence rules and women exchange, served to allocate and redistribute "people among small localised descent groups called ‘āti” and for defense purposes (Ottino, 1970, p. 88). Even in the modern context, the custom seems to relate more to groups than to individuals and keeping land and riches in the ‘āti; differential treatment in matters of inheritance is related to maintaining resources (Ottino, 1970). According to Ottino, adoption ties are easily forgotten, and if exact genealogical lines are not traceable, then they are probably "the offspring of persons already adopted into the ‘āti” (1970, p. 91). Along with what seems a blurring of lineage, incest taboos extend to children raised in the same home where there may be "more affection and less antagonism" between adopted siblings (1970, p. 90).

*Fa’a’amu* does not sever ties with natal family, stated Ottino (1970), whereas repeated refusals to share children can fracture kin relations. Ottino (1970) cited one example of a
woman so incensed by her rejected overtures that she spitefully adopted from outside her lineage. More typically, kin, especially siblings, either share children with their childless relatives or absorb children available through divorce or unstable unions, premarital birth, dispersion, sickness, or death (Ottino, 1970). Ottino wrote about one child that was adopted a second time following the death of the first set of adoptive parents (1970). Sometimes people adopt as agents for other people and then give the child to another adoptive couple without consulting the natal parents (Ottino, 1970). Ottino's (1970) research found that other people adopt for access to the child's land or for someone to look after them in their aging years if their natal children are inattentive. Grandparents tend to believe that young people do not know how to parent appropriately (Ottino, 1970). The child's gender may or may not factor in adoption requests, according to Ottino (1970). People usually face adoption several times in their lives—when they are young tamari'i and later as adults after their natal children have grown (Ottino, 1970).

Fa'a'amu is meant to last a lifetime and does sometimes, but children often return to their natal parents as adults, according to Ottino (1970). He likens Tuamotuan fa'a'amu to "the Catholic institution of godparenthood, especially the compadrazgo as it is found in Latin America" (1970 p. 106). However, Ottino stated that in the village of Tiputa, fa'a'amu operates in opposition to both of the atoll's predominant religions, "Roman Catholicism and the Sanito religion (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)," unless a change in religious affiliation following adoption is expected (1970, p. 92). This ecumenical stance is not new; Penelope Schoeffel noted that nineteenth century missionaries taught that "children were a 'gift from God' [and] that the transference of infant children [from] living parents was an 'unnatural act'" (2000, p. 414). However, Ottino (1970) explained that the traditional grandparent-grandchild bond is deemed different on Rangiroa and overrules the Sanito dogma.

Ottino (1970) reported that custom supplants French law when Tuamotuan adoptive parents illegally register newborns as their natal children, in keeping with indigenous practices. Ottino stated that although the practice flourishes, adoptions are rarely registered (1970). Ottino speculated that because "[c]hanges in adoption customs were swift" (1970, p. 109) while he was doing his fieldwork in Tiputa, a more contemporary description of fa'a'amu might be wholly different. Thirty-years ago, when a person left the atoll, he left behind a child because people feel compelled to adopt from those leaving in order to perpetuate the descent line on the island (Ottino, 1970). Tuamotuans dispersed for various reasons can vicariously maintain their claims to entitlements back on their home island by keeping one foot in the door, through their children who have been adopted (Ottino, 1970).
Ottino's description of Tuamotuan fa'a'amu protocol may now be outdated, but the author recommends researchers study adoption sequentially rather than synchronically, as past situations often explain the present (1970). Ottino explains that on Rangiroa atoll, "[p]reexisting adoptive ties alone explain why a person adopted a particular child" (1970, p. 115). Ottino acknowledged the relationship between the natal and adoptive parents, and suggests that another fundamental relationship is "between the adopted and natural children of the same person" (1970, p. 106). Examining Ottino's (1970) concepts helps to develop a more comprehensive description of customary fosterage beyond the immediate adoption triad.

Tuamotu: Manihi Atoll

Candace Carleton Brooks (1976) explained that in 1970, Manihi had approximately 221 residents (p. 52). Brooks wrote about fa'a'amu, to 'feed' and care for a child as one's own, the true sense of customary adoption practice on this atoll (1976). Most fa'a'amu arrangements occur between kinsmen or those "analogous to 'kinsmen'' (p. 57-58). Manihi adoption is apparent when jural parenthood is transferred to the substitute parents, financial support from birth parents cease and the community views the arrangement as an adoption (Brooks, 1976). This differs from ti'ai 'temporary fosterage'and 'babysitting' in the western sense, in that ti'ai occurs "where the parent is physically absent and at a sufficient distance to make immediate return difficult," Brooks stated (1976, p. 53). In such cases, a foster parent assumes greater (but still temporary) responsibility for the child and can punish the child for any misdeeds (Brooks, 1976). In fosterage, the primary jural parenthood remains with the natural parents who send money and clothing regularly to demonstrate their ultimate responsibility for the child (Brooks, 1976). Barring this support, according to Brooks, problems can arise (1976).

Brooks (1976) explained that fa'a'amu has deterrents: on Manihi, those who practice fa'a'amu prefer to risk severe legal penalties by not registering the adoptions rather than meeting age and other criteria for applicants or dealing with foreign rules, even though children may inherit from both their natal and adoptive parents (1976). In addition, Brooks stated, "[S]ocial status is gained or reinforced through religious participation," and although over 3/4 of Manihi's residents are affiliated with the Sanito Church, the opposing guidelines of the Church are "largely ignored" by the members (1976, p. 56). Manihi's adoption traditions appear to take precedence over secular and religious laws (Brooks, 1976).

Brooks argued that unlike the rural setting, a child is seen as a liability in urban society (1976). Brooks discussed "complementary population shifts" between rural Manihi and urban Pape'ete and that fa'a'amu provides an important emotional and physical security (1976, p.
The custom offsets increased physical movement of family between rural and urban centres, and the "instability of parent-child bonds in the urban setting" (Brooks, 1976, p. 62). Brooks explained that urban centres represent employment and medical access for adults and elderly, and education for the youth (1976). "Illegitimate children or children of young parents will be sent back to Manihi" away from urban dangers, and thus ensure that adults can return for a visit to renew family ties or re-establish land claims and eventually retire (Brooks, 1976, p. 60). According to Brooks, the "roles form the constants, and most actors are interchangeable" and "replaceable" (1976, pp. 62-63). "[P]otential substitutes" maximise security (Brooks, 1976, p. 63). Indeed, on Manihi, so common is the custom that most people have been a part of the adoption triad at least once in their lifetime (Brooks, 1976). Brooks suggested that island life generates the continued practice of adoption as fa'a'amu serves to increase and advantage opportunities, while the adults look to improve the lives of their families in a changing Oceania (1976).

**Tuvalu**

Niko Besnier stated that all types of Tuvaluan adoption, informal, legalised and fosterage, occur frequently and "supplement rather than replace blood kin ties" (2000, p. 631). In 1970 Jay Noricks conducted fieldwork in Niutao and explained that variations exist between the islands regarding disposition of gift lands to adopted children (1989). "According to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Lands Code for the Ellice Islands (1962)," Noricks wrote, "any type of Niutao gift land except for that given to an adopted child is a permanent and irrevocable gift to the recipient and to any heirs the recipient may designate [or] unless the adoptive child has no children of his own, in which case the land reverts to the donor" (1989, p. 45). In the extreme case of the island of Nui, it is expected "that gift land will ultimately revert to the donor line" when, at some point, the line of descent of the adopted recipient fails to reproduce (Noricks, 1989, p. 45). However, in Niutao, Noricks stated, the gift land transaction is considered permanent "once the adopted child has children," unless the adopted child leaves the adoptive parents while they are alive to return to live with the natal family, and then gift of lands are forfeited (1989, p. 45-46). In 1970, Niutao had 900 local residents on just over 2.5 km² of land (Noricks, 1989, p. 43). Noricks informants contradicted earlier testimony and stated that over time, Niutao's protocol has relaxed for adopting children within the lineage wherefrom the gift land originated; however, now, if the land appears to "jump too far" from its rightful owners, "representatives of the donor line would make an immediate
claim on the gift land" (1989, p. 52). Noricks included the following assumptions about land on Niutao:

1. Land has such great practical, social, and affective value that a person should strive to maximize the amount of land under his control.
2. Land tenure rules are subject to conflicting interpretations and variations in emphasis, depending upon one's own social and landholding situation.
3. Landholdings are potentially subject to loss through the aggressive behaviour of others who in these days of a Lands Court might even "lie" about the facts of a given case.
4. There are certain strategic social interactions available either in the pursuit of land (e.g., public shaming, excessive food levies) or in the protection of land (e.g., a reciprocal adoption, an arranged marriage, the use of family lore to deny the basis of a claim). (1989, p. 53)

Noricks fieldwork questions raised serious concerns among the villagers on Niutao about the security of landholdings in that people feared the possible loss of titles if past settled claims were reopened (1989). So important was this, some of Norick's informants misrepresented facts that Noricks considered moot 19 years later when publishing his findings (1989). One distressed informant explained the confusion:

The last time a white man came and asked questions about the land, [i.e., in 1948], the laws changed. Perhaps they will change now also.... Jay, if you don't believe my words to you, then you write your story the way you think is right. (Noricks, 1989, p. 54)

Clearly, Noricks' (1989) example shows the lingering effect of colonisations' marginalisation on his informants in Niutao.

Although it has been thirty years since Ivan Brady (1976) wrote comprehensively about kinship transactions, structural generalisations of adoption and fosterage in what is known as Tuvalu, his approach sets a standard in a number of ways for other researchers. Brady provided detailed material about societal mechanisms that drive the practice—kinship reckoning, property group structure, protocol and legal vantages, but he offers only brief information on individual, albeit widely separated islands that comprise Tuvalu (1976). Brady (1976) refrained from examining emotional aspects/impacts of the practice on the actors or the community, although he did discuss identity shifts related to semantics that illustrate the complexities of a custom that offers 'elastic' utility.

In 1996, Tuvalu's population was approximately 9600 on a combined land mass of 29.9 km². Two decades earlier, the islanders spoke of being fiafai manafa 'land hungry' among 6500 residents and a population density of 800 persons per square mile of productive land, where an "optimum density" would more reasonably be 640 persons (Brady, 1976, p. 121).
According to Brady (1976), land on Tuvalu is primarily private but some is communal, and land group structure is comprised of *fale* 'household clusters,' the size of which depends on birthrate and property division (p. 123). Brady stated that the *pule* or *matai* 'senior male /resource manager' of the *fanaunga* 'sibling-set' is often the gatekeeper of what can be a 'maldistribution of resources' which can prompt *fale* to routinely attempt to align with other *fale* (1976, p. 124) "that are perceived to be better off" (1976, p. 122).

One major rule in Tuvalu is that natural children are born with a right to land through at least one landholding group each having rules of transmission and allocation that may vary (Brady, 1976). Children are also born into a web of *jural* parenthood that changes through adoption and fosterage (Brady, 1976). The Tuvaluans live with change: Brady asserts that land holding groups may reallocate land rights periodically and displace members, while adoption is the usual way to include new non-natal group members (1976). Tuvaluan relations are implied through descent lines in ramage segments, land and performance; cognatic reckoning links "*toto maalosi* 'strong blood"" through the male line and "*toto vaivai* 'weak blood"" through the female with a male bias in matters of "rank, inheritance, and authority" (Brady, 1976, p. 124).

According to Brady (1976), fosterage and adoption are regulated by public opinion and occur for many reasons including illness, to cement friendships, "relieve land hunger in the adoptee's natal group" (p. 148), provide a carpenter's apprentice, or check "economic [and domestic] imbalance in households" (p. 159). Filling household vacancies through informal adoption and fosterage also provides adults with opportunities for upward socioeconomic mobility by increasing access to land (Brady, 1976). "Parallel to the rule that automatically entitles natural children to share in their natal group's estate, formal adoption obligates the adopter to provide land [inheritance] for their adoptees" (Brady, 1976, p. 128).

Tuvalu adoption kinship constructs include (in descending order of status) "*tamapuke* 'adopted child'", "*tamapuke tonu* 'true adopted child'", and "*mokopuna puke* 'adopted grandchild'" which is considered to be the most uncertain status (Brady, 1976, p. 129). According to Brady, a "*tamatausi* 'foster child'" ranks below adoption status (1976). *Tausinga* usually results in a change of residence and often turns into informal adoption (Brady, 1976). Brady reported that *tausinga* is preferred over *pukenga* when parents emigrate for employment; the wage-earners are expected to send periodic remittance in exchange for the *tausinga* parents looking after the *tamatausi* until they return (1976). Brady explained that default on this warrants public disapproval, and embarrassment or it may undermine requests for future assistance (1976). *Pukenga* may occur at any age; however, there is a tendency to adopt before the child is two years old, and there is a bias towards adopting male children.
(Brady, 1976). Tamapuke and tamapuke tonu arrangements each require mutual consent, firm land allocations and appropriate conduct, the difference being that formal pukenga is registered through land court which dispels land inheritance disputes (Brady, 1976). Pukenga is expected to last the lifetime of the principals (Brady, 1976). According to Brady (1976), if the principals or grandparents die, extensive protocol mobilises a hierarchy of replacements until the adoptee is an adult.

Since Tuvalu's fosterage and adoption practices are complex and linked to dwindling land tenure, the durability of the practice in the years since Brady's (1976) research, remains in question. Flexibility of past practices may be the answer to the future. Unless there has been major out-migration, natural disasters or implementation of strict birth control, Brady's fiafai manafa of thirty years ago (whether real or perceived) must now resemble famine. If this is the case, then logical questions result: Have pukenga and tausinga outlasted land fragmentation when there is a finite amount to allocate? At what point did Tuvaluans initiate a change in pukenga and tausinga with relation to land tenure? What was the process of change by Tuvaluans to make their customs work? Have these implementations been effective? Answers to these questions may benefit other islands, such as Mangaia, that face similar concerns.

1 Hirini Mead's paper was the keynote address for the Adoption 1990 Conference held in Wellington.

2 Otago University Music Department member Dan Bendrups travels to Rapanui in his research about their music (personal communication, 1 June 2006). Bendrups recalled that fosterage/informal island adoption continues today in Rapanui's society and in his host's home on the island. Bendrups explained that he worked very closely with one of the eminent musicians on the island who is himself a parent to an adopted child. Bendrups stated that Rapanui adoption is no different than staying with one's own birth family—rather, it is "better than birth." There are specific rules to the practice. Bendrups described an under-current that still resonates in Rapanui: It is bad luck for a child to be left with birth parents beyond approximately age two. Children are often housed by an aunt or uncle until such time as the 'bad luck' is lifted. If this protocol is not observed and something bad happens, according to Bendrups, the bad event is then attributed to not sharing out the child, an example of assigning rational conclusions on what would be considered by western minds as irrational beliefs. Bendrups tells that children are housed in numerous family arrangements, with there being plenty of fluidity between Rapanui clan groups such as aunts, uncles, and grandparents.

3I confirmed M. Mead's (1939) citations with Nina Kirifi-Alai, Manager of Otago University's Pacific Islands Centre, who was born and raised in Samoa (personal communication, 16 January 2006).
Appendix 2: Glossary

Glossary introduction

We were their blood but we weren't theirs.
Manu

This glossary includes Mangaian terms used in my fieldwork interviews and this thesis. These terms provide cultural insight into how contemporary Mangaian people organise and make sense of their lives. Mangaia dialect is the unique mother tongue spoken on Mangaia, with Rarotongan Maori and English encroaching. Each of the fifteen Cook Islands has their own dialect and in some cases, words in Mangaia dialect are shared by other Cook Islands and Polynesian nations (e.g., *mana*). The Mangaia dialect alphabet has 13 letters including the digraph 'ng' (alphabetised as 'g'), ordered in the glossary as follows: a, e, ng, i, k, m, n, o, p, r, t, u, v. Short vowel sounds are transformed into long vowels with a macron over the vowel. In the literature review of this thesis, the reader observes that some cited authors omit the use of macrons in their text. A frequent phoneme, the glottal stop, provides a slight 'h' sound indicated with hamsah/apostrophe, as in 'āngai.

Information about the Polynesian Islands' cultures found in the literature review include indigenous terms that are described within the context of their countries rather than in this section. The terms express their individual sociocultural development that was transferred around the Pacific by the ancient mariners. Terms reveal internal strata of informal utility that often parallel subsequent colonially imposed/legalised/formal practices such as *tamariki* rētīta. The translations of other Polynesian and non-English terms in this thesis appear immediately following the term at least for the first usage.

Verbal and written language conveys ideology and essence through value laden symbols and sounds. According to Schneider (1987), "[t]he first task of anthropology ... is to understand and formulate the symbols and meanings and their configuration that a particular culture consists of" (p. 196). "Evans-Pritchard said that anthropology was ultimately concerned with the translation of culture" (Barnard & Good, 1984, p. 56) which is the intent of this glossary. I have learned that to explore a language is to discover a culture.
Mangaia dialect and non-Mangaia dialect glossary

'āngai: to foster, to guard, to nurture, to 'feed,' to adopt

'āngaingai: adopt repeatedly

'āi metua: forefathers, ancestors

'akā-āu: make an arrangement

'aka metua tāne: uncle

'aka'oa: befriend a person

'akapāpā: regard as a father

'akapapa'anga: genealogy

'akapapa'anga kōpū tangata: genealogy

'akaperere: care for, cherish, love, treasure

'akatupuna: regard as a grandparent

'akavā'anga: court case

'ākono: to heed, observe, follow, keep, honour a promise or agreement, look after, care for

'ākono'anga Mangaia: the adoption agreement, covenant or promise between the birth parent/s and the adoptive parent/s regarding the rights and responsibilities of the parents and the 'feeding child' in the transaction

'ānau: birth, be born, family, offspring, progeny, adulterine offspring or legally illegitimate birth

'anaunga: progeny, race

'ānaunga: all children of a person

āniti: aunt

ariki: king, queen, chief; in e tau ariki: pet or dearest child or grandchild

aro'a: kindness, have pity on
aronga mana o te 'enua: ruling group comprised of the six chiefs/governors or kāvana of Mangaia

au: fit, match, get on together, hit it off well

'enua: placenta, afterbirth; land, homeland, heritage

'etū tangata te kiri: common people

evangeria: the Gospel; the Cook Islands Christian Church, the State church; religion/s

ngākau 'aka'eva'eva: (lit. heart lament) to mourn over an irreplaceable loss; may be signalled by someone wearing a ribbon or significant colour so that other people recognise that the person is facing adjustment following this loss during the time that the sign is apparent.

ngāmetua: a parent

ngāi: clan

ingoa: name; identity: how others know or identify you; how you identify yourself. Mangaian identity is influenced by many factors compounded through adoption. See tapa ingoa.

ingoa 'ānau: birth name

ingoa kanga: nickname

ingoa kanga kanga: nickname

ingoa kanga 'ua: nickname

ingoa kē ake: second name

ingoa kōpū tangata: family name; surname

ingoa maki: death name (taken on occasion of a close relation's death or sickness)

ingoa metua: surname

ingoa nō te tamariki āngai: name given by adopting parent

ingoa pāpēti: Christian name, baptismal name

ingoa tikāi: birth name

ingoa tupuna: ancestral name, family name

ikuiku: inheritance directive, will, last wishes
ipukarea: inherited land, ancestral home, homeland

ivi: race (of people)

kanga kanga: nickname

kai: food

kakaoa: adulterine offspring; offspring of legally illegitimate birth, born of parents not officially wed

kape: giant taro (Alocasia macrorrhiza)

kāpua: origin, source, identity; see to‘ou kāpua

kata: 'spoiled'; laugh

kātini: cousin

kāvana: governor, chief of a district. This is coined from 'governor' and is considered Rarotongan. Mangaia's equivalent is pava.

kerēni: grand, in kinship terms (See māmā kerēni, pāpā kerēni)

kiko mua: first flesh, firstborn, mata‘iapo

kikau: coconut frond

komotu a‘i: fire from the last ember of a dying fire that is used to ignite a new flame

kōpū tangata: extended family, tribe

kōreromotu: inheritance, directive

kōviriviri: hard red seeds of a tree; seeds are roasted, hulled and eaten like a peanut

ma‘ine: girl

maki tūpāpaku: ghost sickness likely to befall a child if adoption arrangements are challenged

māmā: mother, woman of child-bearing age

māmā ‘āngai: intimate address for foster mother

māmā kerēni: grandmother
mana: prestige supported by supernatural power that must be used through accepted channels; authority, high position, ownership and knowledge and the rights, power and the prestige that it brings

mananamanata: difficulty, problem, trouble; something that causes difficulty or trouble, such as a curse in sorcery

manu 'āngai: 'feeding'-bird, obsolete term for a 'feeding child'

māpū: youth, ages between 16 and 25

mata'ipo: firstborn, eldest child

mātira: fishing pole

metua: parent(s), either father or mother

metua 'āngai: adoptive parent(s), guardian(s)

metua 'ānau: birth parents

metua tāne 'āngai: foster mother, adoptive mother, 'feeding' father

metua va'ine 'āngai: foster mother, adoptive mother, 'feeding' mother

moamoa: hanging foodsafe. In the days before refrigerators and cabinets, Mangaian people used to store and protect their cooked food in woven baskets suspended from the beam in the traditional style house.

mokopuna: grandchild or (with some speakers) great-grandchild, grand nephew, grand niece

mokopuna 'ā: great-great-great grandchild, 4th generation grandchild

mokopuna kata: cherished grandchild

mokopuna mua: firstborn grandchild

mokopuna rua: second-born grandchild, great-grandchild

mokopuna tamā'ine: granddaughter

mokopuna tamāroa: grandson

mokopuna toru: great-great grandchild, 3rd generation grandchild

oriori: boyfriend, girlfriend
'orometua: pastor

pao'ao: adulterine offspring; child born of unmarried parents, child of legally illegitimate birth (This distinction is dropped when the birth parents marry each other; the distinction remains if birth parents marry different partners.)

pāpā: father, male old enough to be a father

papa'a: European (lit. four layers, as the missionaries wore layers of clothing)

pāpā 'āngai: intimate address for adoptive father, feeding' father, foster father

pāpā kerēni: grandfather

pate: carved wooden slit-drum that is tapped to announce a puna meeting, or in previous years to indicate curfew

pa'u: substitute

pava: senior chief

pe'e: cultural chant

pēpē: baby

piri'anga 'oa: refers to tamariki 'āngai arranged to cement a friendship

piri'anga toto: blood-related, blood relationship

pito: umbilical cord

pū-tapere: district assistant to the 'uirangatira 'subchief'

pu'iai: girlfriend (lit. blow out the light)

puna: swamp/district

pura-rua: a connection or alliance brought about through marriage (in laws) apart from blood relationships

purunga: parent-in-law

purunga tāne: father-in-law

purunga va'ine: mother-in-law
pūi: derogatory word for adulterine offspring; child born of unmarried parents, child of legally-illegitimate birth (this distinction is dropped when the birth parents marry each other; distinction is not dropped if birth parents marry different partners)

rangatira: subchief, see 'uirangatira

rave: to do; adopt; to succour, pity or make secure

raverave: do repeatedly, handle repeatedly, serve repeatedly, take repeatedly, treat repeatedly

rēita: to register, used in reference to birth and adoption registrations; Mangaian birth registrations occur on Mangaia and adoptions are petitioned in Rarotonga's Land Court. See tamariki rēita.

ruarā: sister-in-law (of a man); brother-in-law (of a woman)

rupe 'āngai: 'feeding' dove, obsolete term for a beloved 'feeding child'

taeake: relative of the same generation or family (brother, sister, cousin, [either sex speaking] but not in-laws); friend

tangata: man, mankind, person, people

taiki: ancient wooden spear

tama: child

tama kai kino: an orphan;(lit. child with bad food/resources)

tama mata'iapo: eldest child

tama tamā'ine: daughter

tama tamāroa: son

tama 'ū'ū: a privileged position, (lit. child of the thigh), sacred 'feeding child' to the king/missionary; the kavana considered the 'orometua and the evangeria as tama 'ū'ū.

tama va'ine: female line, female side

tamā'ine: daughter, girl, young woman

tamaiti: child

tamaiti 'āngai: adopted child, 'feeding child,' foster child
tamaiti nganga'ere: adulterine offspring; legally illegitimate child (lit. child of the bush)

tamaiti kata: beloved, favourite or 'spoiled' child

tamaiti motu: informally adopted child who is 'cut-off'/exiled from/forbidden to return to and will not receive anything from the birth family as a result from being born into the birth family

tamaiti oriori: child born out of wedlock or born of parents not legally married to each other. (This distinction is dropped when the birth parents marry each other; however, distinction is not dropped if birth parents marry different partners)

tamaiti peupeu: child of eccentric behaviour

tamaki: war

tāmāmua: firstborn, the eldest child

tamariki: children

tamariki'anga: childhood

tamariki 'āngai: adopted children, 'feeding children,' foster children. Mangaian tamariki 'āngai is the custom of nurturing other people's birth children apart from their natural parents as if these children are the natal children of the adoptive parent/s.

tamariki 'āngai 'aka'oa: close friends adopt each other's child as a replacement for the parent

tamariki no'o 'ti'ā: children who stay for different reasons for an unspecified period of time.

tamariki rētīta: registered/legal adoption. Rētīta means legal registration which is done at the Land Court in Rarotonga by one of the adopting parents. When metua 'āngai formally adopt their tamariki 'āngai, the tamariki become legally "as if" they were born to the metua 'āngai adoptive parents, and jural parenthood is fully transferred from the metua 'ānau to the metua 'āngai. Rētīta may be delayed for years following verbal arrangement between birth and adopting parents.

tamariki ti'amā: child born within marriage

tamarikia: have natural children of one's own

tamariki'anga: childhood, childhood days

tamarikinga: childhood, when you were still a child

tāne: man, male, boyfriend

tāne oriori: boyfriend
taokete: brother-in-law (of a man); sister-in-law (of a woman)

tapa ingoa: the skill/practice of naming a child using cultural protocol used especially by Mangaia's older generation. Examples include pet names, and baptismal and middle names which followed missionary and papa'ā contact. See ingoa.

tapere: subdistrict

tapu: 'set apart' from the mundane, restriction, rule, taboo

tauturu: help, assist, support, assistance, assistant

teina: spoken by brothers in reference to their same age or younger brother, spoken by sisters in reference to their same age or younger sister

tere: travel, movement, as in a tere party, a group of islanders who travel together abroad to renew community, religious, family and cultural ties and perhaps raise funds for projects 'back home.'

tika'anga: rights

tikanga Mangaia: verbal agreement of rights negotiated between the birth parent/s and adoptive parent/s regarding the informally adopted child. Also 'akono'anga Mangaia.

tivaivai: traditional Cook Islands quilt

toa: successful warrior

tokorua: spouse; partner

tō'oku: my

tō'ou kāpua: your identity, where you are going

toto: blood

tua: side, back

tu'a tamariki: conceptual division or allocation of children in a family beginning with the legally-legitimate firstborn belonging to the father's side of the family, 2nd born belonging to mother's side of the family, 3rd born to the father's side, 4th born to the mother's side, etc. This influences who can name and potentially adopt the infant, or look after the children on behalf of the birth parents.

tua'ine: sister/female cousin (of a man, only)

tuakana: older brother/sister
tungāne: brother/male cousin (of a woman, only)

tungāne tēnā no'o: blood relationship between individuals is too close to permit progeny

tuitui: candlenuts sewn together and lit

tūpāpaku: ancestral spirit

tupuna: grandparents, ancestors, forefathers

tūtae 'āuri: iron rust; non-Christian; a person whose behaviour is considered un-Christian

'uānga: offspring, descendants

'uānga pa'u: offspring substitute

'uirangatira: chief of a subdistrict or subchief that holds the rangatira title; subchief's extended family

'uirangatira tere: a subchief who lives abroad

umu: traditional ground oven

umukai: a feast for friends

'unōanga: son-in-law, daughter-in-law; spouse of a niece/nephew, blood-related

utero: uterus

va'ine: woman, female

va'ine oriori: girlfriend

vaka: traditional canoe
Appendix 3: Seven core issues of adoption in Mangaia dialect

Silverstein and Kaplan (1986) summarised "seven core issues in adoption" that the birth parents and adoptive parents and the child manage, to include identity, loss, rejection, guilt/shame, grief, intimacy and control. I asked four of my informants to describe their feelings in Mangaian dialect about their adoption experience. Two individuals chose narratives and two of my sample illustrated their feelings through definitions. The translations follow the dialect. The pseudonyms are withheld to protect the confidentiality of the informants within the Mangaian communities.

I te oake anga au i taku tamaine ia angai toku tungane teia tetai au manamanata taku i na roto ana. Ua kite katoa au e aore teia i ngaropoina vave ana iaku no tetai tuatau roa. Te mea mua koia oki.

E tangi – ua tupu tikai te tangi iaku no teia taku ka rave i taku pepe inara ia kite au e ka akono e ka inangaro tikai tona metua angai iaia. Na te reira i omai ite pumaana iaku.

Te rua – E ngere. Ua kite au e kore ake rai e apiinga tetai ua ngaro mei te mea atura e e ngai tetai iaku ua ngaro.

Te toru – Ua kite au e aore oku pirianga – tikaanga akao e iaia. Ka riro taku i rave ei tara i te reira pirianga no maua.

Te tikaanga – Ua kite katoa au e te tikaanga ia riro maua ei metua nona ka ngaro te reira. Ua kite katoa au e i te ngao anga mai aia me aravei matou kore ake e aore aia i kite ia maua. E mea tangi tikai teia ia maua e ia katoa.

Tataraara – I te ngao anga mai aia tuku rai tona tu me te au tamariki te maua i akono. I toku kite anga i teia ua tupu te tataraara iaku no tei oke au iaia na tetai e angai. Note mea aore tona turanga tukatau, te kite e te maoraora i aite i te au tamariki ta maua i akono.

When I gave my daughter to my brother as a 'feeding child,' these are some problems I went through. I knew that I would not forget this gifting of my child.

The first thing was the emotional feelings: I was emotional about giving away the baby. However, I believed that the baby would be looked after and loved by the foster parent.

The second thing is that this knowledge that my brother would look after and love the baby comforted me in my sacrifice, although a part of me is gone, missing, lost when I gave my child.

The third thing is I realised that the tie between me and my daughter is broken by my action. I have no right over her anymore because as a mother, I have cut those ties between or
separated the mother-daughter link. I realise that I have also broken the link between the parents and the child. It's a very emotional feeling for that separation between the parents and the daughter and we have to live with the emotional consequences of our actions. I realised that the daughter that was given away was different than the children that we raised—in nature, character; her personality is different from the children that we brought up. When I saw this difference, I actually realised that it was because I gave her. I regret that I gave away the child because we see that she's different in her nature and appearance. She lacks the same confidence, happy disposition. She is not open, carefree and secure.

I roto i toku manakonakonako 'anga e mea meitaki te angai i te tamariki 'angai no te mea ua kite au e kua angai au e rua aku nga tamaine 'angai. Ua riro teia nga tamaine naku ei tauturu iaku i te tuatau e apikepike 'ana toku kopapa. Tauturu katoa raua iaku i te te'ate'a mamao i taku ka kai 'ei i te au ra o toku apikepike 'anga. I teia tuatau ua ta'okota'i taku nga tamaine 'angai e akono nei iaku i te au ra tatakite'e i to matou no'o'anga i roto i to matou ngutuare. Kua akaruke mai oki te ta'i aku tamaine 'angai, e kua aere atu i te ngutuare o tana pu'iai, no reira i roto i toku irinaki'anga. Ua riro teia tamaine e no'o nei ei akono iaku e metua vaini noku. No reira ua irinaki 'aue e mea meitaki te angai tamariki. Ko taku teia ka rauka iaku i te akamaramarama'atu no runga i te tamariki 'angai.

I think that it is a good thing to 'feed' an adopted child because I know I have 'fed' two girls of my own. These girls have been a big help to me when my body is sick, old and slow. They have also helped me with preparing my food to eat throughout those days I was unwell. During that time, my daughters have unfailing 'fed' me and taken care of me in our home. One of my 'feeding' daughters left me and she went to her husband's house. So I believe that the daughter left behind will look after me like a mother in the future. I believe it is a good thing to have adopted children. That is all I can explain to you about the 'feeding children.'  

Control: 'aka aere; arai pakari someone is telling me not to go there—go the other way. 
Ta'i rai tika aore atu. One right and no other option. 
I rare ake i ta tetai akaaereanga, aore a'au tika e rauka mai. Under some direction, you have no right, nothing is proven otherwise. Noatu e ua noo vaini/tane taura, ka anga mai rai tetai au metua i no ratou manako. Even though you have a wife or husband. Some parents will bring their own idea or will speak their mind and think they are the boss.
Ngao ua atu rai te manamanata i roto i te ngutuare, te mana o te metua angai e te inangaro o te metua anau.

There will always be a big problem in the home between the power of the adopted parents and the love of the biological parents.

Kua oti te akanoo e ta'i tika me karanga ana te Mangai e ei, teia toona aiteanga o tai rai tara, ta'i tika me oti ana te akanoo i te pange o te are, are e vavai akao.

It has been said that when the Mangaian says no, it means there is one right. When the house is completed, it is set. It will not be demolished or destroyed. No further discussion.

**Grief:** akeaeva, maromaroa.

Me mate te tai tangata i roto i te kōpū tangata, ua mono tatou i te parai tako, no te aka evaeva.

When someone in the family dies, we wear black clothing as a sign of mourning.

Ka noo maromaroa ua koe e ta'i mata'iti me kore e rua mata'iti.

You'll stay sad for one or two years.

Oongoongo tikai toku pukuatu or Oongoongo tikai toku te ngakau.

My heart is broken or hurts.

Nooanga maromaroa e te taitaia, are o'ou mareka'anga.

It is sad and stressful and then you will be upset.

**Guilt:** uaapa; ua kite koe e ua apa koe

**Guilty:** ua apa koe, you are guilty

**Identity:** toou ingoa, toou kapuaanga

E mea tangi, me kore koe e kite i toou ingoa, e pera katoa toou kapuaanga.

If you don't know your name or your identity, it is sad.

**Identity:** akapapa'anga, kōpū tangata

Toou tupuanga mai: When you grew up

Toku tupuanga mai: When I grow up.

Koai koe? Koai toou mama e toou Papa?

Who are you? Who is your mother or who is your father?

Ua ui atu au i tau mama kereni e, koai te ingoa o tau mama?

I ask my grandma what is my mother's name.

**Intimacy:** Noo anga; piri anga vaitata.

Te nga metua akono metaki i ta raua tamariki, ka viro e piri anga vaitata no te kōpū tangata.

The parents who look after their children will have a closer relationship with the family.

Ko teia mea noo anga vaitata. E aka koromaki, e aka moeau, e ta akaaka.

This close intimacy. Be patient, be meek, be humble.
Pirianga vaitata ki tetai tangata, close intimacy with someone

**Inangaro o te tane/vaine, love of a man or a wife**

Pirianga taukore, tei tupu na roto i te au ravenga kino e.g. abuse, etc. A disgusting relationship that happened through a wrong doing, like abuse.

*La ngao to taua matakite i te akono ia taua te au mea tarevake tei tupu ia taua i te au rā i muri, ka vai ia i roto ia taua.*

We have to look after ourself because of all the wrong thing that happened to us in the past.

*E ngata ia taua i te irinaki atu i ta taua tane/vaine me tae i te taimme e noo tane/vaine e taua.*

Within us it will be hard to trust our husband or wife when the time comes when you live with your wife and husband.

*Ko toku inangaro ngao ia ariki mai toku aiteake iaku e ko ta'i matou.*

All I want is for my friends to accept that we are one.

**Loss:** Tumatetenga, matiroeroe, maromaroā, tuitarere, mammae-ngakau

*Ua ngaro, ua puia ete matangi.*

It's gone, like the wind blows.

*Aere atu au i te taeke i tāi aakaoro ua motu te taurec ua aere, ua ngaro.*

You went to get the horse but the horse was untied and the horse is gone.

*Te ra kā'anga te are ite 'āi pau rava.*

When the house is burnt, everything is gone.

*Aore e apinga toe, e reu ua, pu'ia ete matangi.*

There is nothing left but an ash, but the wind blows it away.

*Takakeanga o tetai o to taua nga metua ka tangi.*

When one of our parents pass away, we are sad/crying.

*Me maaraara au i toku 'au taeake i to matou tupuanga mai ua riro te reira eis mammae ngakau noku.*

When I think about my friend when we were growing up, this make my heart hurt or make me sad, unhappy—you think about it.

**Problem:** manamanata

*Tarevake ngao:* big mistake

*Me tarevake tetā'i au mea i roto i te ngutuare ka apa taua.*

If something is wrong in the home, you will be guilty.

*No reira ia matakite ua taua. ia kite ia marama ua koe i te tiaki ia'au.*

That's why we should be aware so you know how to look after yourself.

**Rejection:** ua tiria, mapere i vao

*Inangaro koreia, Ariki – koreia Inangaro koreia mai e toku kōpū tangata*
Rejected by my family. Or my family doesn't love me.

Tamaiti/tamaine kopae ia'au.

Me e tamaine/tamaiti angai koe, tuke te akonoanga a te tangata ia'au.

If you are 'feeding child,' the people treat you different.

Tei runga i toou maroīroi e te pakari, i te akono ia'au.

It depends on your action and strength to look after yourself.

Te vāi-anga atu au i taū vāi niāta, ua pe tiria e au, are e reka i te unu ete kai.

When I open my coconuts, it's rotten; you can't eat it or drink it.

Ei koatu paraaraa, te koatu reka i te mapere.

It's only a flat stone to skip on the water.

Scared/insecure: taitaia

Shame: ua akama

Me mau ana koe i te keiā puaka, apa meitaki koe e te akama.

When you get caught pinching a pig, you get shy or shamed.

Note kino i ta'au e rave, aore i tangata e inangaro i te komakoma akao atu ia'au.

For what you've done no one wants to talk to you—you are shunned by the others who won't respond if you speak to them.

Akava-ngakau: I am thinking.
Appendix 4: English adoption terms discussion

Adoption's dyad-relationships

The fundamental human-to-human relationship is expressed in western terms as being a basic construct between two people. It can also be referred to as a dyad-relationship in which two people are connected by some characteristic, situation or interaction. Exploring the Mangaian practice of tamariki 'āngai requires understanding how Mangaians reckon kinship and therefore identity to appreciate how their protocol is developed and managed. My informants explain that apart from mythological beginnings, Mangaian people believe that a tamaiti is conceived from shared genetic material between a man and a woman, the metua 'ānau 'birth parents.' Mangaian genealogy stems from birth parent and birth child connections, reflected in this dyad:

![Diagram of tamariki 'āngai relationship]

Figure Appendix 1 Mangaia's parent-child dyad

Mangaia's other two fundamental adoption dyad-relationships exist between the metua 'āngai 'adoptive parent/s' and the tamaiti 'āngai 'adopted child' and between the two metua—that is, both the birth and the adoptive parents. Mangaia's customary adoption protocol is highly individualised in that an adoption is arranged between birth parent/s and adoptive parent/s and not the community or the tribe.

Adoption's triad relationship

The western construct of the three aforementioned Mangaian-dyad relationships combine and form a triad to conceptualise the basic components in Mangaian adoption: the metua
ānau, metua ʻāngai, and the tamaiti illustrated in the following diagram:

Figure Appendix 2 Mangaia's adoption triad

Beyond serving as a conceptual framework, this adoption triad is considered inadequate and misrepresentative, according to Keith Griffith, because it assumes that the "three cohesive units … inter-relate" equitably based on "the nuclear family model" (Griffith, 1997, p. 41), when, in fact, significant power differentials exist between the units. In addition, the triad illustration omits siblings and extended family in both the adoptive and natal families that figure significantly in Mangaian households. The western adoption triad is not intended to represent social closeness or affiliate preferences in an individual's family 'circle.'

**Family 'circle'**

The mental construct of a 'family circle' becomes a psychological "family of choice" in that it assigns psychosocial inclusiveness and exclusiveness at a point in time for an individual—who the person perceives to be psychologically and intimately present without necessarily being physically present (Boss, 2000, p. 4). It is important to remember that some informants do not necessarily include their "family of origin" (Boss, 2000, p. 4) in their 'family circle.' Congruence between the emotional family of choice and the physical household reality correlates with higher functioning in the residence (Boss, 2000, p. 4) and lower conflict (p. 13). My data indicate that the Mangaian's definition of who belongs in their close family circle is not restricted to the resident population of a household, nor does it necessarily include the other members represented in the western adoption triad framework. Membership in an individual's family circle varies over time as relationships develop and subside, as do the roles of the constituents (Angelia). Mata includes a mum and dad as being closest in a family circle. Maiata specifies that a "blood" family circle includes biological siblings.
Adoption shifts social roles and potentially transfers all or a portion of the primary jural rights over a child from the designated parent to the adoptive parent. To this end, Tiotio explains that tamariki 'ängai expands the family circle. It is possible that some individuals may define their close family circle to include both the 'änau and 'ängai households' members. While Manu believes that rētīta puts you in the circle, some Mangaian people may not include children of tamariki 'ängai in their circle (Poro). Manu states that some Mangaians claim two circles and strategise in between, depending on comparative benefits relating to the issue. Some tamariki 'ängai may eventually abandon their 'ängai family circle and revert to their 'änau family circle (Manu). The chart of the fieldwork interview dyads in Chapter 7, Figure 7.12 indicates reported relationships that potentially appear in a Mangaian's family circle.

**Rank**

In this thesis, I use 'rank' and 'title' interchangeably to specify traditional governing hierarchy intended to be lineage-based, with duties that other members in the communities view the designees eligible to hold and responsible to perform in specific jurisdictions. An individual of a particular rank looks after a title; a titled individual holds a specific rank.

*'Real' in the psyche*

Ward Goodenough writes about psychic parent:ood as being "the human process of procreation [and] the human capacity to form emotional attachments" (Goodenough, 1970, p. 392). Apparent throughout my fieldwork interviews, was the distinction assigned to psychic equivalents of a birth parent, as in this example by Inano: "They treated me like their own ... I still call my [metua 'ängai] is my real parents." Inano's use of "real" emphasises the potential for emotional bonds to develop over time from contact between a tamaiti 'ängai and a metua 'ängai.

**Status**

I use the term 'status' to indicate a non-governing, achieved social position that is also based on lineage and can depend upon what the family bequeaths to the individual. It can change a person's opportunities depending on societal values, for instance, the plantation owner who regularly exports produce or the Mangaian who has significant landholdings. Other things being equal, one who has considerable knowledge and seniority on Mangaia
tends to have a higher status than an individual without comparable traditional knowledge and seniority. According to my data, hiring practices 'back home' indicate that Mangaia -resident-seniority figures significantly even when Mangaians return 'home' with imported skills that surpass the expertise of individuals who have remained at 'home,' and even when those skills would benefit the Mangaian Islanders. In this thesis, Mangaian status can include mana and is different from traditional rank, although status can be influenced by traditional or elected positions held.
Appendix 5: Tauapepe's Lament for Ata

TUMU.

Ka tuku ra nga tama e kei te te metua.
Ei rave ake, e Tetonga e; akamoeria te ivi
To tama kai kino ra, e Ata ē!
Papa.
Me ka maara ruā ē, ei metua tangiia!
Mei e tangi atu, e Ata e, eeuria i te ruuru,
Kia karo atu i te metua ka aere;
Vai ake te tama urunga ē!

INTRODUCTION.

Go, my sons, to your new parent.
Adopt them, Tetonga. Take to thy bosom
This poor orphan grandson, "little Ata."
Foundation
Cease to grieve for your father, so well beloved.
Yet once more, "little Ata," untie the bandages,
And take a last look of love at thy grand-father,
Ere thou turn homeward in peace.

FIRST OFFSHOOT.

Go, my sons, to your new parent.
I leave you in safety, beloved children.
Beloved ones, my heart yearns for you all.
Terror seizes me; the slayer is at hand.
Pitiless Rongo approaches to close for ever my eyes.
Take to thy bosom this poor orphan child, "little Ata."

SECOND OFFSHOOT.

Rest in the pledge so solemnly given.
Farewell, dearest child!
Go seek another parent.
Farewell, Arokapiti and Muraai!
Leave me to my fate. Gaze not on my face.
Turn away, my poor orphan grandson "little Ata."

THIRD OFFSHOOT.

Hold on firmly to thy god on thy journey—
The journey to the battle, oh, thou father of Takinga!
Ata weeps for his children—
His seven children living yonder—
As he goes sadly to his last sleep,
He marches forth to meet Rongo,
The war-god Rongo worshipped in yon grove.
Ever imperious, the arbiter of destiny.
Na Takinga akera ko Ata ra i mamao
Ia uti tane au, e Kie, te aroa tangi atu.
Mei tangi akera, e Mura.
Kua autaa te reo i te tara taiku,
E to ai tuaine Takiakaumu-i-te-vai-ta-maki.
E kua tokatua aere to metua.
Ka ngongoro te anau tangata.
Ka ngongoro ana, e Kie, te anau,
Kua pingo koe ra, e Ata,
E riu ke atu tawa, to tama kai kino, e Ata ê!

UNUUNU A.
Ka tuku te tama e vaekauta ia tawa.
Naau ake, e Aro, e Muraai, te tama,
Mei maru ake te tama e aroa,
E tutakiria ia Takinga o Metuaere to teina akaui.
Na Ronga-aroa-kai, ko Ata te tuku i runga.
Ko Ata te tuku i raro, taumaa atu ia Naupata.
Papaaere, Engengu to tuaine, O Mariki ra.
Kua kokou, kua reva te tama korikori,
Tuku ua mai, e Ata,
E mei roto i te itiki i te akeke,
E aitu tatakina, o Rongo-tatakina-te-toa;
Tatakina te uru tupu ariki.
Te rangi tuku ki raro. Tei Tukua mai Ata ê.
Ei maringi te vai ki Avaiki; maringi mai te vai i Avaiki.
Te tangi nei Takinga ê i tongi paa Tokotoko,
Kua rikarika nga tama i te tainga—
I te metua titiri, e Ata ê!

UNUUNU RIMA.
Vairanga kino ê, tei Okio ê, tei Okio.
Kia pange to metua te vairanga otai;
E uui paa to toa i te komata toto,
Ei ta paa ia Tukua i te riu koatu,
Kia kapiti i te tama. Ka aere tawa i te puokia—
Te puku: kake atura i runga i te mau nga tauri.
Kua tapare re Tukua; kua motu te ivi i Avaiki.
Motuia ra kia motu. Tatari atu tawa.

Takinga and "little Ata" are far away,
Whilst Kie lovingly bears along her husband.
Grieve not for me, Muraai:
Remember my last solemn charge,—
To protect thy sister who watched the fight,
And ministered to her outcast father.
Ah! the children must weep.
Yes, Kie, even thy loved ones will weep,
And "little Ata," too, will bitterly grieve.
Turn away, my poor orphan grandson,
"little Ata."

FOURTH OFFSHOOT.
Go my son, and rest in the pledge so solemnly given.
O Arokapiti, be a parent to Muraai, my first-born:
Lovingly shelter my children.
Remember Takinga, and Metuaere, his brother.
Yonder is Rongo-giver-of-food. Ata will be hunted.
From crag to crag. The father of Naupata must die.
Alas for Papaaere, and their sisters Engengu and Mariki!
Who lie huddled up and cling together in terror,
Whilst their father Ata is driven out
Of his strong enclosure,
To become a disfigured corpse, to please pitiless Rongo,
Amid deafening shouts (of triumph).
Tukua and Ata, once so great, have fallen.
Their blood like water is poured out on the ground.
Takinga is weeping, and Tokotoko too.
They shudder, my "little Ata," to see
The slaughter of their forsaken father!

FIFTH OFFSHOOT.
Sad scene of blood at Okio; yes, at Okio!
Fell father and son in one place,
And thirsty spears drank in their life-blood.
In a romantic pile of rocks fell Tukua;
By the side of his brave son was he slain,
Death o'ertook both on that mountain of safety.
The death of Tukua will ever divide the tribe.
Now rend it to fragments. Await events.
I hear something—a faint breath of wind,
A whisper—To-day or to-morrow.
Pet grandson, I cease to gaze on the light
of day.
Gaze, Mariki, on the clashing of spears.
Well may the poor children shudder, my
"little Ata,"
At the slaughter of their forsaken father!

FINALE.
Ai e ruaoo ê!  E rangai ê!

(Gill, 1880a, pp. 218-220)
Appendix 6: Early Mangaian photographs

Reprinted with permission, Hocken Collections, *Uare Taoka o Hakena*, University of Otago, Scan S07-178b – Negative E3276/87 – "Pacific Islands ca. 1904 The Mangaian with the two heathen dieties Tinirau god of the sea and Temuteangaoa the echo god."

Reprinted with permission, Hocken Collections, *Uare Taoka o Hakena*, University of Otago, Scan S07-178c – Negative E859/30 – "Pacific Islands – Cooks"
Appendix 7: The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study (1996)

The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study reveals a continuum for identity retention ranging from "a profound sense of land and place" to self-reported non-identity as a Cook Islander (1996, p. 4). The shift in "loci of identity" and the sense of place is "complicated" more so for the migrants' children than the migrants (1996, p. 4). The parent generation actively reinforces their cultural ties between Aotearoa and their "homeland" through extensive travel to attend and support family events, religious and cultural gatherings and "tere" party fundraisers (1996, p. 4). The parent generation rehearses their "sentiment over 'place'" through language, music and dance, and they raise the next generation to "think of the Islands as their 'homeland'" (1996, pp. 4-5).

Identity preferences found in Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald's study reveal that half of the participants consider themselves to be Cook Islanders, while 24 percent of the sample attach various qualifiers such "'New Zealand born' Cook Islander, 'Kiwi' Cook Islander, or 'Europeanised' Cook Islander [and] 17 percent ... referred to themselves as 'New Zealanders'" (1996, p. 5). Only the parent generation, not the second generation, expresses uncertainty about a future place of residence, according to the study (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996). While one-third of the younger generation in the sample consider "returning to live in the Cooks," 62 percent choose to remain in Aotearoa as they do not know all of their relatives back home and would "be left out" or they have invested in homes in Aotearoa (1996, p. 5). Identity and a sense of place shift depending on an individual's frame of reference.

According to the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study, Cook Islanders living in Aotearoa become individualistic and inclined to rely on support from more immediate kin rather than their extended network or the church (1996). Over half of the informants prefer to work alone, while 24 percent prefer working in groups and the other 24 percent decide according to the situation (1996, p. 5). Racism stems from socially constructed values around perceived identity. Although incidents of racism or discrimination were reported by 36 percent of the informants in the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study, 95 percent of the sample felt "generally accepted in New Zealand" (1996, p. 6). Cook Islanders in the sample report feeling "rejected" by Aotearoa Maori and by other Cook Islanders (1996, p. 6). One informant attributes rejection by other Cook Islanders due to looking "like a Papa'a" (1996, p. 6).

Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald explained that the Cook Islands' cultural ideal elevates human family relationships, "despite differences ir social class, age, or wealth" and self-esteem is central to identity (1996, p. 6). This study's informants state that "belongingness" is central to Cook Islands identity (1996, p. 6). The essence of the Cook Island [sic] culture in
the 1980s is, first and foremost, family, respect for elders, a sense of community, and a continuing link with the idealised island home" (1996, p. 6). Cook Islanders see themselves as "basically happy, friendly, outgoing ... casual with a marked sense of humour" (1996, p. 6).

For Cook Islanders living in New Zealand, identification with their island culture may surpass their knowledge about the culture, language and traditions (Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 7). This is further complicated, according to Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald, by marrying outside of their ethnic identity as 67 per cent of the married informants have done (1996, p. 7). Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald claim that the trend for Cook Islanders, especially the men, is to forego wearing "island-style" clothing in favour of "modern" fashions (1996, p. 7). Traditional names are used by 26 per cent of the informants in the study, and 60 per cent claim to have only English names; whereas 40 per cent are only aware of their ethnic names because relatives use them during special occasions (1996, p. 7). The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study posits that food preferences between New Zealand and ethnic fare are about equal (1996).

Recent emphasis on accessing entitled "rights" designed to revive cultural distinctiveness is expressed through New Zealand's use of bilingual education (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 8). Although people encourage preserving island dialects, 57 per cent of second-generation Cook Islanders in Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald's study, do not speak their language, whereas some understand "when spoken to" (1996, p. 8). Use of the dialect is primarily confined to church settings, and extended family and island community events; some parents send their children 'back-home' for language emersion (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996). The study reports that extensive intermarriage and difficulties involving different dialects challenge a strategy for "language loyalty ... unless it [is] certain that the next generations will be motivated to follow" (1996, p. 8).

Cook Islander parents tend toward permissiveness with their children, according to the Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald study wherein participants report little pressure from their parents to practice the language, while other families experience tension when children prefer to speak English (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996). The assimilation of second-generation Cook Islanders in Aotearoa culture reflects their "semiology of place" rather than rejection of their heritage, according to Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald's findings (1996, p. 9). The study sample illustrates that ties to the homeland become increasingly blurred in subsequent generations by "cultural ambivalence [as] individuals necessarily change commitments and priorities in regard to parental expectations" (1996, p. 9).

The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study reveals that economic factors influence ethnic identity: Cook Islands youth living in New Zealand during economic struggles look to their
family and family values for security; when jobs are plentiful, youth are more likely to shed those traditions (1996). The second-generation's reality is that to escape and go 'home' is not an option, because you are 'home.' Being in a multicultural environment impedes the "[p]erformance of role behaviours" when there is no comfortable way out and the 'fit' seems incongruent (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 9). Island-media options for staying current with other Cook Islands community news are not used by 90 per cent of the sample (often due to language barriers), and are used "occasionally" by the other 10 per cent of the sample in the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study (1996, p. 9). Nineteen per cent of the study participants track island politics if the outcome affects them directly, otherwise they stay informed through the "coconut wireless" (1996, p. 10). The other 81 per cent of the sample feel it is "hopeless" to understand what politicians are doing back home, and even more so if the news is broadcast in an unknown dialect (1996, p. 10). The new generation of Cook Islanders living in New Zealand are "effectively excluded" from political activism 'back home' because they are out of the political mainstream required to perform the tasks (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 10).

Identity and migration affect leisure activities and relationships, according to the study by Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald (1996). Thirty-six per cent of the study informants "participate 'only occasionally,' but very few are actively involved" in close family or community events such as "weddings, visiting tere parties, 21st birthdays" beyond facilitating the plans organised by the elders (1996, p. 10). More often, the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study reflects that the parent generation is involved in island-community events; however, the youths indicate that their participation may increase in the future (1996). Instead, the youth prefer participating in island sports while "64 per cent ... claimed no real interest in joining" Cook Islands affiliated school, church or island culture groups and about 16 per cent in the study report having "no interest whatsoever in maintaining cultural affinities" (1996, p. 10). Three-fourths of the sample prefer socialising with multi-ethnic groups, including Europeans, in leisure activities routine for New Zealand (1996, p. 10). Three informants associate "with Cook Islands friends exclusively," while 25 per cent of the sample associate primarily with Europeans (1996, p. 10). Identifying with the Cook Islands and participation in island activities appear to be decreasing when measured by the 16 per cent who are not interested in "maintaining cultural affinities," according to the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study findings (1996, p. 10). Several in the sample consider "the label 'Cook Islander' slightly distasteful," preferring other descriptions such as "a Kiwi with a touch of the Islands" (1996, p. 11).

According to the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study, New Zealand churches provide a "symbolic link between the migrant and host cultures," and church attendance measures the
robustness of attachment to traditional support systems (1996, p. 11). Study findings indicate that about 29 per cent of the Cook Islanders in the Wellington area attend some Church service fairly regularly (1996, p. 11). The parent generation considers that knowing "their land and their sense or memory of place" is central to their identity— their "mother of identity"; however, in the second-generation, 64 percent of the sample are disinterested in their land entitlements, the location of their land, or how to access and claim their land (1996, p. 11). Still, Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald acknowledged that despite their "lack of knowledge about land entitlements, they still retained a sense of place" (1996, p. 11). This evolutionary sense of place means that second-generation islanders are emotionally attached to New Zealand as their 'home,' but their "heritage as 'Cook Islanders' sustains in them the notion of nostalgic island paradise" (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 11).

Findings by Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald reveal that census indicators in 1981 show that 45 per cent of the people classified as "Polynesians" were actually born in New Zealand, whereas in 1991, "the locally born out number the immigrants" (1996, p. 11). Cook Islanders demonstrate ethnic identification through remittances, according to the study (1996). Diminishing remittances indicate that morally obliged loyalties in the form of gifts, money and interest, are waning with the second generation Cook Islanders, counter to expectations by relatives living in the islands (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, pp. 11-12). This study outcome results from the second generation Cook Islanders seeing remittances as being similar to a "self-imposed tax" (1996, p. 12). In the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study, "64 per cent said they never receive or send money or gifts to or from the Cook Islands" (1996, p. 12). "Of the 36 per cent that answered "sometimes," the contribution is added to remittances sent by a parent (1996, p. 12). One study informant contributes to tere party fundraisers and feels "bad" for not remitting regularly (1996, p. 12). Financial constraints are reported in the study to have an impact on the extent to which people remit "over the other forms of identity" (1996, p. 12). Closeness of kin is another factor, however, Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald suggest that "changes in the life cycle may well bring shifts in cultural behaviour," (1996, p. 12).

The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study shows that in the emerging Cook Islander-New Zealand culture, historic family closeness, elder-respect and "intensity of cultural purpose" are all decreasing in value (1996). Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald explain that Cook Islanders living in New Zealand view behaviour-roles of women more liberally; they favour less "restrictive ... traditional brother-sister relationships" and bristle at the expense of lavish feasts (1996, p. 12). The study indicates that among the new generation of Cook Islanders,
economic stresses hinder generosity and role behaviours, although their optimism and identity persist from their historic adaptability (1996, p. 13).

Cook Islander immigrants are concerned about changes in their "culture, language and identity as a result of growing up in New Zealand," wrote Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald (1996, p. 13). The sample reveals that their hope is to surpass education levels and careers achieved by the previous generation and retain their culture (1996). Some Cook Islanders assert that dialects will survive if they are spoken 'back home' (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996). The Wellington study sample shows that in New Zealand, there is a sense of upholding "family closeness," increasing "political awareness," decreasing "competition with other Polynesians," and increasing "acceptance by one's own people" (1996, p. 13). This amounts to melding the best of both worlds into a hybrid culture. The fear is that in the process, New Zealand Cook Islanders will lose their language, culture and identity while "attempting to aspire to "European values" regarding educational and economic pursuits, according to the Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald study (1996, p. 14).

Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald reported that there is more "'fear' of language loss" by Cook Islander New Zealanders, than "'hope' for its retention"; plus there is a tendency for parents to expose their children to the culture without pressure (1996, p. 14). Language mastery comes by comes by being around those who use the dialect. Future Cook Islanders will likely be "biracial and bicultural" and hopefully, "grow ... up to feel at home with Cook Islanders" (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 14).

The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study informants revealed that New Zealand Maori give the impression of having greater legitimised status than other Pacific Islanders (1996). The sample population report that New Zealand Maori seem to "segregate themselves from all New Zealand" as they achieve political recognition, contributing to resentment felt by other Islanders and a lack of unified commitment to the Maori cause (1996, p. 15). However, it is not enough to choose national identification over ethnic identification even if there is a "bicultural imperative," according to the study findings (1996, p. 16). The Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald report explains that "cultural identity has managed to survive" because it has been allowed to through "weak opposition" and "mild indifference" by the "largely European majority in New Zealand" (1996, p. 16). Today's cultural climate is more accepting of "minority aspirations" by the Europeans (Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 16). However, the authors found that polarities between ethnic minorities can erupt into non-acceptance of New Zealand's official ethnic policy of "'Multiculturalism,' but at present it is really multiculturativ within a bicultural framework - not a totally comfortable fit for minority ethnic groups other than New Zealand Maori" (Underhill-Sem & Fitzgerald, 1996, p.
The study states that multiculturalism is an "historical fact" and its future value and strength will emerge when ethnic groups share their own culture in the wider New Zealander context rather than promoting solely within in their own communities (1996, p. 16). While assimilation into New Zealand culture and a new sense of ethnic place occurs over time and through opportunity (1996, p. 17), the Underhill-Sem and Fitzgerald study indicates that individuality within New Zealand's official Multiculturalism policy will have to be explored and negotiated by ethnic communities in order to collectively define and achieve a new strong multicultural identity (1996, p. 17).
Rev. Pāpā Aratangi summarised some of the escalating challenges that he faces along with his wife, in their pastoral duties serving their CICC congregation in Otara, Auckland for over a year (personal communication, 28 July 2008). Rev. and Mrs Aratangi minister to a significant islander population and many of the problems directly involve and influence tamariki āngai, according to Aratangi, who expressed dismay at how quickly Mangaians adapt to life in Aotearoa and discover numerous pitfalls in their new environment. Many social challenges faced by Mangaians living in Aotearoa have economic roots and the migrants arrive with skewed expectations about responsibilities. Aratangi stated that parents live with financial stress when they arrive in Aotearoa under-educated and have to work long hours to pay bills. Many wage-earners, cope through financially defeating ways such as playing the lotto or casino gambling, credit spending and tobacco use. Aratangi warns that mental health problems are increasing across all ages and for some, there seems no way out but suicide.

According to Aratangi, parents may see the advantage of education that they did not have but are ineffectual in convincing children to stay in school (personal communication, July 28, 2008). Children are choosing to stay home unsupervised rather than attend church with their parents. Under Aotearoa's 'anti-smacking' law, parents feel their authority is undermined as they cannot discipline their children using past practices and they are left without a viable alternative, Aratangi stated. The children know this and exercise their freedom in ways that defeat their future and harm the community. Aratangi articulated that young people, especially tamariki āngai, enter school in Aotearoa, but do not achieve satisfactorily and leave to wander the streets at night without a curfew. They enter into gang activity associated with violence and the justice system intervenes. The young people become sexually active, however, unprepared for the responsibilities of parenting. Aratangi stressed that the youth, being under-educated, cannot get employment that meets the inflated living costs and the cycle continues.

Some parents leave work to obtain the government benefit and others acquire tamariki āngai to access the financial benefits that 'feeding children' bring (P. Aratangi, personal communication, 28 July 2008). Although people used to look for close relatives with children to adopt for love, now they are doing it for money, according to Aratangi, and the children know and feel the difference.
Another shift that Aratangi recognised in Mangaian families, is away from living in larger households as people are becoming more individualistic and less community-minded, (personal communication, July 28, 2008). Whereas in the past, families would look to the close community for help, now Mangaians living in Aotearoa are losing the former sense of supportive community they had in Mangaia. Mangaians find many barriers or divisions that hinder team efforts toward solving community problems. People have become conditioned to not trust outside help even when offered by family. Aratangi saw that partners move on and single-parent families had unsupervised children at home who eat less nutritional meals and avoid attending school. The birth family may reclaim tamariki 'āngai after years if they perceive that the metua 'āngai is unfit.

The humiliation from not measuring up to the expectations of extended family is painful, Aratangi stated. On the surface, it may seem that being in a larger environment such as Aotearoa would afford more privacy and provide greater anonymity; however, Aratangi observed that social problems seem to magnify, particularly when government services become involved. Aratangi confirmed that these are general problems for large numbers of Polynesian Islander children in his parish and Aotearoa, and not restricted to Mangaians or tamariki 'āngai.
Appendix 9: Cook Islands adoption code PART XV
Adoption of Children by Natives

456. Adoption by Native custom invalid - No adoption by Native custom, whether made before or after the commencement of this Act, shall be of any force or effect whether in respect of intestate succession or otherwise. 
As to adoptions before 1 April 1916, see ss. 8 and 9 of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1921.

457. Validity of adoption heretofore registered - Any adoption lawfully made and registered in the Cook Islands Land Titles Court before and subsisting at the commencement of this Act shall, as from the commencement of this Act, have the same force and effect as if lawfully made by an order of adoption under this Part of this Act.

458. Orders of adoption - [The Land Court] shall have jurisdiction to make an order (hereinafter called an order of adoption) for the adoption of a child by a Native. The reference to the Land Court was substituted for a reference to the Native Land Court by s. 57 (4) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1964.
As to orders where the Court is satisfied that the child had already been adopted by Native custom before 5 December 1921, see s.9 of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1921.

459. Applications for adoption - (1) No such order shall be made except on the application of the adopting parent.
(2) Any such application may be made jointly by a husband and wife, and in such case the order of adoption may be made in favour of both or either of the applicants.

460. Who may be adopted - No person other than a Native or the descendent of a Native (whether legitimate or illegitimate) shall be capable of being adopted by a Native.

461. Conditions of adoption - (1) No order of adoption shall be made unless the Court is satisfied-
(a) That the child to be adopted is under the age of [21 years];
(b) That the adopting parent (if unmarried) is at least 30 years older than the child;
(c) That the child, if it is in the opinion of the Court above the age of 12 years, consents to the adoption:
(d) That the adopting parent is a fit and proper person to have the care and custody of the child and of sufficient ability to maintain the child, and that the adoption will not be contrary to the welfare and interests of the child.
(2) This subsection was added by s. 91 (1) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1957 and repealed by s. 2 (1) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1966.
In subs. (1) (a) the words in square brackets were substituted for the words "fifteen years" by s. 15 (a) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1963.
As to orders where the Court is satisfied that the child had already been adopted by Native custom before 5 December 1921, see s. 9 of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1921, which excludes paras. (a) and (b) of subs (1) of this section.

462. Consent of natural parents required - No order of adoption shall be made without the consent of the parents or of the surviving parent (if any) of the child, whether that child is legitimate or illegitimate, save that no such consent shall be required in the case of any parent as to whom the Court is satisfied that he has deserted the child, or that is for any reason unfit to have the custody and care of the child.

463. Adoptions by more than one person - No child adopted by any adopting parent shall in the lifetime of that parent and while the order of adoption remains in force be adopted by any other person save the husband or wife of that parent.

464. Annulment of orders of adoption - An adoption made under this Part of this Act and an adoption lawfully made registered in the Cook Islands Land Titles Court before the
commencement of this Act may at any time be annulled by [the Land Court] on any ground which the Court thinks sufficient, on the application of the adopting parent or of the adopted child.
The reference to the Land Court was substituted for a reference to the Native Land Court by s. 57 (4) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1964.
465. Effect of adoption - An order of adoption shall have in respect of succession to the estate of any Native the same operation and effect as that which is attributed by Native custom to adoption by native custom.
[465A. Effect of orders of adoption on interests in Native land - No order of adoption, other than an order made under this Part of this Act or under section 9 of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1921 [[ or under Part XXA of this Act]] shall have any force or effect in respect of succession to any interest in Native land.]
This section was inserted by s. 10 (1) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1956.
The words in double square brackets were inserted by s.15 (c) of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1963.
Appendix 10: Native Land Court records

The following Rarotonga Land Court records describe concepts that contribute to understanding early protocol about Mangaian informal adoption and eligibility strategies. Land court records from 26 July 1922 indicate that Mangaian legal adoption formalises arrangements that may have existed informally for years. Shifting children informally may have an impact on land allocation and include unrelated children that causes tension in families over land; perpetuity of land rights following adoption is negotiable. On 16 October 1944, an adoptive parent related only by adoption to the mother of the petitioned child is granted the adoption which does not affect lands. Also on that day, court records include an application for land succession by the adopted child of a person who died without issue, and sworn testimony that explains the protocol: 'Speaking of adoptions – adopting father dying calls aronga mana' to his bed and says he wants to give land to his adopted child, aronga mana will see it is done.' Testimony explains how Mangaian informal adoption is arranged: 'If I have a child and someone came along ask for it & I consent, child would go and not come back again to natural parent.'

In 1956, court records refer to a family meeting held regarding adoption. The record lists the attendees and refers to the child's "feeding parents." The case record includes one challenged objection and that the adoption was granted, however, it "excludes land succession because of distant relationship and family attendance at meeting." In 1958 the Court rules that there is no need for a birth father of children born out of wedlock to legally adopt his children after he marries the children's birth mother, and his name appears on the children's birth register as father. On 20 November 1958, the Cout defers to a family meeting and excludes land in another adoption order involving a toddler by its adoptive paternal great aunt. 'We have the baby since birth. Because look after it well.' This quote suggests that the adopting parents are mindful of their treatment toward the child affecting their eligibility to register the adoption.

On 9 March 1959, a court case amends a succession order to include a tamaiti 'āngai family member omitted from the birth family's genealogy. The applicant testifies, 'I cannot explain why [***] left me out of the family.' Other individuals testify on the applicant's behalf including the 'feeding' mother: 'I have known the family for a long time and I remember the occasion when [***] was born. I know all of their children. I don't know why the birth of [***] was not registered.' A sibling also testified: '[***] is my full sister. I remember when she was born. I was about ten years of age at the time. We have always thought of [***] as our sister.'
In cases dated 12 October 1959, a father testifies during one of his two adoptions:

My wife is not joining in the adoption. We have no children of our own ... [The child] will not succeed to my father's lands but ... will succeed to the lands I get from my mother in Mangaia. My two brothers, [***] and [***] have agreed to this. I have not discussed matter with [***] ... who is in Rurutu.

The court grants both adoptions deferring to the petitioner's request confining land succession solely to Mangaia through the paternal grandmother's mother's line. A 26 March 1962 case heard in Mangaia includes the following testimony from a different perspective on family input and protocol:

[Child to be adopted] is a close relation of mine and has a right to land and property in my name. My family have no say in this matter of adopn. I have one sister only. Father is dead, mother is living. I do not know of any custom of consulting family of adopting parent. I am about 35 years of age. I do not remember any previous adoption orders in this Court ... Our wish is that child is to succeed to all our property equally with [another child] ... we do not propose to adopt any more children. We want these two to share our property when we die.

Another case on 26 March 1962 conveys what seems to be a classic motive for reitita: 'I think putting through court people will recognise these children as ours.' In a third case from 26 March 1962, an application to adopt a child is dismissed because the adoptive father is separated from his wife with no intention of reconciling. However, Judge Fraser rules that the application 'may be re-instated if applt re-marries.' In a fourth Mangaian case of the same date, both of the adoptive parents agree to the adoption before Judge Fraser adjourns the matter to hear consent of the natural mother in Rarotonga. The record defines inheritance protocol: "Feeding children succeed to 'feeding parents,' not real parents." On 9 May 1962, the same judge dismisses an adoption case because the child to be adopted is beyond the fifteenth birthday.

On 30 July 1971, a case is heard in Mangaia wherein the grandparents adopt their grandchildren. The adopting-father explains, "I understand that the grandchildren will rank equally with my daughter on succession to me." The biological mother of the children testifies, "want my children adopted by my parents because they are not legitimate children and also so that they can succeed to my father's lands." The judge dispenses with the requisite fathers' consents to the adoptions as the birth mother testifies that "none of [the fathers] have signed the birth register, or have acknowledged or made any claim to the children. The case is adjourned to Rarotonga to allow the "applicant's wife to give evidence and for [***] to appear in order to give her consent, as the child is over 12 years of age." An entry on this date shows that four adoption orders cost $4.00 total and the names remain unchanged.
On 13 June 1972 court records indicate that a spokesperson acting on behalf of a person on Mangaia produced "a signed affidavit (sighted and attached to application) which shows that the husband of the applicant although wishing to join in the adoption, debars himself for reasons of family objection—he does not object (his wife being the sole adoptive parent)."

The Court responds: "All documents appear to be in order, and as it may be some time before any land court holds a sitting in Mangaia, the court waives any irregularities or even appearance of applicant & grants the adoption." In this case, the adoption order changes the child's name.

*Rētita* occurs in families varying in size. On 28 March 1973 at Mangaia, an adoptive father testifies that the "[c]hild has been with us partly & partly with natural mother. We now wish to adopt. We have only one of our own." On the same day the parents of six children between the ages of eleven to four, adopt their father's year old niece. Emigration as a motive for registering an adoption appears on 7 March 1974, in this adoptive father's testimony:

I have had this child since he was nearly a year old. I have other children (two) I live in Mangaia but am leaving next week for N.Z. My other children are going with me. I have a wife who is the natural mother of [***]. [***] looks on me as his father & I wish to legalise the adoption.

The adopting father also requests his adopted son's name be changed.

These records show that adoption and blood relationships do not guarantee land rights and that it is easier to lose a family member than to reinstate one's position. *Rētita* provides a sense of eligibility, permanence and identity to ʻāngai relationships that may or may not alter the children's names. This concludes a review of Rarotonga's Land Court records pertaining to Mangaian adoption.

1'Special Collections' at the University of Auckland Library is a repository for microfilmed copies of early Cook Islands Native Land Court minute records. Film quality of reel 1873 is poor from water damage to the original documents, many of which are hand-written. In the above descriptions, I reference what is visible of the dates for the entries and omit the names of the petitioners. Appendix 11 is one page of adoption court hearings in which I redacted the names of the constituents.
Permission to access microfilm records in the 'Special Collections' at Auckland University given 21 March 2007 in a letter from William (Bill) Teariki, Cook Islands Consulate General, Auckland. Names of the constituents have been redacted.
Appendix 12: Diagram of Tahitian voyages

This record of mariner voyages is reprinted with permission by the author/owner, Roland Tauaroa Puarai, Ariki in Maupiti (personal communication, 15 May 2008).
Appendix 13: Correspondence (1979) from J.R. de Lautour, school administrator

Miss Lesley Waugh & Miss Susan Hanke,
- International Education,
- U.S. Department of Education,
- Washington, D.C.

Dear Lesley and Susan,

I was thrilled to get the news of your appointments to Mangasi High School yesterday - the whole island is buzzing with excitement already. I can assure you that the need for your assistance is tremendous and will be appreciated greatly - not only by myself but by all the locals too. You will be welcomed especially by the staff who are all very nice people, very hard-working, but a bit confused by all this business of secondary education!

I am hoping that you too know each other by now - or that International Education have at least given you each others' addresses so that you can make contact. I do hope so anyway.

No doubt you will be wondering what everything is really like here and what to bring with you. I'm hoping that this letter will assist you. Because there is so much that it could contain I'll use subheadings and write in note form otherwise I'll be here all day. My two fingers and a thumb are not the fastest things that a typewriter has ever seen! (Hope one of you can type!!)

MANGAIA: About 15000 acres. Has a high cliff (Makatea) around the outside. Bush-clad with dirt roads cut through the 'bush'. The people depend on pineapples and their relatives in N.Z. for money. Not very many people your age here really - they all go to N.Z. - most of the people are old or very young. (The kids are left with their grandparents).

The water is beautifully clear - but we are short of beaches - the reef around the outside of the island makes swimming difficult. I take our kids down to the wharf for swims - its good there.

THE SCHOOL: Has 380 on the roll this year - touching 300 next year. We move on to N.Z. School Cert. next year with English, Biology, Geography. I was going to take the English & Bio myself but my 'pass the buck' a little now. Suggest that Lesley arms herself for Geography!! (Mind you I'll probably put an island teacher in with you - so you can teach him) Depends of course on my timekeeping - I still don't know my full staffing for next year.

THE PEOPLE: Very nice, very generous, but very very shy. Will NEVER ask for anything - even the teachers! Most teachers will try to help supplement their income - so after-school working is out for most.

NOTHING: Providing you two are compatible (I'm sure you will be) you will be together in one of the Govt. houses here. By Island standards they are very nice - by N.Z. standards naverage - low. Very airy and roomy. I'm sure you will be happy with it apart from the fact that it has a COLD shower only. (So have we) I strongly recommend that you bring two fittings to connect a 44 gallon drum to 3 inch alkathene pipe. Any plumber will tell you what you need. BUT, the fittings must be at EACH end (i.e. - you tie the drum on its side) We have done this - painted the drum black - put it in the sun - you get warm showers for 90 percent of the time. I will provide the drum and the pipe but there are no fittings in the Island. The fittings will cost you about 60c each. (I will put it up in your note of cost).

COOKING: You will have a two-burner ceramic stove (has an oven you sit on top) The one you will have is in good order - but they should never have been invented all the same. Suggest that if you can beg a 'white-spirit' of a 'gas' 'camp-stove' you will find it invaluable. Gas is (most of the time) available on the island. Don't worry if this is beyond you however - I can give you some help in this direction. Would suggest you bring several cheapo cooking pots however: = SOMETIMES available in Kerostenge - NEVER on Mangasi.

FURNITURE: You will be given the basic gear i.e. dining room chairs, lounge chairs, beds, mattresses (but NOT pillows) All furniture pretty rough and ready but it does the job. Suggest you bring your own pillows, cushions, and any old curtains that you can make up. You will of course have to bring your own linen, pots and pans, crockery, cutlery. A kitchen unit or two might help to make things a little less Spartan.
clothing: I've just sought my wife's advice (Alison) - she has suggested the following points: Footwear is difficult to get in the Cooks - apart from jandals which we wear most of the time) Get sandals in N.Z. if you wear them. Very light clothing for summer wear of course - avoid the clingy type of synthetics if possible. Cotton, not nylon, underwear. During winter you will need cardigans and alaks because the nights do get chilly. I suggest at least two blankets each too - if you normally feel the cold then another one. (We came here in winter - everyone reckoned we wouldn't need blankets - ended up using beach towels!) transportation: Life is a bit difficult without some form of transport. One Honda 50 scooter between the two of us is difficult. The problem lends to get a bit monotonous so, if you have tapes - bring 'em. If not then I'll sing for you. We didn't put you off music for life! packing: Tell whoever packs your gear to put the gear in small boxes. There is a crane to get the boxes off the Manuwal - but not to get them on. So the boxes here. Thus when our things arrived (about 12 weeks after we did) we had to unpack them on the barge so that we could get them around to things sometimes. I suggest you write to Gill if you have any worries about getting things. The Manuwal is a pretty dirty old tub and there are old clothes when you come over. The Manuwal calls regularly when the pineapples are ripe - but sometimes usually only once a month (seven weeks once in January this year!) I suggest you buy groceries in Rarotonga - cheaper there. Think in terms of a month's supplies. But there are things available on Mangaia of course - it's just that they run out of things all the time! Must stop. You'll be changing your minds about coming. Of course I have been talking about all the problems only - in this way you might be able to overcome them in N.Z. Really it's a very pleasant place to live here a lot of fun and I'm sure you'll enjoy it. It's very quiet and very peaceful here. Last bit of advice - your allowance for shipping your gear over is pretty generous - if you haven't filled it then fill it with books, magazines - and newspapers - even off-cuts of paper that could be used for art. Any old treadle sewing machines about that you don't want? Please don't hesitate to write. Looking forward very much to meeting you and to working with you. Sorry I can't tell you what your rent will be yet.

Kind regards,
J.R. de Lautour
14th May 2005

To the Chief of Staff
Prime Ministers Department
Rarotonga

Dear Denise,

Kia Orana. I am writing this short letter in support of Marsa Dodson's research on adoption and feeding children in Mangaia for her Ph D degree.

So I think it is very interesting to know after her research the system of adoption and feeding children in Mangaia compared to the system of other islands in the Cook Islands.

She may write a publication on the subject for the future generation of Mangaia.

I hope her proposal for Ph D degree to under take at the University of Otago Dunedin is approved.

Kia Manaia,

Vavita Tangataata
Mayor – Mangaia

cc. Hon Jim Marurai - Prime Minister Cook Island
Appendix 15: Correspondence (2005) from V. Tangatataia, Mangaia’s mayor

14th May 2005

Scholarship Administrator
Education New Zealand Trust
P O Box 10-500
Wellington
New Zealand


Dear Sir / Madam,

Kia Orana. I am writing this letter in support of the Ph D proposal send to you by Marsa Dodson.

As I have resided on Mangaia for the last 41 years, I have never seen or read a publication on adoption, Tamariki Angai (Feeding Children) for Mangaia.

So, I think it is very important if Marsa complete her research on Adoption & Feeding Children and later make a publication for the future generation of the people of Mangaia to understand and compare if there is any difference in the system of adoption and feeding children of olden days and at present.

Mangaia is one of the three (3) islands in the Cook Islands who don’t have the land court system and land disputes are settled by the Aronga Manu, who are the leaders on the island.

So it will be very interesting after her research to know how land entitlement to adopted children and biological children is allocated. In conclusion I fully support her proposal and hoping for your approval.

Kia Manuia.

Yours Sincerely,

Vavia Tangatataia
Mayor- Mangaia Island
Cook Islands
Dr P Shannon
Department of Social Work and Community Development
Division of Humanities
520 Castle Street

Dear Dr Shannon

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled "The Manguian Practice of Tamariki 'Angai/Feeding Children".

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is: Approved

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee's reference code for this project is: 06/176.

The comments and views expressed by the Ethics Committee concerning your proposal are as follows:

Please ensure that the transcriber is bound by the same understanding of confidentiality as the researcher.

The Committee would be grateful if you could arrange for the data on the laptop to be password protected.

Approval is for up to three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr G K (Gary) Witte
Academic Committees, Academic Services
Tel: 479-8256

15 December 2006
06/176
Appendix 17: Correspondence (2006) from M. Brunton, Ngāi Tahu, facilitator, Research Consultation Committee

NGĀI TAHU RESEARCH CONSULTATION COMMITTEE
TE KOMITI RAKAHU KI KAI TAHU

31/10/2006 - 36
Friday, 03 November 2006

Associate Professor Patrick Shannon
Anthropology
Dunedin

Tēnā koe Associate Professor Shannon

Title: The Practice of Tamariki 'Angai/Feeding Children on Mangaia, Cook Islands

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (NTRCC) met on Tuesday, October 31 2006 to discuss your research proposition.

The NTRCC considers the research to be of interest.

The Committee would ask who was the Ngāi Tahu Scholar that provided advice? Also please advise what role they were undertaking, or will undertake, as part of the study?

The Committee suggests dissemination of the research findings to relevant Pacific Island communities and the Committee would also value a copy of the research findings.

Nāhaku noa, nā

Mark Brunton
Kaitakawenga Rangahau Māori
Facilitator Research Māori
Research Division
Te Whare Wānanga o Otaō
Ph: +64 3 479 8738
e-mail: mark.brunton@otago.ac.nz
Web: www.otago.ac.nz

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee has membership from:

Te Rānanga o Ōtākou Incorporated
Kāti Huirapa Runanga (Te Ruaoku ki Pakotaruki)
Te Rānanga o Moeraki

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Appendix 18: Application to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee for Ethical Approval of a Research or Teaching Proposal Involving Human Participants

Application to the University of Otago HUMAN Ethics Committee for Ethical Approval of a Research or Teaching Proposal involving Human Participants

PLEASE read carefully the important notes on the last page of this form. Provide a response to each question; failure to do so may delay the consideration of your application.

1. University of Otago staff member responsible for project:
   (surname)  (first name)  (title)
   Shannon  Patrick T.  Dr.

2. Department: Social Work and Community Development

3. Contact details of staff member responsible: wk. tel.: 479-7666
   pat.shannon@stonebow.otago.ac.nz

4. Title of project: The Mangaian Practice of Tamariki 'Angai/Feeding Children

5. Brief description in lay terms of the purpose of the project:
   To document and record the Mangaian cultural practice of tamariki 'angai/informal island adoption as understood/practised by Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaian residents traveling in Aotearoa New Zealand; present implications stemming from the Mangaian cultural practice; highlight complexity of Mangaian social development in relation to tamariki 'angai; serve as a possible resource to the Mangaian people for preserving their heritage.

6. Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:
   PhD Research: Marsa Dodson (without other investigators or students) will coordinate with Mangaian community leaders and conduct an exploratory survey of a traditional adoption practice with Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaian residents traveling in Aotearoa New Zealand.

7. Is this a repeated class teaching activity?
   No

   If applying to continue a previously approved repeated class teaching activity, please provide Reference Number:

8. Intended start date of project: pending ethics approval
   Projected end date of project: 31 December 2008

9. Funding of project.
   Is the project to be funded: Self-funded by researcher Marsa Dodson
   (a) Internally  Self-funded by researcher Marsa Dodson

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10. **Aim and description of project:** (Clearly specify aims)

Aims of the project are:
1. To explore, describe and explain the past and current Mangaian practice of tamariki 'angai/feeding children as understood/practised by Mangaian people residing in Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaian people traveling to Aotearoa New Zealand.
2. To provide information about the perceptions and motivations of Mangaian migrants' use of the cultural practice from the perspectives of
   a. Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand.
   b. Mangaian residents.
3. To highlight the implications for Mangaian personal and social development.
4. To return the information about this valuable cultural practice back to the Mangaian people residing in Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaia.

**Description of the project:**
The project includes a two-stage data collection process: through verbal interviews with Mangaian adults residing in Aotearoa New Zealand or visiting Aotearoa New Zealand, who have been affiliated with the Mangaian traditional practice, using a list of traditional adoption related topics generated through a six-month examination of Polynesian-adoption literature on Otago University campus. Data from the first stage interviews will be compiled and analysed. The researcher will present findings (honouring confidentiality) to four Mangaian community focus groups organised by Mangaian community leaders (two on the North Island and two on the South Island). Responses/conclusions by the Mangaian communities during these focus groups provide the second-stage data collection. This data will be compiled and analysed and the thesis completed. The approved thesis will be distributed to Otago University, the Mangaian community leaders who hosted the forums and the Mangaian Historical Society.

11. **Researcher or instructor experience and qualifications in this research area:**

As a Washington State government adoption social worker, this PhD candidate investigated and wrote approximately fifty home studies of families looking to adopt children available through the State's Children's Administration.


12. **Participants**

(Participants means any person whose behaviour, actions, condition, state of health...
the researcher proposes to study; or whose personal information the researcher proposes to collect or use)

12(a) Population from which participants are drawn (in particular, please specify whether any of the following might participate: minors, prisoners, hospital patients, or anyone whose capacity to give informed consent is compromised in any way):

Ten key informants over age eighteen who are Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand and ten Mangaian residents over age eighteen who are traveling in Aotearoa New Zealand will have the opportunity to inform in the first stage of data collection in this study. No government prisoners, hospital patients or anyone whose capacity to give informed consent is compromised in any way in Aotearoa New Zealand, will have the opportunity to inform in this project.

Key informants in the second-stage of data collection will be members of the four Mangaian communities who attend at least one Mangaian community forum/focus group in conjunction with this project and contribute information.

12(b) Specify inclusion and exclusion criteria:

Be either a direct participant in a tamariki 'āngai triad, i.e. adoptee, adoptor, or donor parent, or be a sibling or child of, a direct participant in a Mangaian tamariki 'āngai triad.

Be over age eighteen with no upper age limit and interested in accurately documenting the Mangaian tradition of tamariki 'āngai.

Be willing to read, and able to understand (with or without an interpreter), the statement of permission that s/he must sign in advance of participation.

Be able to understand and communicate in English or English with a little Mangaia dialect, or request the service of a willing and responsible translator.

Be willing to spend at least one hour on up to two occasions for interviews with the researcher or attend one of four focus groups in New Zealand and contribute information regarding Mangaian tamariki 'āngai.

12(c) Number of participants: (where a sample size calculation is appropriate
i.e., for quantitative research, it should be provided)

Ten Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Ten Mangaia island residents travelling in Aotearoa New Zealand.

12(d) Age range of participants:
Over age eighteen with no upper age limit.

12(e) Method of recruitment:
Verbal request through snowball-networking in the Mangaian communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Verbal request of Mangaian tere travelling party members travelling in Aotearoa New Zealand.

12(f) Please specify any payment or reward to be offered:
No monetary payment to be offered.

13. Methods and Procedures: Describe the design of the study, the nature of the task required of participants and how the results will be analysed. The various precautionary measures to be taken to avoid harm or discomfort should be described (up to two pages; any questionnaire or survey form to be used must be attached).

The design of the study includes data collection in two stages, (protecting confidentiality of informants), ensuring that the Mangaian voice and silences are accurately recorded and interpreted, that dignity and knowledge are honoured and that the project outcome is returned to the Mangaian communities.

The research instrument is a list of topics discussed in Polynesian-adoption related literature or posed by authors as needing to be addressed by subsequent Polynesian-adoption researchers.) The researcher will administer the instrument to ten key informants who are Mangaian residents of Aotearoa New Zealand and to ten key informants who are Mangaian visitors in Aotearoa New Zealand. These twenty people must have been either a direct participant of the tamariki ʻāngai adoption triad, i.e. adoptee, adoptive parent, or donor parent, or a sibling or child of direct participant of the tamariki ʻāngai adoption triad. Key informant narrative data from these interviews will be collected and analysed holistically and thematically, looking for patterns, profiles, types, dynamics, functions, and
mechanisms to record this Mangaian cultural tradition and provide a survey of Mangaian tamariki 'ängai protocol. (Key informants receive a transcript of their interview/s and a copy of the completed thesis chapter that includes their excerpts.)

The second stage of data collection occurs during four Mangaian community focus groups that are organised and directed by Mangaian community leaders. The researcher will present project findings (honouring confidentiality) at these four focus groups in Aotearoa New Zealand (two on the North Island and two on the South Island). Mangaian people will have the opportunity to respond to the researchers findings and add any further tamariki 'ängai related-information that they desire. Comments/recommendations from the four focus groups will be compiled, analysed holistically and thematically. The two-stage data collection will be compiled and the thesis completed. Copies of the approved thesis will be presented to the four Mangaian community leaders, to the Mangaia Historical Society and Otago University.

Precautionary measures:

The researcher will ask key informants if they foresee having any problems by participating in the interviews. Any problems will be referred to appropriate professional cultural services. The researcher will remind the informant that at any time, the informant may decline to be interviewed further without any disadvantage. Key informants will be provided with a copy of their interview transcript to keep (and modify if they wish after the interview). Every effort will be made to protect confidentiality of key informants' names.

The researcher will provide an information sheet that covers risks, limitations, obligations, and services to each participant to keep. The researcher will provide each participant with a participant form to be signed by each informant and retained by the researcher in a secure site.

This project is supervised by one Mangaian cultural supervisor and three non-Maori supervisors who include the Head of Social Work and Community Development, and staff from the Otago's Department of Anthropology and Te Tumu School of Māori Pacific and Indigenous Studies. One Otago Lecturer who is Ngāi Tahu and Ngati Kahungunu is also available to serve as consultant.
14. Compliance with The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 imposes strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance.

14(a) Are you collecting personal information directly from the individual concerned?

YES, only directly

If you are collecting the information indirectly, please explain why:

14(b) If you are collecting personal information directly from the individual concerned, specify the steps taken to make participants aware of the following points: (you should make participants aware of these points in an Information Sheet for Participants; a suggested template is attached):

I will provide each informant a sheet of paper that explains

• the fact that the researcher is collecting the information: in relation to a PhD research project in conjunction with Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand.

• the purpose for which the researcher is collecting the information is to document and preserve the Mangaian practice of tamariki ‘angai. The researcher proposes to compile and analyse the information and verbally report the generalised findings (honouring confidentiality) to four Mangaian communities in Aotearoa New Zealand during four focus group sessions. Any emerging data/conclusions from these Mangaian community forums will be compiled, analysed and included with the tamariki ‘angai study in a thesis that will be returned to the Mangaian people.

• who will receive the written information:
  The University of Otago
  Each of the four Mangaian community leaders
  Mangaian Historical Society

• the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information: None

• the individual’s rights of access to and correction of personal information:

The individual informants have access to their record of disclosure/personal information in the form of a transcript of their interview to keep indefinitely.
14(c) If you are not making participants aware of any of the points in (b), please explain why: Refer to 14(b)

I am making participants aware of all points in 14(b).

14(d) Does the research or teaching project involve any form of deception?

NO

If yes, please explain all debriefing procedures:

(Debriefing: Where participants have not been informed fully of the nature and purpose of the research, or where in the course of the project some degree of deception is involved, the researcher must provide participants with an explanation of the research goals and procedures when the procedure is completed. Researchers also have an obligation to be available after participants have participated in the project, should any stress, harm, or related concerns arise. Participants must have the opportunity to obtain information relating to the outcome of the project if they wish. Where relevant, explain how these matters will be dealt with in the proposed research)

14(e) Please outline your storage and security procedures to guard against unauthorised access, use or disclosure and how long you propose to keep personal information: (The University requires original data of published material to be archived for five years after publication for possible future scrutiny. The University is responsible for providing data storage space, data relating to projects should be kept in secure storage within the University Department concerned [rather than at the home of the researcher] unless a case based on special circumstances is submitted and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. At the end of the Project any specific identifying personal information must be destroyed by the Principal Investigator [as specified in question 1] or relevant Head of Department).

This researcher will store all personal information (not stored in researcher's laptop computer) in a secure file cabinet at Otago University's Department of Social Work and Community Development or Anthropology Department. No one (apart from researcher and project staff of the aforementioned departments) has access to either file cabinet during the researcher's absence. Personal information will be archived up to five years following thesis publication. The researcher's thesis may contain portions of interview narratives coded to maintain confidentiality with the code key archived at Otago University for five years subsequent to thesis
publication. Following the five-year interval, the code key will be destroyed along with any other raw data by either by the relevant Head of Department or appropriate staff. Key informants retain a copy of their interview/s indefinitely.

The laptop is used only by the researcher.

14(f) Please explain how you will ensure that the personal information you collect is accurate, up to date, complete, relevant and not misleading:

This researcher will explain to the informant that the object of the study is collect accurate, complete, and relevant information to preserve and document the cultural practice; that this researcher will not alter data that is provided unless directed to by the informant who has recalled different/additional information; that this researcher will not distort findings, that this researcher will report factually, honouring confidentiality, to the best of her ability, training and experience.

14(g) Who do you propose will have access to personal information, under what conditions, and subject to what safeguards against unauthorised disclosure?

No one except the researcher or Head of Social Work and Community Development Department or the project supervisor from the Department of Anthropology will have access to personal information retained in Otago University's secure storage.

14(h) Do you intend to publish any personal information and in what form do you intend to do this?

The researcher will not publish any personal information in narratives linked to the informant's real name without advance permission from the informant or in the case of any respondent having deceased, advance permission will be sought from the informant's next of kin. This permission would be in the form of an express waiver separate from the respondent's consent form.

14(i) Do you propose to collect information on ethnicity?

Part of this PhD thesis' literature review is an overview of informal adoption practices found throughout Polynesia intended to provide a context for Mangaia's tradition, since it is known that Polynesian
peoples migrated throughout the Pacific bringing their traditions with them.

Fieldwork interviews for this PhD research project are focused wholly on the Mangaian cultural practice of *tamariki 'angai*. Interview data will be collected from Mangaian people residing in *Aotearoa* New Zealand and Mangaian residents travelling in *Aotearoa* New Zealand about their cultural practice.

(If the collection of information on ethnicity will be used for drawing comparisons or conclusions between Māori and other ethnic groups or the project has clear implications of direct interest to Māori, consultation should be undertaken in accordance with the University’s Policy for Research Consultation with Māori. Please see http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/maoriconsultation/index.html). If this process has already been undertaken please attach a copy of your completed Research Consultation with Māori Form with this application.)

15. Potential problems: Explain whether there will be harm or discomfort to participants, medical or legal problems, or problems of community relations or controversy, or whether any conflicts of interest might arise (Researchers also have an obligation to be available after participants have participated in the project, should any stress, harm, or related concerns arise. If it is anticipated that professional services are appropriate, these services for the participants should be clarified as well as risks, limitations and obligations. Participants normally should have the opportunity to obtain information relating to the outcome of the project if they wish.)

The researcher will inquire if the informant foresees having any problem stemming from the interview. Any problems would be referred to appropriate and professional cultural services. This researcher will remind informants that they can choose at any time during the interview(s) to decline further participation without disadvantage. The approved thesis will be publicly available.

16. Informed consent

Please attach the information sheet and the consent form to this application. The information sheet and consent form must be separate.

At a minimum the Information Sheet must describe in lay terms:

• the nature and purpose of the research;
• the procedure and how long it will take;
• any risk or discomfort involved;
• who will have access and under what conditions to any personal information;
• the eventual disposal of data collected;
• the name and contact details of the staff member responsible for the project and an invitation to contact that person over any matter associated with the project;
• details of remuneration offered for participation and compensation payable in the event of harm;
• Exclusion criteria for the project if applicable including Health Concerns. (If exclusion include a clear statement to the effect that: “People who meet one or more of the exclusion criteria set out above may not participate in this project, because in the opinion of the researchers and the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, it involves unacceptable risk to them.”

and any other relevant matters.

The Information Sheet must conclude with the statement: "The University of Otago Human Ethics Committee has reviewed and approved this project."

The Consent Form must make it clear that a participant:
• understands the nature of the proposal;
• has had all questions satisfactorily answered;
• is aware of what will become of the data (including video or audio tapes and data held electronically) at the conclusion of the project;
• knows that he or she is free to withdraw from the project at any time without disadvantage;
• is aware of risks, remuneration and compensation;
• is aware that the data may be published;
• is aware that a third party (i.e. transcriber) may have access to the data; (This researcher will transcribe all research narratives associated with this project.
• is aware that every effort will be made to preserve the anonymity of the participant unless the participant gives an express waiver, which must be in addition to and separate from this consent form.

(Applicants should use the pro forma Information Sheet and Consent Form provided by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, with appropriate adaptation, unless a case is made and approved that these formats would be inappropriate for the specific project; Research or teaching involving children or young persons require written consent from both the child or young person AND the parent/guardian unless an adequate justification is provided).

17. Fast-Track procedure (In exceptional and unexpected circumstances, and where the research needs to commence before the next monthly meeting of the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, a researcher may request that the application be considered under the fast-track provisions).
Do you request fast-track consideration? (See Important Notes to Applicants attached)

No.

(Please note that this involves the application being sent around members of the Committee by correspondence and can be expected to take 10 to 14 days)

If yes, please state specific reasons:

18. Other committees

If any other ethics committee has considered or will consider the proposal which is the subject of this application, please give details.

Maori consultation committee application submitted 30 October 2006.

19. Applicant's Signature: ..............................................
   Date: 2/11/06

20. Departmental approval: I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The Research proposed in this application is compatible with the University policies and I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee with my recommendation that it be approved.

Signature of "Head of Department: ..............................................
   Date: 2/11/06

*(In cases where the Head of Department is also the principal researcher then the appropriate Dean or Pro-Vice-Chancellor must sign)
Mangaian tamariki 'āngai interview topics:

- Mangaian kinship term definitions
- Changes in Mangaian tamariki 'āngai protocol over time
- Current Mangaian tamariki 'āngai protocol
- Motivations for Mangaian tamariki 'āngai
- Limiting factors to Mangaian tamariki 'āngai practice
- Impact of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai practice on the transference of rank
- Impact of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai practice on the transference of power
- Impact of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai practice on the transference of inheritance
- Impact of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai on Mangaia residents of Aotearoa New Zealand
- Impact of Mangaian tamariki 'āngai on Mangaia, Cook Island residents.
The Mangaian Practice *Tamariki 'Angai/Feeding Children*

CONSENT FORM FOR [PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS ETC]

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information [audio-tapes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed; I will be given a copy of my interview narrative to keep.
4. "This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind".
5. I have the option of accepting referral to appropriate and professional cultural services if I have any problems stemming from the project.
6. My participation in the project is without remuneration.
7. The results of this PhD project may be published and will be available in the Otago University library, to leaders from four Mangaian communities in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to the Mangaian Historical Society, but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
8. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

........................................................................................................... ........................................
(Signature of participant) (Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.

[Note: The above statement should not be included if the project has been considered and approved at departmental level]
Research Consultation with Maori

We strongly advise researcher to print and retain a copy of this page.

Thank you for your research proposition. This message is to confirm that one of the following will occur:

1. Your proposition will be forwarded to the next meeting of the Consultation Committee; or
2. Additional information may be required by the Administrator and needs to be provided in hard copy through the internal mail; or
3. You may be asked to attend the next meeting of the Consultation Committee.

You will be contacted via email in the near future.

### Principal Investigator(s)

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>First Name</th>
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<th>Surname</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Campus</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Principal Investigator 1</strong></td>
<td>Associate Professor</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>Shannon</td>
<td>SOWK, Anthropology, Maori Studies</td>
<td>Dunedin</td>
<td><a href="mailto:pat.shannon@stonebow.otago.ac.nz">pat.shannon@stonebow.otago.ac.nz</a></td>
<td>03-479-7666</td>
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<td><strong>Principal Investigator 3</strong></td>
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No research proposition for an Otago District Health Board clinical trial?

Concise description in lay terms of the proposed research including human / animal involvement (250 words max)

Using Pacific methodology, explore, describe and explain the practice of 'tamariki 'angai/feeding children on Mangaia, Cook Islands and how it relates to rank and inheritance, according to information compiled from interviews with 10 adult Mangai'an residents of Aotearoa and 10 Mangai'an people visiting Aotearoa who have at one time in their life been an adoptee, a donor parent, or an adoptive parent, or a child or sibling of the aforementioned members of the adoption triad. Interview questions stem from Oceania adoption literature that authors have either answered or suggested should be answered by researchers documenting adoption practices in Polynesia. Give general information (observing confidentiality) back to the Mangai'an people about their valuable cultural practice during four community forums arranged and directed by Aotearoa-Mangai'an community leaders, and compile additional information from community feedback stemming from the four community forums.

Concise description in lay terms of the potential outcomes of the area of research (200 words max); bullet points are encouraged.

Recording of lay concepts of this significant Mangai'an tradition; increased awareness of how the tradition is and has been practised and perceived in and by Mangai'an communities; renewed appreciation for the tradition's viability, variability, and durability; heightened Mangai'an community pride through the interactive process; families will be strengthened; greater community solidarity as this aspect of Mangai'an culture is discussed privately in Mangai'an communities.

Mangai'a continues in a population downturn mainly due to out-migration by parents for job opportunities abroad. It is estimated that currently approximately 80% of Mangai'a's children are tamariki 'angai on an island of just over 650 people. Most of Mangai'a's tamariki 'angai children are raised by their grandparents. How many more Mangai'an people live abroad than on Mangai'a and apart from the old Mangai'an traditions/language especially if they are born and raised abroad. This study will compile and preserve this valuable and historic part of Mangai'an heritage that will be available to the Mangai'an communities in Aotearoa and Mangai'a.

Potential areas of interest to or of concern for Māori (if known) (100 word max)

This research is being conducted under the supervision of one Mangai'an scholar, one Ngai Tahu/Ngati Kahungunu scholar, the head of Otago's Social Work and Community Development, and staff from Anthropology and from Otago's Te Tumu School of Māori Studies.

Colaborations in this area of research (Individual researchers and / or Institutions)

This research is entirely self-funded by the researcher.

Potential funding bodies (eg HRC, FRST, Marsden) for this area of research

Other Relevant Information

Reference

Reference Number

407
the proposed research including human / animal involvement (250 words max)

- Aftermentioned members of the adoption trial, interview questions stem from Oceania adoption literature that authors have either answered or suggested should be answered by researchers documenting adoption practices in Polynesia. Give general information (observing confidentiality) back to the Mangaians people about their valuable cultural practices during four community forums arranged and directed by Asteraoa-Mangaians community leaders, and compile additional information from community feedback stemming from the four community forums.

- Concise description in lay terms of the potential outcomes of the area of research (100 words max); bullet points are encouraged.

  Recording of key concepts of this significant Mangaians tradition; increased awareness of how the tradition is and has been practised and perceived in and by Mangaians communities; renewed appreciation for the tradition's stability, variability, and durability; heightened Mangaians community pride through the interactive process; families will be strengthened.

  Greater community solidarity as this aspect of Mangaians culture is discussed privately in Mangaians communities.

- Potential areas that are of interest by or of concern for Mangaio (if known) (100 words max)

  Mangaias continues in a population downturn mainly due to out-migration by parents for job opportunities abroad. It is estimated that currently approximately 80% of Mangaias's children are born and raised abroad. Most of Mangaias's tamaki 'anga children are raised by their grandparents. Many more Mangaians people live abroad than on Mangaias and apart from the old Mangaians traditions/ language especially if they are born and raised abroad. This study will compile and preserve this valuable and historic part of Mangaians heritage that will be available to the Mangaians communities in Asteraoa and Mangaias.

Collaborations in this area of research (Individual researchers and / or institutions)

- Potential funding bodies (eg HRC, FHT, Manamo) for this area of research

  This research is being conducted under the supervision of one Mangaians scholar, one Ngati Tahuhu Kahungunu scholar, the head of Otago's Social Work and Community Development, and staff from Anthropology and from Otago's Te Tumu School of Māori Studies.

  This research is entirely self-funded by the researcher.

Other relevant information

Do you have an RAE reference number?

If you answered "yes" in the field above then please insert your reference number from Research & Enterprise in the field below.
Appendix 20: Family relationship chart

"CP" stands for Common Progenitor. Two Sons of CP are Brothers. Two GS of CP are First Cousins.

"GS" = Grandson or "GS" = Granddaughter
"GN" = Grandniece or "GN" = Grandnephew
"1C 1R" = First Cousin Once Removed.

This chart is used to figure kin relationships. A similar chart can be accessed online at http://th.wikipedia.org/wiki/%EO%B9%84%EO%B8%9F%EO%B8%A5%EO%B9%8C:Canon_law_relationship_chart.svg. (25 July 2009)
Appendix 21: Permissions


Access to microfilm records in the 'Special Collections' at Auckland University from William (Bill) Teariki, Cook Islands Consulate General, Auckland, 21 March 2007.

Letter, Mangaia College from the Ministry's Archive Collection at Archives New Zealand Aotearoa, Neil Robertson, 20 April 2009.


Photographs (4) from Cook Islands, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Order No: 07-178, 24 August 2007.