

MAORI-PAKEHA MIXED MARRIAGES IN NEW ZEALAND

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### ABSTRACT

In this thesis my object is to describe the process of interracial marriage between Pakehas and Maoris in Auckland and to relate this to aspects of the relations between the races in the community.

In the first part I outline a typology of mixed marriages in terms of which I discuss the characteristics of the spouses in my sample. This is followed by a discussion of statistical material drawn from marriage records and brief accounts of some representative cases.

Part Two is concerned with the process of getting married, beginning with an analysis of the possibilities which exist for the development of interracial social relationships and tracing the processes of dating and courtship through to engagement and marriage. At each stage I am concerned with the factors which influence the decision-making of the individuals and in particular the reactions shown by other members of the community.

In Part Three I discuss the special problems faced by the intermarried in terms of the relationship between spouses and that between the couple and members of the community, in particular their kinsfolk.

The last part deals with the place of the offspring of mixed marriages and with intermarriage as a historical process. This latter is analysed in terms of genealogies containing the descendants of some early mixed marriages and shows the way in which the marriage choice and place in the community of individuals has been affected by their mixed ancestry.

The study demonstrates that, while the members of neither race accept mixed marriages completely, the obstacles placed in the way of most young people who wish to marry a member of the other race are not usually great and their place in the community is not usually seriously affected by their choice of spouse. It also indicates that the rate of intermarriage is likely to increase and this will be one factor in a situation of improving race relations in New Zealand.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.

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### The Study of Intermarriage:

In all societies there are certain rules or norms which govern, or indicate the desirability of, marriage between members of certain groups. These may range from proscription through permission and preference to prescription. In classic ethnographical studies the groups relevant to marriage have usually been those based on kinship and clan affiliation, and the customs associated with these have given rise to the terms "endogamous" and "exogamous".

Merton when writing on "Intermarriage and the Social Structure" (1941) considers it necessary to include exogamous marriages in this sense, in his discussion. It seems to me, however, that this is not the sort of thing we mean when speaking of intermarriage.

Kuhn (1948) states that social scientists use the term "intermarriage" to refer to marriage of persons belonging to different groups ordinarily exogamous. Again, I consider that this is a misuse of the term. In 1960 approximately 42% of the Maoris who married in Auckland married Europeans. Can we call this Maori group endogamous? If we can't then are we not entitled to call

these mixed marriages?<sup>(1)</sup>

Barron (1946) defines intermarriage as a legally sanctioned marriage in which the groom and bride differ in race, religion or ethnic derivation. I can see no point in confining marriages to legally sanctioned unions and can only assume that the reason for this was because most material was collected from marriage registration records. I would prefer to define a marriage as "the institution involving two people living together as man and wife and recognised as such by the community."

Intermarriage in popular terminology has come to refer to a marriage between members of different groups which fall into the following categories: racial, religious and cultural. There seems good point in following this use (as in effect Barron does) for there are significant ways in which these categories normally differ from those such as kinship and residence.

Firstly, the members of different groups within these categories are usually visible in terms of appearance or behaviour or both; secondly, they tend to place out-group members in positions of subordination or superordination; thirdly, they usually see themselves in some way in

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1. I use the term "mixed marriage" to describe the institution arising from "intermarriage".

competition with members of other groups; and fourthly, they tend to see out-marriage as weakening the position of their group.

I define a mixed marriage as "a marriage in which the members of the socially relevant category to which one spouse belongs recognise the other spouse as the member of another socially relevant category of the same general type". The general types referred to are racial, religious and cultural.<sup>(2)</sup> Socially relevant categories are those which are recognised by some or all of the community as forming discrete categories within one of these general types.

This is best explained by the use of examples. In South Africa we could nominate as categories Black, White and Coloured; but in New Zealand a division into Maori, European and those of mixed origins would not be socially relevant because those of mixed origins are not normally thought of as constituting a separate category. Also in New Zealand, a visitor, knowing of the number of immigrants from neighbouring Pacific Islands living in Auckland and of their racial derivation, may suggest European and Polynesian as a basic racial division, but this would not be as

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2. Racial includes pseudo-racial groups such as the Jews, and cultural includes pseudo-cultural groups such as social classes.



socially relevant as a division European, Maori, Pacific Islander.

Now it becomes obvious that in my definition of socially relevant racial categories, cultural factors enter into the picture and therefore so-called "racial groups" are usually pseudo-racial. Also, although any one of the general types can be taken as the focus for a study, and I am dealing with racial intermarriage, it must be remembered that each individual simultaneously belongs to a category within each of the general types and a mixed marriage in the racial sense may also be a mixed marriage in the religious or cultural sense. Indeed, in some situations, the religious and cultural factors may be considered as contributing a more relevant difference than the racial. Finally, one must be wary of the assumption made by many people that an interracial marriage is of necessity an intercultural marriage. Such may be true of, say, most West African-English marriages but it is not true of many of the marriages between Maoris and Europeans in Auckland.

The approaches already made to the topic of interracial marriage have been inhibited to a large degree by the theoretical framework on which they have been strung, and by the fact that many writers seem to have used

marriage registration records as their only source of information.

Many of the studies made (e.g. Barron: 1946) attempt to include all types of intermarriage within a single framework. Until much more is known of specific cases within each general type it seems unwise to lump all types of intermarriage together in the one field study. There is also the practical consideration that a researcher can work only with a limited number of cases, and the more combinations brought into the study the smaller is the sample that can be documented for each combination.

A further argument for the differentiation between studies of interracial, interreligious and intercultural marriages is that there appear to be certain basic differences between them. Intercultural marriages usually have no legal bars as do often interreligious and interracial, nor is there usually any attempt to create a legal bar. Interreligious and intercultural marriages differ from interracial marriages in three important aspects. Firstly, in interracial marriages, because the group differences are based on physical characteristics, it is usually impossible for the members of one group to be converted or acculturated to membership of another group. (Exceptions to this occur where a pseudo-race is involved



or when individuals of mixed race are arbitrarily relegated to one of the groups irrespective of physical affinity). Secondly, the offspring of interracial marriages are usually identifiable as such, and, thirdly, there are many popular ideas afoot as to the pre-ordained positions of the races relative to each other and to the supposed harmful effects of miscegenation.

Published works dealing with interracial marriage:

Information on interracial marriage is available from five main sources: Specific field studies; statistical surveys from official records; historical studies; general surveys based on previous publications; sections of general field studies of race relations or multi-racial communities.

The first full field study of intermarriage was made by Adams in Hawaii and published in 1937. In this work (Adams: 1937) he gives prominence to the social backgrounds of the various groups and the roles of the "mixed bloods". He also gives statistics on the practice, and devises an index of preference. In the same year Baber published a paper (Baber: 1937) on the result of the study of 325 marriages showing all kinds of mixture. He extracts statistics on the various types and assesses them in terms of birth rate, "happiness rating", and status.

With Barron's Newhaven study (Barron: 1946) we find

the first field study based on a definite theoretical framework. He breaks down his material into two main sections - causal factors and intermarriage patterns - and mentions a third - intermarriage consequences - as relevant. His study is of all types of intermarriage and the questions he considers of sociological significance are: Why, and to what extent do people vary from the normal pattern of in-group marriage and, whom do they marry?

Golden in his studies of Negro-White intermarriage (Golden: 1953 and 1954) begins to show more interest in attitudes and consequences, aspects previously touched on by Cayton and Drake in their study of Negroes in Chicago (Cayton and Drake: 1946). Golden's first paper deals with the characteristics of Negro-White intermarriage and his second with the effect on public attitudes, family relationships, residence, children, relationships with the community, and occupational adjustment. Problems of adjustment in the case of Japanese war brides have been studied by Schnepf and Yui (1955) and Rogler (1945) has published a paper on the morality of race mixture in Puerto Rico in which he discusses class attitudes.

Much of the work done on intermarriage has relied principally for its source material on statistics of marriage registrations and population records. Burma

(1942), Lowrie (1939) and Panunzio (1952) worked along these lines in America, while Pearn (1946) has analysed the figures relating to racially mixed groups in Burma.

Historical studies of intermarriage of importance are Stern's summary in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1932) and Gilberto Freyre's monumental study of Brazil (1946). Material is also available in Frazier's study of the Negro in the United States (1957). Historical accounts of the fate of the "half-caste" have been published by Dover (1937) and Stonequist (1937).

Most general works on race relations contain a section on intermarriage. These are seldom wide in scope and tend to discuss the biological and social consequences as in Berry (1951) or the conflicts between the spouses as in Becker (1948). The widest discussion is in Simpson and Yinger (1953) where types and instances, factors for and against, problems of the intermarried, and success and failure are dealt with.

Among the general field studies which give some material on intermarriage are Little (1946), Banton (1955), Fong (1959), Adams (1959) and Gillin (1948). The stress in these studies is generally on community attitudes and historical development.

A suggested framework for the study of intermarriage:

In building up a framework for the study of intermarriage it is useful to consider marriage as a progression of events, involving certain social units, and taking place in the dimensions of society and time. It is with the characteristics of these units, the processes that link them together and their interactions with society that we are concerned.

The units involved are the individual, the married couple, and the offspring of the marriage. (It may sometimes be relevant to combine the last two into one unit - the nuclear family.)

The processes with which we are concerned are those of getting married (which may conveniently be broken up into mixing, meeting, dating, courting and engagement), and the marriage itself (which may involve adjustments and variations as the nuclear family develops and disperses). At each stage in this process the interactions between the couple and their children and the various segments of society must be examined.

Thus, in the first part of this study I deal with the characteristics of the individual spouse and of the couple, while in the second I trace the process of "getting married", dealing with the reactions of the community at

the different stages. In the third part I am concerned with the marriage itself, the relationships between the spouses and between them and society. Finally in the fourth part I examine the place of the children and the way in which the mixed racial backgrounds of such individuals has, in the past, affected their place in society.

Definition of categories:

A racial criterion was taken to define the two racial categories concerned, partly because this made the location of informants easier, partly because I was interested in reactions to intermarriage and considered that the reaction would probably be more in terms of the race of a prospective spouse than in terms of his culture, and partly because the racial classification is the more inclusive (not all individuals racially Maori are culturally Maori, but there are very few who are culturally Maori but not racially so). I had never heard of a case of an adverse reaction to an individual because of his Maori cultural affiliation unless he also was racially Maori.

I therefore define as a Maori "anyone with Maori ancestry who is identifiable as such, either by appearance, behaviour or foreknowledge." I use the term "Pakeha" to mean "any New Zealand resident of European ancestry", and it should be noted that this includes European immigrants.

However, both in creating a useful typology of mixed marriages and in discussing the relationships between the spouses and between them and society it has been necessary to introduce cultural concepts of Maori and Pakeha. Thus, although I define Maoris and Pakehas in racial terms I also speak of individuals as being culturally Maori or culturally Pakeha, indicating by this that they tend to behave and react in the manner normally associated with the Maori or Pakeha races. Exactly what characteristics are involved in this are discussed in Chapter III. It can be assumed that when the terms Maori and Pakeha appear in isolation they refer to the racial definition. Whenever I use them to indicate cultures this is explicitly stated or unambiguously implied by the context.

#### Collection of data:

Until recently, the urban community in which most intermarriage occurs has been considered the domain of the sociologist and as one would expect most of the studies of intermarriage made to date have been made by sociologists. This has meant that the material for these studies has been collected to a large extent by questionnaires or from existing records and statements. A notable exception to this is Golden who in his study of Negro-White intermarriage interviewed directly fifty couples.



Today the social anthropologist is encroaching more on the traditional feeding grounds of the sociologist and his techniques are of particular value in the study of such a topic as intermarriage. The advantages of using several different approaches and borrowing from the techniques of other disciplines have been forcefully propounded by Freedman (1963) and it seemed equally useful in the study here presented to utilise several different techniques, at least for the collection of data.

The biggest disadvantage in the method of the Social Anthropologist lies in the smallness of his sample and the possibility of distortion because of this. It is therefore much more difficult to generalise from his results.

Most of my data was obtained from interviews with intermarried couples living in Auckland. I had some contact with 104 such couples in most cases having opportunities to talk with both spouses, sometimes separately and sometimes together. The 73 couples from whom I collected most complete data constitute what I call in the text my "main sample". This was not a random sample, but some trouble was taken to ensure that it was representative. The various methods by which I made contact with these couples ensured that they represented a variety of types and statuses. In addition to these cases there were another

20 or more in which I received indirect information about married or courting couples. I also had a number of subsidiary interviews with members of the community, both Maori and Pakeha, who were in a position to observe the functioning of mixed courting and marriage.

I had also 17 informants who were able to give me in some detail genealogical information relating to the descendants of historically early mixed marriages, and in 9 of these cases considerable detail on the lives of the descendants.

I carried out observations of the mixing of young people at schools, teachers' training colleges, dance halls, and in the central entertainment area of the city. In some schools I had opportunities to interview the teaching staff, and at one of the training colleges I was able to carry out a detailed investigation by questionnaire and interview.

Finally, I had access to the records of the Auckland Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages and was able to obtain information on the mixed marriages which had occurred in a number of sample years.

#### Historical and Sociological background:

The accompanying paper (Harré: 1963) gives a background to the themes to be discussed in this study and



there is little point in repeating it here. However, in the section of the paper where I discussed the relative social positions of the races I intentionally avoided, as far as possible, conclusions not related to statistical data and so I will summarise the main points below including some relevant comment.

1. The Maori population, which is still predominantly rural in residence, is increasing much more rapidly than the non-Maori, and as a result of this we find an age structure heavily balanced towards the younger age groups and rapid movement to the towns, in particular to Auckland (see Metge: 1958).
2. Although Maori health has been improved considerably in recent years, as a group they are less healthy, with a tendency towards respiratory and gastric ailments.
3. Maoris more often find employment in unskilled, lower status jobs, but are not excluded or absent from skilled and professional positions.
4. They belong more predominantly, but not exclusively to the lower income groups. However, the range of incomes in New Zealand is not wide and wage rates do not vary with the race of the employee.

5. Maoris are in general more poorly housed, a situation brought about in part by their lower incomes and the rural nature of their residence.
6. In the city their poor housing is also in part a result of discrimination by landlords and of the fact that, as an immigrant group, they tend to move first to the region of poorest housing.
7. Opportunities for education are the same in theory for both races, but in practice the Maori group is faced with a social and economic situation which retards the education of its youth.
8. Although the majority of Maoris follow the same religions as Pakehas, some are able to emphasise their Maori identity by belonging to a Maori separatist church, and others have joined the Church of the Latter Day Saints which provides special educational opportunities for its followers.
9. The processes of social control tend to be less effective in the case of Maoris who consequently appear more often in the courts.

The way in which all these factors affect and are affected by prejudice and discrimination will emerge as the study progresses - indeed one of the purposes of a study

of intermarriage was to discover the state of race relations in Auckland.

Nearly all the cases which I will discuss relate to people living in the Auckland "area", that is in the City of Auckland or one of the contiguous boroughs that form its suburbs (see Map 1, p. 21 ) Auckland occupies most of the Tamaki Isthmus, which divides the Province of Auckland in half. It has straggled out north, south and west in its efforts to provide each household with its much prized "section"<sup>(3)</sup> and bungalow-type house.

The shopping, commercial and entertainment activities of the city are centred on the main street, Queen Street, which runs down a northward facing valley to the wharves. Over the western ridge of this valley lies one of the oldest residential areas of Auckland. The wooden houses of Freemans Bay and the fringe of Ponsonby, some of which were long ago the high status homes of Auckland have mostly fallen into disrepair. Many have been demolished to make way for high density housing in blocks of flats, and light industry which operates in an assortment of buildings from corrugated iron sheds to modern, architect-designed factories. However,

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3. A section is the name given by New Zealanders to the plot of land on which a house is built. Ownership of a section is usually the first aim of every engaged or newly married couple.

Map 1

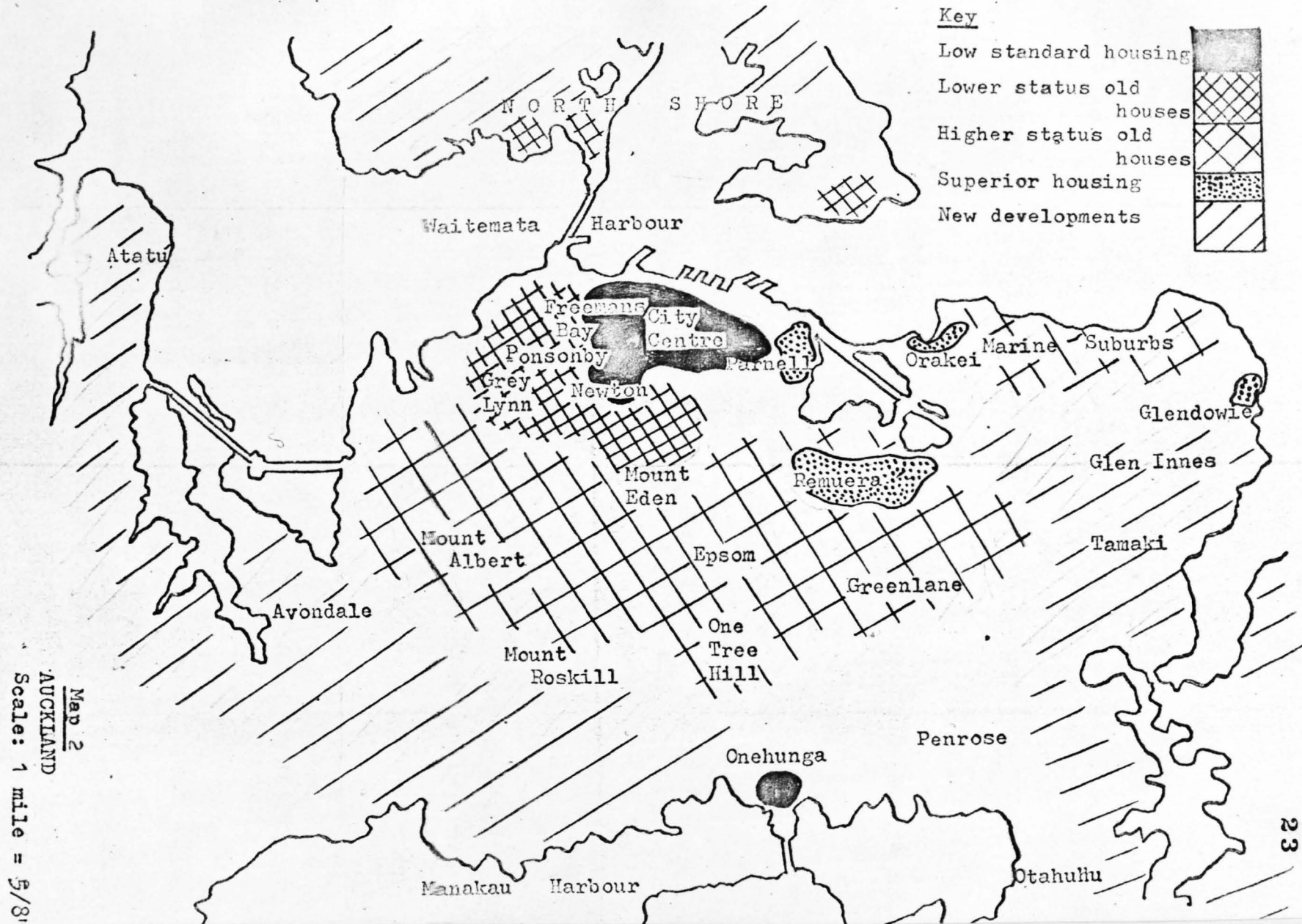
Sketch map showing the  
Auckland "area" (shaded)  
and surrounding towns.



enough of the older generation of houses remain to warrant classifying this as a residential area. Most of these houses are decrepit with inadequate facilities, but every now and then one comes upon a house which has been carefully preserved and meticulously kept. Immediately to the south of the city another gully contains a similar area, Newton and Eden Terrace, and a third, Parnell, is just beyond the Eastern ridge of Queen Street. The percentage of Maori residents in these areas is high and many of my mixed married informants were resident here. The population here is very mobile and to many it is something of a transit camp.

To the immediate west and southwest of these areas (see Map 2, p. 23 for demarcation of residential areas), described by Pool as the "decadent centre" (Pool: 1959) are large numbers of small wooden bungalows mostly still in good repair but showing the effects of their thirty to forty years of life.

Moving out further from the centre we come upon a wide belt to the south, west and east containing a better class of house occasionally of brick and often with a tiled roof instead of the more usual corrugated iron. Within this belt are pockets of superior housing notably in the suburbs of Epsom, Remuera and parts of Orakei and Mission





Bay. Parts of this belt, in particular the suburb of Orakei have been developed by the government as state housing estates.<sup>(4)</sup> The houses are often of brick and usually have tiled roofs. They are mostly detached and although there is a certain drab sameness about the architecture they are not usually exact replicas of each other. Some of these houses have since been purchased from the government by the tenants following recent legislation. There are few Maoris resident here and only a small proportion of my informants lived in these suburbs.

The majority of the state houses lie within the next belt of recent development mainly in the suburbs of Tamaki and Glen Innes beside the estuary which almost cuts the isthmus in two. The majority of the houses in the new development are owned by their residents, but usually with a government mortgage representing a large proportion of the value of the property.<sup>(5)</sup> The Tamaki area has a high proportion of Maori residents and supplied me with many of my informants. The same was true to a lesser extent of

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4. That is, homes built and owned by the government and rented out.
  5. Government mortgages are available at interest rates of as low as 3 per cent.

the rest of the new development arc.

This picture is of course over-simplified, but will serve to give some idea of the general physical picture of the Auckland isthmus. The notable exceptions to the general pattern given are pockets of superior housing in Parnell and Glendowie; and the older borough of Onehunga, lying on the less useful of Auckland's two harbours, the Manakau. Onehunga is in many respects a smaller replica of Auckland City.

The artificial land pressure created by everyone's desire for his quarter or fifth of an acre section has resulted in the expanding population being spewed out through the narrow outlets to the west and south and across the newly built harbour bridge to the north. These new suburbs, mostly of privately owned homes, often built by big contractors and usually indirectly financed by the government have submerged older outlying boroughs and, where it has been expeditious for the speculator to create them, contain pockets of superior housing. The southern development area contains one large suburb, Otara, which is being developed by the government with small terrace units of four to six houses as well as small blocks of flats and detached bungalows. As in other new housing areas there is a general sprinkling of Maori housing caused partly by the "pepper pot"



policy of the Department of Maori Affairs which ensures that Maori residents sponsored by them are not clustered in groups, but are dispersed throughout a community.

The residents of each housing area are relatively homogeneous with respect to occupational status and income. However, it is not unusual to find a house or family out of context in this respect. The main exception is with Maori families or mixed Maori-Pakeha families who often find difficulties in getting accommodation in keeping with their occupational status.

Very broadly speaking, the occupants of the "decadent centre" are unskilled labourers and other manual workers, with a sprinkling of tradesmen. The same occupations are represented in Ponsonby and neighbouring suburbs but the individuals in this case are more permanent in their residence. Here also may be found the owners of small businesses and lower income white collar workers. These latter are also well represented in the old established middle area which, however, contains mostly better paid clerical workers, sales workers, minor professionals and the owners of middle range businesses. Executives, professionals and the owners of larger businesses usually live in the pockets of superior housing such as Remuera, Parnell, Glendowie, etc.

The new housing arc contains a cross-section of all the above but there is a tendency for segregation into income groups because of the pricing of the sections. The distance from the city centre, the quality of the land, orientation to sun, and view are the most important factors affecting section prices in new developments. There have been some recent (successful) attempts to establish superior suburbs by providing high class amenities on some new subdivisions and pricing the sections very highly.

Briefly, the intermarried couples and families live mostly in areas with a relatively high Maori population (3 to 10 per cent), and these areas are located chiefly in the centre of the city and the outer rim. Few live in the pockets of superior housing, but rather more find homes in the second ranks of the old established middle area.

PART ONE

TYPES OF MIXED MARRIAGES AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE  
SPOUSES

Chapter II: Patterns of Intermarriage.

Chapter III: Characteristics of mixed  
marriages in the main sample.

Chapter IV: Some representative cases.

## CHAPTER II: PATTERNS OF INTERMARRIAGE.

In this chapter I look at the incidence and forms of mixed marriages in the region covered by the Auckland Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, and at the characteristics of these intermarrying spouses, to the extent that this is possible from official records.<sup>(1)</sup>

As race is not specified in either the Marriage Notices or Register, it has been necessary to establish the races of the spouses by reference to their names and places of birth. Recognition of races other than Maori and New Zealand born Pakeha is readily done by this method. In differentiating between Maoris and New Zealand born Pakehas the following

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1. The statistics discussed in this chapter were derived from the records of marriages kept at the office of the Auckland Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages. Information regarding weddings conducted by the registrar is contained in the Marriage Register which was accessible for all years discussed. Information regarding weddings conducted by ministers of religion was derived from the Marriage Notices (the forms of application for marriage licenses) which were available for only 1960 of the years discussed. Hence the discussion of 1960 marriages is based on all marriages registered at this office, but the comparisons between 1895, 1910, 1935, 1950 and 1960 is confined to marriages actually conducted by the registrar.

Both the register and the marriage notices contain the following information: Surname, age, profession or occupation, conjugal status, usual residence, birthplace, Christian names or first names and surname of both parents, occupation of father, maiden surname of mother. In addition the date and place of the ceremony are stated, and in the case of church weddings the denomination or religion is also stated.

assumptions have been made:

1. If a Maori name (either christian or surname) is held by a spouse or by either of his or her parents, then that spouse is a Maori.
2. If neither the spouse nor his or her parents have any Maori names then that spouse is a Pakeha.

It is contended that this system is at least 90% accurate in locating mixed marriages (see Appendix I, p.320). It is necessary to consider all the conclusions of this chapter in terms of this approximation, and also to note that in many of the tables the sample analysed is small.

Mixed marriages as a proportion of all 1960 marriages.

Of the 3,868 marriages registered in Auckland in 1960, 3,280 (85%) were between Pakehas, 169 (4.4%) were between Maoris, 245 (7.5%) were between a Maori and a Pakeha, while the remaining 174 (4.5%) were between other combinations (mostly in-group marriages between Cook Islanders or Chinese, or marriages between people not normally resident in New Zealand). The implications of these figures are seen more clearly when they are presented in a different form: 3.7% of the Pakehas who married in Auckland in 1960 married Maoris, and 42% of the Maoris who married, married Pakehas. These figures are very much higher than would be anticipated

by most Pakehas but did not come as a surprise to most of my Maori informants.

These figures do not yet indicate a situation approaching random choice, for there are approximately 4.4 Maoris to every 100 non-Maoris in the Auckland Metropolitan area (Population Census: 1961, pp. 17, 18.) However they back up the assertions made elsewhere in this thesis that, although there are incentives to marriage within the racial groups (positive in terms of in-group marriage and negative in terms of inter-marriage), they are not strong enough to stop large numbers of individuals from making mixed marriages.

#### Mixed marriages in terms of sex and race.

103 of the 1960 mixed marriages were between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman while 142 were between a Pakeha man and a Maori woman. This is not explicable on demographic grounds as each race shows an almost equal surplus of females. (Maoris: 102.5 females to every 100 males. Non-Maoris: 102.8 females to every 100 males.) In fact, as the non-Maori population is much the larger, one would expect the greater number of marriages to be between Maori men and Pakeha women. (2) In Chapter V, I suggest reasons why this

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2. The 2.8 per hundred surplus of Pakeha females represents approximately 20,000 individuals, while the 2.5 per 100 surplus of Maori females represents approximately 2,000 individuals. This leaves approximately 18,000 more Pakeha females than Maoris theoretically available to Maori men.



should not be so.

The place of immigrants to New Zealand.

A balance in favour of the European male - indigenous female relationship is normally typical of the early stages of a colonization process (see Freyre: 1946; Romanzo Adams: 1937; and Little: 1947), and it is perhaps significant that in Auckland the imbalance is greater for immigrant Pakehas than for New Zealand born Pakehas. 79.5% of the immigrant Pakehas who married Maoris were males, while only 52.5% of New Zealand born Pakehas who made similar marriages were. I suggest elsewhere that this is partly because the immigrant men (and in 1959 they outnumbered the immigrant women by 6,262) find the New Zealand born Pakeha women more prejudiced against them than are Maori women. Also, a large number of the immigrant men who marry Maoris are (or recently have been) seamen, and their initial contact with Auckland is in the areas adjacent to the docks which have a high proportion of Maori residents. (3)

Immigrant Pakehas in general are more prone to marry Maoris than are New Zealand born, but this is more

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3. In 1961 Auckland City had 5.6% of its population Maori against 4.4% for the whole Metropolitan Area (1961 Interim Census, pp. 17 & 18).

noticeable for men than for women. 27.5% of Pakeha men and 9.7% of Pakeha women who married Maoris in 1960 were immigrants, while all immigrants from 1954-59 represent only 5.3% of the population. (Year Book: 1960, p.58.)

It is possible that immigrants into New Zealand either misunderstand or are ignorant of the mores of New Zealand born Pakehas and are predisposed towards Maoris as marriage partners. Both the reputation of New Zealand as a country where there is racial equality and the romantic position held by the Polynesians in European literature probably contribute to this. It is also possible that the absence of kinsfolk may assist a mixed courtship. All my informants who were immigrants were separated from their parents and most from all close relatives. Ignorance of the mores of the host community has been mentioned by Cayton and Drake as a factor in the marriages between foreign born whites and Negroes in Chicago (Cayton and Drake: 1946).

The countries of origin of the immigrants who marry Maoris (see Table 1, p.34 ) are of a similar range and frequency to that of all immigrants.

#### Type of ceremony.

Although the majority (56.7%) of mixed marriages were conducted by ministers of religion, this is a much lower proportion than that for total Auckland marriages



Table 1

Countries of origin of immigrants who married Maoris.

Country of origin <sup>(4)</sup>	Male	Female	Total
England	20	6	26
Scotland	2	1	3
Wales	1	0	1
Ireland	2	0	2
British Isles	25	7	32
Australia	4	2	6
South Africa	1	0	1
Rhodesia	0	1	1
Norfolk Island	1	0	1
Fiji	1	0	1
Commonwealth other than Britain	7	3	10
Holland	2	0	2
Hungary	2	0	2
Denmark	1	0	1
Czechoslovakia	1	0	1
Europe	6	0 <sup>(5)</sup>	6
United States of America	1	0	1

Table 2

Mixed marriages in terms of occupational statuses.

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Number	0	0	5	25	60	114	41	245
Percentage	0.0	0.0	2.0	10.2	24.5	46.5	16.7	100.1 <sup>(6)</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The number for England contains one man of English extraction born in India, and the number for Holland contains one man of Dutch extraction born in Java.

<sup>5</sup>It is difficult to say whether this figure has any special significance as the relative numbers of males and females who have immigrated from Europe were not available.

<sup>6</sup>In most cases percentages are taken as correct to one decimal place and so they do not always total 100 exactly.

(approximately 77%). It is probable that this difference is due, at least in part, to a tendency for the mixed marriage to lack the full approval of one or both kinship groups.

If this is so, further analysis in terms of race indicates that the Maori attitude to mixed marriages is more permissive than is the Pakeha. For, although a slightly higher proportion of the Maoris who marry in church than of the Maoris who marry in the registry office marry Pakehas, proportionately more of the Pakehas who marry in the Registry Office than of those who marry in a church, marry Maoris.

The fact that more of the Pakeha women who marry Maori men (62.2%) get married in church than do the Pakeha men who marry Maori women (52.8%) might suggest that there is less opposition to the Pakeha woman who makes a mixed marriage than to the Pakeha man, although it may not be reasonable to compare men and women in this way. This is brought about to some extent by the fact that immigrants, probably because of their lack of kinsfolk are less likely to marry in church, and this group contains more men than women.

### Occupational status.

Observations on the occupation status of mixed married couples are limited by the vagueness with which occupations are specified on the marriage notices and in the register. Terms such as "farmer" and "company representative" for example, can cover a wide range of statuses. The assessments which I have made (see Table 2, p. 34 ) are based on the Congalton-Havighurst Scale (Congalton and Havighurst: 1954). The following are samples of occupations within each of their categories:

1. Doctor, solicitor, owner or director of large business.
2. Clergyman, dentist, company manager, large farm owner.
3. Secondary school teacher, departmental manager, postmaster.
4. Primary school teacher, owner of small business, foreman.
5. Tenant farmer, salesman, motor mechanic.
6. Farm labourer, shop assistant, lorry driver, factory operative.
7. Labourer, barman, waitress.

The status I have allotted to each marriage is the status of the man, but I have adjusted this slightly if there is a large disparity between the occupations of the spouses.

This material becomes more meaningful if some of these categories are combined to give a three way division. Reference will therefore be made to three basic occupational

statuses. My higher status category incorporates Conglaton and Havighurst's 1,2,3 & 4. It thus contains all professionals, proprietors and managers, skilled workers with their own businesses and the higher section of office and sales workers. My middle status category is their 5. It thus contains most office and sales workers and the higher section of wage earning skilled workers. My lower status category incorporates their 6 & 7. It thus contains the rest of the wage earning manual workers.

Distribution in these terms is given in Table 3 (see p. 38 ) but the data are not available to make a comparison between this and the normal distribution.

There is some relation between the occupational status of the spouses and whether the marriage is between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman or between a Pakeha man and a Maori woman as is demonstrated in Table 4 (see p. 38 ).

In the higher and lower status categories marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women are comparatively more frequent than those between Pakeha men and Maori women, while the reverse is true of the middle status category.

The tendency for a greater proportion of Maori men to be in lower status occupations than of Pakeha men is a possible explanation of the distribution in the middle and lower status categories, but the reason for the

Table 3Mixed marriages in terms of occupational statuses (revised ratings).

Status	Number	Percentage
High	30	12.2
Middle	60	24.5
Low	155	63.2
Total	245	99.9

Table 4Types of mixed marriages in terms of occupational statuses.

Status	Maori man married to Pakeha woman		Pakeha man married to Maori woman	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
High	14	13.6	16	11.3
Middle	20	19.4	40	28.2
Low	69	67.0	86	60.6
Total	103	100.0	142	100.1

Table 5Age at marriage.

	Men	Women
New Zealand average age	28.6	25.1
Maori spouses in mixed marriages	24.4	24.0
Pakeha spouses in mixed marriages	27.3	21.1

distribution in the higher status category cannot be found in these terms and will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

### Residence and birthplace.

In 233 or 95.1% of the marriages one or both of the spouses were resident in Auckland at the time of their application for a license. This indicates that we are dealing predominantly with normal Auckland marriages and not with an undue number of "runaway marriages" from the country and other towns. There is no way of telling how long any individual has been resident in Auckland.

A minority of the Maori spouses (66 or 26.9%) were born in Auckland, but this is as expected in the light of the general movements of population (Harré: 1963, p.13). However, it is surprising that only 85 (43.4%) of the New Zealand born Pakehas concerned were born in Auckland. Without knowing whether these Pakehas were reared in the country or left at an early age, or whether they moved on their own into the city or with their parents it is difficult to draw any conclusions from these figures on their own. The figures are approximately the same for men and women (men: 41.7%, women: 45.2%), the slightly higher numbers of women being as expected with their younger average age (see p.38 ). A breakdown into age



and sex groups shows a slightly higher proportion of Auckland born in the younger age groups (e.g. 49.1% of Pakeha women under 21) which again is as expected.

### Age at marriage.

The average age at marriage is lower for mixed marriages than for all marriages and this is most evident for Maori men and their Pakeha wives (see Table 5, p.38 ).

Table 6 (see p.41 ) indicates that there is also a tendency for Pakeha men who marry Maori women to differ more in age from their spouses than do the Maori men who marry Pakeha women and than the New Zealand average. Further than this, there are more cases of the man being older than the woman amongst the marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women, and they are older by a greater average amount as is shown in Table 7 (see p.41 ). The age differences become more pronounced if we look specifically at cases where there are ten or more years' difference (see Table 8, p.41 ).

The significance of the ages of the spouses becomes clearer if the information is broken down into various age groups as in Table 9 (see p.42 ). It can be seen here that the low average age of the Maori men and Pakeha women who marry one another is brought about by the comparatively very large number who marry under 21. In the case of the

Table 6Difference in average ages of spouses.

(Men older than women)

	Average age difference	Average age difference of cases where men are older than women
New Zealand average	3.5	-
Pakeha men married to Maori women	5.0	5.7
Maori men married to Pakeha women	3.3	4.7

Table 7Cases where bride is older than groom.

	Number of cases	Percentage of total	Average age difference
Pakeha man married to Maori woman	25	17.6	4.3
Maori man married to Pakeha woman	13	12.6	2.2

Table 8Extreme age differences

	Groom older	Bride older
Pakeha man married to Maori woman	15(10.6%)	3(2.1%)
Maori man married to Pakeha woman	8 (7.8%)	0(0.0%)

Table 9Number of spouses in various age groups at time of marriage.

	Under 21	21-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
Percentage of all men who married	9.5	39.1	25.8	10.2	4.8	2.7	7.8
Percentage of Maori men who married	24.3	39.8	23.3	3.9	5.8	1.9	1.0
Pakeha women							
Percentage of Pakeha men who married	13.4	34.5	23.2	12.0	9.9	2.8	4.2
Maori women							
Percentage of all women who married	37.7	34.3	11.5	5.1	3.5	2.4	5.5
Percentage of Pakeha women who married	61.1	27.2	3.9	1.9	3.9	1.9	0.0
Maori men							
Percentage of Maori women who married	33.8	32.4	19.7	6.3	4.9	2.1	0.7
Pakeha men							

Table 10Spouses previously divorced or widowed.

	Percentage of each category divorced	Percentage of each category widowed
All New Zealand men	6.5	4.8
Maori men married to Pakeha women	5.8	1.0
Pakeha men married to Maori women	7.0	4.2
All New Zealand women	6.8	4.6
Pakeha women married to Maori men	1.0	1.0
Maori women married to Pakeha men	6.3	3.5

Maori men the proportions at other ages, except 45+ are comparable with the New Zealand average, while in the case of the Pakeha women there are consistently fewer in all other age groups except the 35-39. In the case of nearly all the higher age groups the numbers involved are so small that they lack much significance.

The proportion of the Pakeha men and their Maori wives in the various age groups is close to that of the national average. In contrast to the Pakeha women, the Maori women are more poorly represented in the two lowest age groups than are New Zealand women in general. This is possibly because they do not enter Auckland until they are older, while the younger Maori men must come for work.

In terms of age, then, there is a marked difference between marriages involving Pakeha men and Maori women and those involving Maori men and Pakeha women. Not only do the Pakeha grooms exceed the age of their brides by a greater amount than do the Maori grooms, but there are more who exceed by a very large amount. Their wives, even so, are older, and in cases where the Maori wife is older than her Pakeha husband she is older by a greater amount. The Pakeha women who marry Maoris are very young. Nearly two thirds are minors and about 90% are under 25. Their Maori husbands also are slightly younger than the average.

One possible implication from these statements is that in all cases (except perhaps that of Maori women) members of the younger age groups are more prone to inter-marry than are members of the older. Further, although there are still more marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women than between Maori men and Pakeha women the age distribution would suggest that the balance is likely to change. This prediction of change is substantiated by information given towards the end of this chapter (see p.51 ).

Most of the Pakeha women marry their Maori husbands at an age when they are probably more concerned with physical attractions and casual sexual experience than with economic potential. Older Pakeha women are perhaps more concerned with the social and economic disadvantages of marrying a Maori. The age where the proportion of Pakeha men marrying Maori women is proportionately greatest is from thirty to forty-four. It is at this age, when a man is most concerned with his spouse as a housewife and mother, and, as is pointed out elsewhere, the Maori woman is often conceived as having advantages in those spheres.

#### Marital status at marriage.

The distribution of divorcees and widows amongst mixed marrying spouses (see Table 10, p.42 ) is consistent with the age structure of the groups. The slightly larger

percentage of Pakeha men who are divorcees may indicate that they find it easier to choose a second mate from the Maori group than from the Pakeha. This may imply that although the Maori woman is indifferent to the status of her husband, or perhaps is looking to gain status by marrying a Pakeha, the same social pressures are not at work on the Maori man.

#### Changes over time.

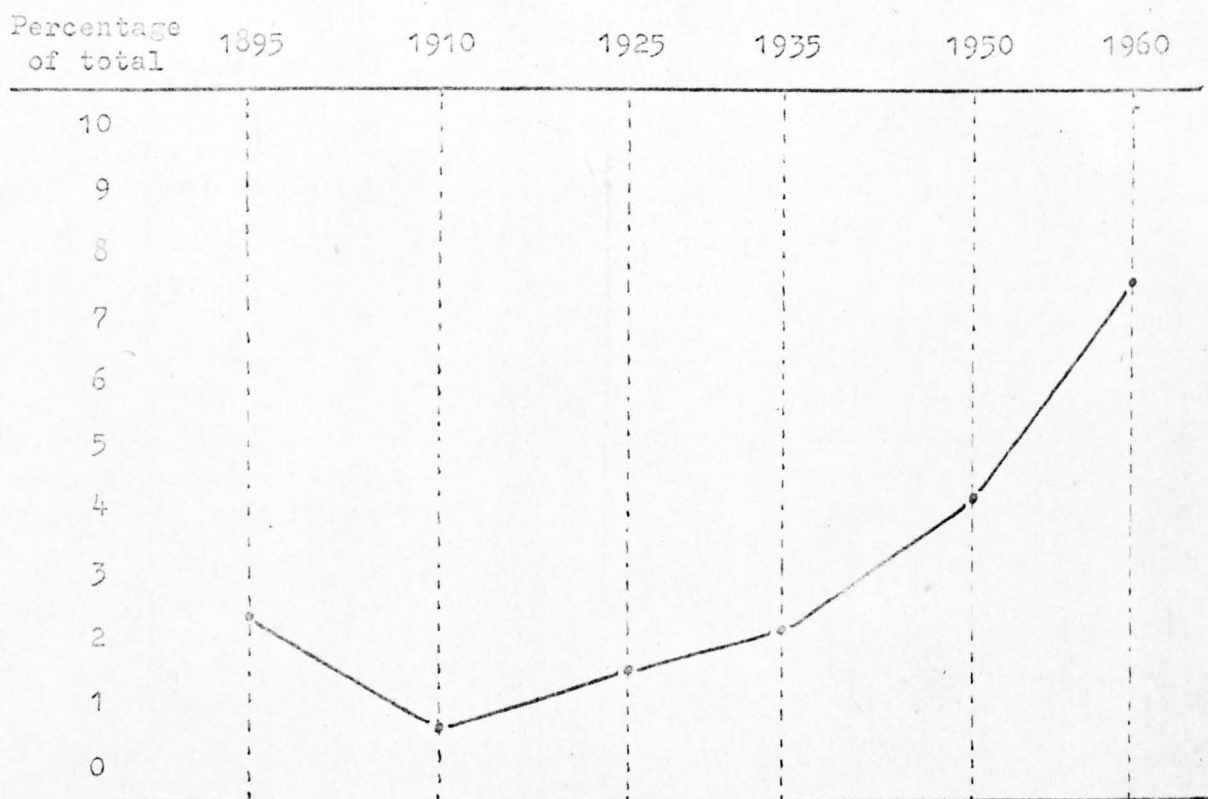
A comparison between the numbers of mixed marriages as a proportion of all marriages conducted by the Auckland Registrar for the years 1895, 1910, 1925, 1935, 1950 and 1960<sup>(7)</sup> indicates that since 1910 it has been rising steadily and that 1910 was possibly a low point (see Fig.1, p. 46 ).

Since World War II the increase has been more pronounced than before. The numbers involved in the earliest years noted are so small that it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions from them which are not supported elsewhere.

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7. The slightly uneven spacing between these sample years is brought about by the avoidance of the crisis years of the two World Wars in which unusual factors may distort the picture.



Fig. 1Changes in the ratio of mixed marriages to all marriages.Table 11Types of mixed marriages.

	1950	1960
Percentages of mixed marriages that were between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman	27.2	36.8
Percentage of mixed marriages that were between a Pakeha man and a Maori woman	72.8	63.2

If the figures as shown in Fig.1. do approximate reality it is possible that they indicate variations in the rate of intermarriage very close to the variations in the amount of contact between the two races. In the last century both groups were predominantly rural and there would be likely to have been more contact than in the early years of this century when, with the Maori still withdrawn as a result of the wars, the Pakeha became increasingly a city dweller. From the time of the first world war, however, the Maori began to move to the towns and thus contact opportunities again increased, the most spectacular period being during and after World War II.

Unfortunately the numbers of marriages in years prior to 1950 are so small that any further breakdown into characteristics of the spouses and types of marriage would have very little validity.

The comparison that follows will therefore be between 1950 and 1960 and, as mentioned above, in terms of Registry Office marriages only.

Between 1950 and 1960 there was a marked increase in the proportion of mixed marriages which were between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman (see Table 11, p.46 ), and further analysis in terms of age, race and sex locates this change more specifically in the youngest age group (see Table 12, p.48 ).

Table 12Percentages of spouses in various age groups at time of marriage.

		Under21	21-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
Percentage of Maori men who married	1950	6.3	25.0	50.0	12.5	6.3	0.0	0.0
Pakeha women	1960	25.6	30.8	25.6	5.1	7.7	2.6	2.6
Percentage of Pakeha men who married	1950	4.7	26.6	27.9	11.6	7.0	16.3	7.0
Maori women	1960	13.4	26.9	19.4	16.4	14.9	4.5	4.5
Percentage of Pakeha women who married	1950	12.5	50.0	6.3	12.5	12.5	6.3	0.0
Maori men	1960	64.0	23.1	2.6	2.6	5.1	2.6	0.0
Percentage of Maori women who married	1950	30.2	30.2	16.3	4.7	7.0	7.0	4.7
Pakeha men	1960	22.4	26.9	29.8	7.5	8.9	3.0	1.5

Table 13Occupational status.

(Figures in brackets are actual numbers)

Occupational status	1950	1960
High	8.5%(5)	5.7%(6)
Middle	22.0%(13)	17.0%(18)
Low	69.5%(41)	77.3%(82)

Table 14Occupational status and type of marriage.

Occupational status	1950		1960	
	Maori man married to Pakeha woman	Pakeha man married to Maori woman	Maori man married to Pakeha woman	Pakeha man married to Maori woman
High	6.3%(1)	9.3%(4)	2.6%(1)	7.5%(5)
Middle	6.2%(1)	27.9%(12)	10.3%(4)	20.9%(14)
Low	87.5%(14)	62.8%(27)	87.2%(34)	71.7%(48)

It is probably true to say that the rapid increase in intermarriage is a result of many more young Pakeha girls marrying Maori men.

The proportion of mixed marriages involving immigrants increased between 1950 and 1960 from 20.3% to 25.0%. This is much as expected as the number of arrivals each year has increased from 35,946 in 1949 to 83,648 in 1959 (with a slight recession between 1952 and 1956).

A comparison in terms of occupational status (see Tables 13 and 14, p.48 ) indicates a swing towards marriages involving spouses of lower status and this appears to be more marked in marriages involving Pakeha men and Maori women.

However, a comparison between Registry Office and Total marriages in 1960 (see Table 15, p.50 ) indicates that it would be unwise to generalise in terms of occupational status from Registry Office marriages alone as there is a tendency for higher status individuals to marry in a church ceremony.

A general analysis in terms of age and pre-marital status indicates that the characteristics of the group involving Maori men and Pakeha women have changed most. In contrast to the situation described for 1960, in 1950 25% of the Pakeha women were divorcees, nearly half were older than their husbands and only 2 (12.5%) were minors. This is a state of affairs much closer to those described elsewhere

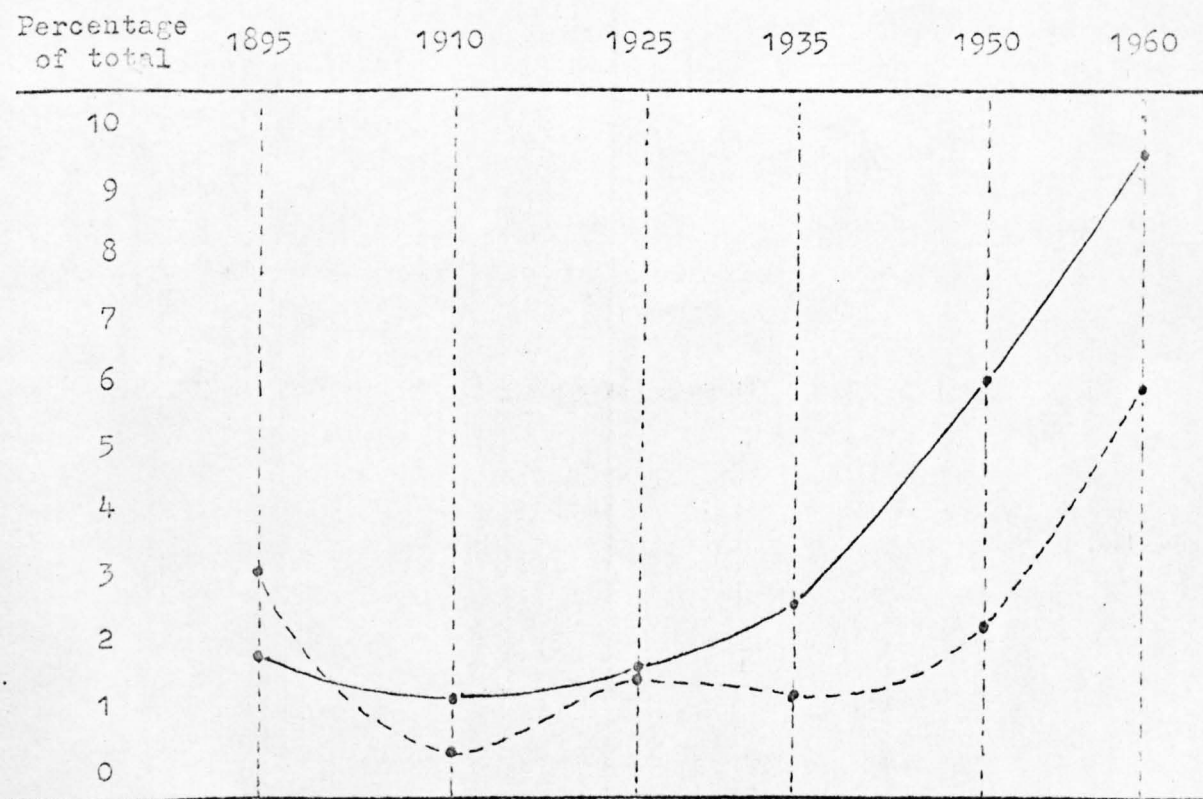
Table 15

Comparison between registry and total marriages in 1960.

Occupational status.	Registry Office	Total marriages
High	5.7%	12.2%
Middle	17.0%	24.5%
Low	77.3%	63.3%

Fig. 2

Comparison between the two types of marriage.



Key: Pakeha men married to Maori women: —————

Maori men married to Pakeha women: - - - - -

in areas of considerable social discrimination. The characteristics of the Maori women have changed least of all.

A possible conclusion from these trends is that marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women should be treated as different in type from marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women. It is possible that the former occur irrespective of general social changes while the latter may be more sensitive to these changes. Some support for this notion is given by the results of separately graphing the two types of marriages for all the years under review<sup>(8)</sup> (see Fig.2, p. 50 ).

Several linked explanations are possible to explain the proportionate increases in marriage between Maori men and Pakeha women.

1. Age: In general the age of marriage is dropping. If it is so that younger Pakeha women are more susceptible to marriage with Maori men then the rise would be expected.
2. Economic factors: As has already been mentioned it is possible that younger Pakeha women are less concerned with the economic potential of their husbands than are

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8. This must be taken as very tentative for, as previously mentioned, the figures in early years are so small that such analysis may be unreliable.



older Pakeha women. Alternatively it may be that the young Maori man is now a "better bet" economically than he was 10 years ago. The high rates of pay for unskilled workers make this so, and there is also the fact that the Maori men who marry Pakeha women tend to have greater representation in occupations of higher status (see Table 4, p.38 ).

3. Social attitudes: Two types of social change could assist in bringing about the situation being discussed. It may be the result of an all round improvement in race relations (and this is supported by the fact that in no case did a Pakeha girl who was a minor have to obtain a court order to marry her Maori fiance) or it may be that Pakeha women of a certain age were always susceptible to intermarriage and it is only recently that they have been able successfully to defy their parents.

Studies of specific cases in subsequent chapters will throw light on these questions.

### Divorces.

By 1961, 91 of the 590 marriages conducted by the Auckland registrar in 1925 had ended in divorce. 89 of these were marriages between Pakehas and 2 were mixed marriages.

Of the 1950 marriages 5 mixed marriages had ended in divorce by 1961 compared with 61 other marriages.

All 7 cases of divorce recorded were in marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women.

Although the numbers involved here are very small they do indicate that mixed marriages are not specially liable to break down and that marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women are possibly more successful than both in-group marriages and mixed marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women.

### CHAPTER III: CHARACTERISTICS OF MIXED MARRIAGES IN THE MAIN SAMPLE

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In analysing the characteristics of the mixed marriages in my main sample it became apparent that there were two sets of factors which were meaningful in creating a typology. One of these was the usual division made between marriages involving Maori men and Pakeha women, on the one hand, and Pakeha men and Maori women, on the other. Of equal, or perhaps even greater importance was whether the marriage was what I will call fully mixed or only what I will call racially mixed.

By a fully mixed marriage I mean one where the spouses are not only of different racial origins but also follow the customs and hold the values more especially associated with their race as a cultural category. The marriage is thus mixed in both racial and cultural terms.

When I describe a marriage as only racially mixed I mean that, although the spouses are of different racial origin, they have a common set of values and approximate each other in customary behaviour.<sup>(1)</sup> It is impossible to draw hard

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1. The discussion here is in terms of the situation at the time of marriage. There are many situations where a cultural adjustment is made during the course of married life, and these are discussed in Part III.

and fast lines to demark different cultural affiliations and my decision as to whether any individual should be classified as having a Maori or Pakeha cultural affiliation was usually taken from my general knowledge of their way of life, rather than from a detailed computation of characteristics. However it may be useful to state the sort of factors which serve to differentiate Maoris from Pakehas in cultural terms.

The first set of factors are those which largely constitute the stereotype Maori from a Pakeha viewpoint, but which never-the-less do serve to some extent to mark off the individual who is culturally Maori, particularly when associated with some of the other factors mentioned below. The most obvious of these is dress. Many Maoris dress in styles and colour schemes which not only are not worn by most Pakehas but on which Pakehas are likely to pass an unfavourable value judgement. There is a strong tendency for Maoris to favour music with a high rhythmic content and to live with this music to a much greater degree than do Pakehas. Finally there is family size. Maori families tend to be larger and the children more closely spaced than those of Pakehas. It must be stressed again that on their own these factors do not make a Maori in cultural terms - in fact they are all associated with

low socio-economic status as well; but in combination with those mentioned below they help in identification.

Probably the most important factors are those related to the traditional way of life of the Maori people. Such things as Maori language, specific food habits and participation in traditional forms of art and music are easily identified. Of equal importance are the less tangible traditional values of kinship solidarity and hospitality, more especially associated with the tangi or mortuary rites. There are very few Pakehas who show more than a tourist's interest in Maori art forms, and an escape from the all-embracing kinship system and the expenses and inconveniences of spontaneous hospitality is a clear sign that a Maori is changing his cultural affiliation.

Even less tangible than these is a whole complex of attitudes and values concerned with such things as group solidarity, work patterns, social responsibility, degree of formality in personal relations and the like. Of great importance in this context is the degree of emotional involvement. This is perhaps best illustrated by the following statement from a Maori informant:

"I can never get used to the cool greetings exchanged by Pakeha kin after a long separation."

Finally, there are the more formal relationships with the Maori group. The most usual is adherence to a

Maori religion, most commonly Ratana (see Harré: 1963, p.16) and to some extent the Church of the Latter Day Saints can be included here because of their large Maori membership and the association in most people's minds between this church and the Maori group. There is also an important minority who demonstrate their Maori affiliation by membership of specifically Maori organizations such as Tribal Committees and the Maori Women's Welfare League.

Briefly then, in the terms of my discussion, anyone who accepts most of the factors enumerated in the paragraphs above is culturally a Maori, while anyone who rejects them is culturally a Pakeha. Table 16 shows the distribution of the seventy-three intermarried couples with whom I had most contact and from whom most of my material is drawn.

Two of the categories used in this table require some further explanation. The use of a column headed "Culturally Maori-Pakeha" recognises the fact that many individuals with a strong Maori cultural orientation still retain, or have accumulated, quite a considerable degree of Pakeha orientation. In this category it is usual for the spouse who is racially Maori to be much stronger in Maori orientation. The column headed "Dual orientation Maoris" contains a rather special set of couples where the Maori was strongly committed to both cultural groups and was



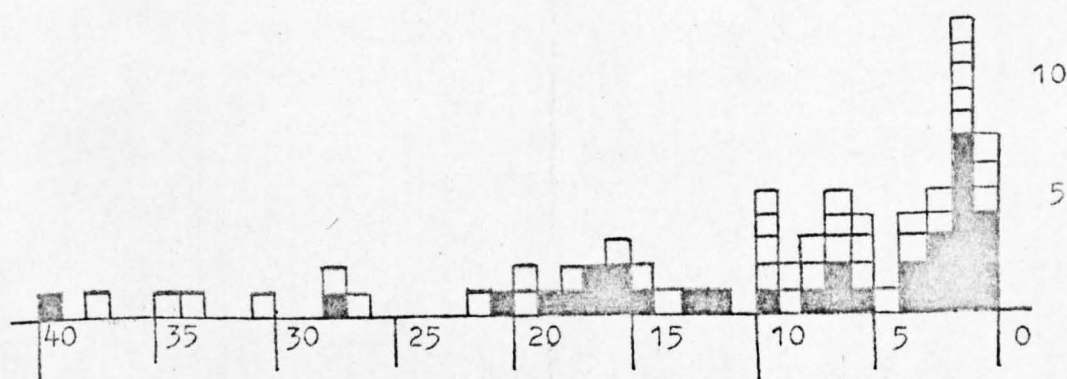
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Table 16

Types of mixed marriages.

	Fully mixed		Racially mixed only		
	Normal	Dual Orientation Maoris	Culturally Pakeha	Culturally Maori-Pakeha	Culturally Maori
Maori men married to Pakeha women	18	5	9	0	1
Pakeha men married to Maori women	18	0	12	10	0
Total	36	5	21	10	1

Table 17

Number of years married.<sup>(3)</sup>

3. Marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women are indicated by black squares while those between Pakeha men and Maori women are indicated by white squares.

successfully carrying on this dual allegiance, usually by keeping separate his Maori affiliations from his Pakeha activities and vice versa. The way this is done will become more apparent in subsequent chapters.

It can be seen in Table 16 that two of the categories, the normal fully mixed marriages and those which were only racially mixed and in which both spouses were culturally Pakeha, contain almost equal numbers of marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women and of those between Maori men and Pakeha women. The fully mixed marriages where the Maori had a dual affiliation were all between Maori men and Pakeha women, while the racially mixed marriages in which both spouses had at least partly a Maori affiliation were all between Pakeha men and Maori women.<sup>(2)</sup>

Table 17 shows the distribution of the couples in my sample according to the number of years they have been married.

Although my sample is heavily loaded in the range of more recent marriages this probably represents an approximation to the actual distribution in Auckland (see Chapter II), and there are some cases representing marriages from periods

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2. Here, and in most of the subsequent discussion in this chapter I do not include reference to the isolated case where the marriage was only racially mixed and both spouses were culturally Maori. This will be discussed in detail towards the end of the chapter.

since about 1920. The table also indicates that for most durations both marriages between Maori women and Pakeha men and between Maori men and Pakeha women are represented in my sample.

The most interesting feature of Table 18 is that, although for most types of racially mixed marriages I found a similar number of cases of all durations of marriage, there were many more cases of fully mixed marriages of short duration. In fact three-quarters of them had been married ten years or less, and more than half for less than six years.

It is possible that this distribution is brought about by a bias in my location and examination of cases, but it is certainly consistent with the more general material which will be presented in subsequent chapters. Unfortunately the marriage registration records contain insufficient data to enable them to be used to check this directly.

According to Congalton and Havighurst (1954) the most reliable indicators of socio-economic status in New Zealand are type and locality of accommodation, and occupation. In Tables 19 and 20 ratings are given for accommodation type and occupations of my informants, analysed according to marriage type. To my knowledge no scales or weighting techniques have been devised for these factors as they operate in Auckland so I have not combined them into

Table 18

Duration of marriages by marriage types

Fully mixed		Racially mixed only					Total
Normal		Dual	Pakeha		Maori-Pakeha	Maori	
Maori men Pakeha women	Pakeha men Maori women	Maori men Pakeha women	Maori men Pakeha women	Pakeha men Maori women	Pakeha men Maori women	Maori men Pakeha women	
21+	1	3	0	2	2	0	10
16-20	2	0	0	3	4	1	10
11-15	2	2	1	0	0	0	5
6-10	3	5	1	1	5	0	19
1-5	10	8	3	3	1	0	29

Table 19  
Standard of accommodation (4)

House type	Fully mixed			Racially mixed only			
	Normal		Dual	Pakeha		Maori- Pakeha	Maori
	Maori men	Pakeha men	Maori men	Maori men	Pakeha men	Pakeha men	Maori men
	Pakeha women	Maori women	Pakeha women	Pakeha women	Maori women	Maori women	Pakeha women
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
2	2	0	0	4	7	0	0
3	11	3	5	5	3	0	1
4	2	6	0	0	0	5	0
5	3	9	0	0	1	5	0
Mean	3.3	4.3	3.0	2.6	2.4	4.5	3.0

Table 20  
Occupational status (5)

Status Rank	Fully mixed			Racially mixed only			
	Normal		Dual	Pakeha		Maori- Pakeha	Maori
	Maori men	Pakeha men	Maori men	Maori men	Pakeha men	Pakeha men	Maori men
	Pakeha women	Maori women	Pakeha women	Pakeha women	Maori women	Maori women	Pakeha women
1	0	0	4	4	4	0	0
2	4	0	1	3	3	0	0
3	14	18	0	2	5	10	1
Mean	2.8	3.0	1.2	1.8	2.1	3.0	3.0

4. A rating of one indicates a high quality house in a good area, while five indicates a poor type of house in the worst area. The other grades are intermediate between these. See Chapter I for a description of house types and localities.

5. For an explanation of the occupational status scale used here see p. 36



a single scale of socio-economic status.

These tables indicate that the socio-economic status of the intermarried couples who are only racially mixed is dictated more by the cultural affiliation of the individuals than by whether it is the husband or the wife who is the Maori. However, in the cases of normal fully mixed couples there is a tendency for those with higher status to be Maori men with Pakeha wives. All the Maori men with dual affiliations married to Pakeha girls were of high status.

For the Maori women in my sample there appears to be a definite relationship between their appearance and ancestry and their representation in the various types of mixed marriages. All my Maori women informants who were less than half Maori in ancestry and who looked completely, or almost completely, Pakeha in appearance were contained in the category which was only racially mixed and in which both spouses were culturally Pakeha. There were only two Maori women in this group who were strikingly Maori in appearance.

On the other hand, all those Maori women in the fully mixed category were definitely Maori in appearance and all but two had more than half Maori ancestry, six of them

claiming to be full Maori.<sup>(6)</sup>

Those in the category in which the couples were racially mixed only, and both had a high degree of Maori affiliation varied considerably both in ancestry and appearance.

When considering the origins of Maoris who made mixed marriages there is little to note, except that those from Auckland appeared more often in the culturally Pakeha, only racially mixed, category. The Maori spouses in my sample had come from all over New Zealand, including the South Island, but the biggest single source was Northland from where twenty-nine had come. The total from Auckland was ten, and the other region best represented was the East Coast of the North Island.

Although a much higher proportion of the Pakehas in my sample (twenty-seven) were from Auckland they still did not make up half. The origins of Pakeha spouses is detailed in Table 21 (p.65 ). A very large number of the Pakeha spouses were immigrants (nearly all from the United Kingdom

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6. I say "claiming to be full Maori" here because these were cases where I did not have full genealogies of my informants. In no case where I did collect full genealogical information was a claim to full ancestry validated, although it was sometimes claimed. There is a tendency for those Maoris who wish to identify as Maoris to claim full ancestry when they have no immediate Pakeha ancestors.

Table 21

Origin of Pakeha spouses.

	Fully mixed			Racially mixed only			
	Normal		Dual	Pakeha		Maori-Pakeha	Maori
	Maori men	Pakeha men	Maori men	Maori men	Pakeha men	Pakeha men	Maori men
	Pakeha women	Maori women	Pakeha women	Pakeha women	Maori women	Maori women	Pakeha women
Auckland	7	6	3	5	4	2	0
Country	4	1	1	2	1	4	0
Other (7)	2	0	1	0	2	1	1
City	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
South Is.	4	10	0	1	5	2	0
Immigrant to N.Z.							

Table 22

Previous marriages.

	Fully mixed			Racially mixed only			
	Normal		Dual	Pakeha		Maori-Pakeha	Maori
	Maori men	Pakeha men	Maori men	Maori men	Pakeha men	Pakeha men	Maori men
	Pakeha women	Maori women	Pakeha women	Pakeha women	Maori women	Maori women	Pakeha women
<u>Men</u>							
Divorced (8)	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
<u>Women</u>							
Divorced (8)	0	3	0	0	0	3	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0	2	1	0

7. All but two of those Pakehas who came from other cities had married their Maori spouses in their cities of origin. These were thus not "Auckland marriages" in the same sense as the large majority of the rest were.

8. Divorced includes separated.

in the case of the men, and all but one from Australis in the case of the women), and apart from a scattering from the South Island and other cities, the remainder were from country districts.

The Pakeha women from Auckland were married in about equal numbers to Maori men who were culturally either Pakeha or of dual affiliation and to those who were culturally Maori. In general, origin within New Zealand did not seem to dictate the type of marriage made.

Of the seventeen Pakeha men who were immigrants twelve married girls who were culturally Maoris. In two of these cases the immigrant Pakeha had mixed almost exclusively with Maoris since his arrival in New Zealand and become culturally partially Maori. In all cases these men were in lower status occupations and had established households in poor parts of the city. There were five immigrants who married Maori girls who were culturally Pakehas and all but one of these had established households in rather better parts of the city. The exception was a newly arrived couple who were not married in Auckland.

All of the five Pakeha girls who were immigrants married men who were culturally Maoris, the only one in a high status occupation having married forty years ago. The four recent ones were all Australians.

None of the Pakeha women in my sample was divorced or widowed. All of the six Maori women who were divorcees were culturally Maori; half of them married Pakehas who also had strong Maori affiliations while the other half married men who were culturally Pakeha. Two out of the three Maori women who were widows were culturally Pakeha.

All of the men who were divorcees, both Maori and Pakeha made fully mixed marriages, while the two widowers made marriages which were only racially mixed. In four of the eleven cases where there was a previous marriage, both spouses had been married before. In most cases of remarriage the previous marriage had not been mixed, the exceptions nearly all involving Maori women.

As my definition of a Maori includes those with any known or apparent Maori ancestry, there were some who, although included here as Maoris had one Pakeha parent. In seven out of the ten such cases the Pakeha parent was the father, and in the majority of cases these part Maoris were women who were culturally Pakeha and made marriages which were only racially mixed. The other cases were scattered amongst the remaining categories.

In a very high proportion of the cases in my sample one or both spouses came from disrupted homes.<sup>(9)</sup> If the

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9. That is, they had lost one or both parents by death or divorce, or for some other reason they lacked a normal home background.

rest of the immigrants are added to this the total number of cases in which one or both spouses lacked completely normal family relationships at the time of their marriage was forty-six out of the total of seventy-three.

An analysis of this phenomenon within the different types of intermarriage shows firstly that the only category which contained no spouses from disrupted homes was that which contained Maori men who were culturally Pakeha married to Pakeha women. In the other category of racially mixed, culturally Pakeha marriages where the men were Pakeha and the women Maoris there was a large number of cases of disrupted homes but they were nearly always the homes of the Maori women. In contrast to this, in the cases of marriages where both spouses were of mixed affiliations and those where the Maori was of dual affiliation, nearly all the disrupted homes were those of the Pakeha spouse. In the cases of fully mixed marriages the incidence was more nearly equal.

Although, in all categories of marriage the age at which the spouses married tended to spread over a wide range, in most categories the majority fell within a fairly tight group. In all except two the great majority of the men were aged between twenty and twenty-six which indicates that they were rather young in terms of the national average.<sup>10</sup> One

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10. The national average over the last few years has been about twenty-eight years, with the figure for bachelors about twenty-seven.



exception was the category of racially mixed marriages where both spouses were culturally Maori or part-Maori. Here the Pakeha men ranged in age from seventeen to fifty-five at marriage and the individuals were spread evenly between these two ages. The other exception was the category of fully mixed marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women, where the ages were slightly higher than the rest, the majority being between twenty-three and twenty-eight.

In the case of the women, the majority in most categories were between eighteen and twenty-five which is similar to the national average.<sup>(11)</sup> The exception was again in the racially mixed category where both spouses had Maori cultural affiliations. Here the range was very wide (from sixteen to thirty-two). There was also a tendency for Pakeha girls who made fully mixed marriages to be younger and for the Maori women who made fully mixed marriages to be spread over a wider range, although in this case more than half were under twenty-two.

In nearly all cases the man was older than the woman, the exceptions being spread throughout the categories.

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11. The national average over the last few years has been about twenty-six years, with the figure for spinsters being about twenty-three.

In no case was a wife more than four years older than her husband. Several husbands, on the other hand, were a lot older than their wives, this tendency being greater in the marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women, more particularly those where both spouses were culturally mixed. Most of the marriages where the spouses were very close in age were cases of Maori men married to Pakeha women, although the proportion was also quite high in the marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women where both were culturally Pakeha.

There was only one case where both spouses were definitely Maori in their cultural affiliation. This was the case of a Ratana priest whose wife was a Pakeha who had been brought up at one state of her childhood by a Maori, and who was also an active Ratana. This couple were not married in Auckland although they had been resident there several years. Apart from the unusual degree of Maori cultural commitment on the part of the Pakeha wife, the individuals concerned had no special characteristics in terms of the discussion above.

Amongst the thirty-six normal fully mixed marriages it can be seen that there was considerable difference between the eighteen involving Maori men and Pakeha women and the eighteen involving Pakeha men and Maori women.

The latter, although tending to be relatively recent,

were by no means exclusively so. But the spouses were consistent in their position of low status within the community. All the Pakeha men were in the lowest status occupations and the lower half of the accommodation scale. Very few of these men had been living in a normal family environment at the time of their marriage. Not only were two of them divorced, but ten were immigrants and three of the New Zealand born were from disrupted homes. Three of the Maori women had been divorced, and all these three plus one other had come from disrupted homes. Half of the Maori women had been only two years or less in Auckland at the time of their marriage. They were strongly Maori in appearance and nearly all of predominantly Maori ancestry. Both the Maori women and their Pakeha husbands in this category tended to be older at the time of marriage than the rest of the sample. The age range for both spouses was very wide, and the men averaged about four years older than the women, which was a little more than in most other categories.

This category thus tended to be of low status recent arrivals in Auckland, very often from disrupted homes and ranging widely in age at marriage.

Marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women, within this general category of normal fully mixed marriages, tended

to have very different characteristics. They tended to be of even shorter duration and the figures for time married indicated that this type of marriage is increasing rapidly in frequency. These Maori husbands were of rather higher status than their Pakeha counterparts. They tended to be established in better type accommodation and four of the eighteen were in middle status occupations. Although five of the Pakeha women came from disrupted homes and four were immigrants, there were seven from Auckland. They thus tended to be living in only slightly abnormal family circumstances and none was widowed or divorced. All but two of the Maori men had been more than two years in Auckland at the time of marriage. The range of ages at marriage of the Maori men was similar to the rest of the sample, but the Pakeha women tended to be consistently younger. Spouses tended to be closer in age than in the case of the Pakeha men and Maori women.

In comparing this category with the last, we may say that the spouses tended to be of higher status, more established in the city, younger at marriage, and from more normal home environments.

Amongst the fully mixed marriages where the Maori had what I have called dual affiliation, all were between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman. Most of these were recent

marriages and in all five cases, of high or middle status. In fact all but one of the men were in high status occupations and all lived in reasonably good accommodation. Most of the women were from Auckland and none was an immigrant. All of the Maori men had been several years in Auckland or the city in which they were married. None of the individuals had been divorced or widowed, but nearly all of the Pakeha women came from disrupted homes. Both the men and the women were young at marriage but none was very young and there was only one case of an age difference of more than two years.

The spouses in this category thus tended to be high status established city dwellers, the wives usually having a slightly abnormal home background.

The marriages which were only racially mixed and in which the spouses were culturally Pakeha were similar to this last category, but there were a few variations within the category depending on whether the marriage was between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman or between a Pakeha man and a Maori woman. There were nine of the former and twelve of the latter.

The marriages varied widely in duration, and there was nothing to indicate that they were changing in frequency. In relation to the rest of the sample, the individuals in this category tended to be of rather higher status, this

being more apparent when the marriage was between a Maori man and a Pakeha woman, as there were as many Maori men as Pakeha men in the higher status occupations, but fewer in the lower.<sup>(12)</sup> Associated with the fact that the Maoris in this category were culturally Pakeha were the facts that seven of the twelve Maori women had a Pakeha parent, that they were nearly all less than half Maori and only two looked strikingly Maori, and that nearly all the Maoris of both sexes were either Auckland reared or had spent more than two years in Auckland or the city of their marriage. Nearly half of the Pakeha men were immigrants and most of the remainder were Aucklanders as were most of the Pakeha women. With the exception of the Maori women, two of whom were widows and many of whom came from disrupted homes, most of the spouses had come from relatively normal family environments. The age range at marriage was similar to that in other categories, but within this category the Pakeha men and Maori women tended to cover a wider range of ages and to differ in age slightly more than did the Maori men and Pakeha women.

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12. The fact that the Maori men married to Pakeha women tended to be living in slightly poorer accommodation was probably an outcome of the way in which housing discrimination works rather than an indication of status difference.



In summary, this category consisted of city dwellers of all statuses, with the Maori men tending to be of higher status than the Pakeha. Most came from normal home backgrounds, the exceptions being Maori women.

The racially mixed marriages in which both spouses were either Maori or part Maori in cultural orientation were all between Pakeha men and Maori women. Most had been married in the last ten years, but they varied widely in duration. All were of low socio-economic status, being exclusively in low status occupations and in the two lowest levels of accommodation. The Maori women, who varied considerably in ancestry and appearance were mostly from normal home environments, but three had been divorced and one was a widow. Half of the Pakeha men had come from disrupted homes. In nearly half of the cases the couple had met or married outside Auckland, and so non-Aucklanders were strongly represented amongst both spouses. In the case of the Pakeha men this meant a greater relative number from the country than in other categories. But in cases where it was an Auckland marriage the Maori girls were well established Aucklanders, all having been there for at least five years. Ages for both spouses at marriage ranged very widely and age differences tended to be greater than in other categories.

In summary, this category was of low-status, often country born, Pakeha men who tended to deviate more than usual from social norms, and were married to Maori women who varied considerably in their characteristics.

#### CHAPTER IV: SOME REPRESENTATIVE CASES

This chapter contains brief descriptions of six of the cases from my main sample. I have chosen one from each of the categories described in the last chapter, but as they are also chosen to illustrate various types of relationships between the couple and other sections of the community, they are not necessarily typical of the category to which they belong.

\* \* \* \* \*

I met Arthur and Gillian Bolton in their flat in Freemans Bay. They occupied two rooms, one of which was little more than an alcove in the damp basement of a wooden building which clung to the side of the hill in the worst part of the bay. The baby slept in the corner of the bed-sitting-room while we talked and the only spare seat was on the edge of the double bed. The alcove contained a small electric cooker and a sink, over which was one cold tap - the only indoor water supply. Bathing facilities were reached by going outside, and were shared by at least two other families. The lavatory was in a small outhouse some yards from the house. Neither of the Boltons was well dressed, he was slightly drunk, and she wore the rather shredded look of someone who is continually harrassed on

all sides and lacks the ability to cope with problems which are continually arising.

They had met some three years before at a dance in the hall of a small settlement about twenty miles from Hastings. Gillian was the only daughter of a wealthy Pakeha sheep farmer. She had been educated at a private school and was then occupied helping her Mother to run the home. Arthur was the son of a drifting Pakeha odd-job man and his Maori wife, who had drifted by this time into semi-retirement in a couple of rooms in Ponsonby. Their son, who had never stayed in one job for more than three months was visiting Maori kinsfolk between the end of the seasonal employment of the food freezing factory and the finding of some other temporary job. Aged about 24 at this time, he was good looking, flamboyant in his behaviour and had already lived for short periods with two women, one a Pakeha and the other a Maori.

They began a sexual relationship almost immediately and when he left for Auckland she followed, taking a job as a waitress in a poor class restaurant. They lived together intermittently for several months and Gillian soon became pregnant. She had always wanted them to marry and now became desperate, but Arthur refused at first because he did not want to be tied down. However, before the birth

**NEW ZEALAND**

**Legend:**

- Roads— Principal touring routes (solid line)
- Important connecting touring routes (dashed line)
- Railways (line with cross-ticks)
- Largest Towns (large circle)
- Other Towns (small circle)

**Geographical Features and Towns:**

- North Island:** North Cape, Waipapakauri, Kaitia, Kerikeri, Bay of Islands, Opua, Kawakawa, Hokianga Harbour, Opononi, Dargaville, Whangarei, Little Barrier Island, Great Barrier Island, Kaipara Harbour, Helensville, Auckland, Manukau Harbour, Thames, Paeroa, Waihi, Te Aroha, Morrissville, Frankton Jct., Cambridge, Te Awamutu, Rotorua, Lake Rotorua, Lake Taupo, Taumarunui, Taupo, Tauranga, Matamata, Rongitikei R., Whakatane, Oporiki, Bay of Plenty, White Island, Hicks Bay, East Cape, Te Araroa, Te Puia Springs, Tokomaru Bay, Gisborne, Poverty Bay, Morere Springs, Mahia Peninsula, Napier, Hastings, Waipukurau, Dannevirke, Woodville, Foxton, Palmerston North, Levin, Otaki, Masterton, Feathersdon, Lake Wairarapa, Wellington.
- South Island:** Cape Reinga, North Cape, Waipapakauri, Kaitia, Kerikeri, Bay of Islands, Opua, Kawakawa, Hokianga Harbour, Opononi, Dargaville, Whangarei, Little Barrier Island, Great Barrier Island, Kaipara Harbour, Helensville, Auckland, Manukau Harbour, Thames, Paeroa, Waihi, Te Aroha, Morrissville, Frankton Jct., Cambridge, Te Awamutu, Rotorua, Lake Rotorua, Lake Taupo, Taumarunui, Taupo, Tauranga, Matamata, Rongitikei R., Whakatane, Oporiki, Bay of Plenty, White Island, Hicks Bay, East Cape, Te Araroa, Te Puia Springs, Tokomaru Bay, Gisborne, Poverty Bay, Morere Springs, Mahia Peninsula, Napier, Hastings, Waipukurau, Dannevirke, Woodville, Foxton, Palmerston North, Levin, Otaki, Masterton, Feathersdon, Lake Wairarapa, Wellington.

of the child he compromised by setting up a permanent household in the rooms they still occupy. Shortly after the birth of the child he agreed to their marriage.

Both sets of parents had opposed both the pre-marital relationship and the marriage itself. The Maori mother had nothing in particular against the girl, but would have much preferred that her son marry a Maori and had a particular girl in mind for him. However, she was never actively hostile to Gillian and when the baby was born both she and her daughter offered to adopt it. The adoption out of the baby was the only condition on which Gillian's parents would accept her back into the family fold. They made it quite clear that she was welcome back at any time, but that neither her baby nor husband would ever be accepted. They refused to sign a consent form for her marriage at first, and her father only did so in the end because his daughter threatened to go to a magistrate and obtain a court order over-riding his authority.

The reasons given by the Pakeha parents for their opposition were the irresponsible nature of the Maori man and his inability to provide their daughter with the standard of living and security to which she was accustomed; but to her it was obvious from their attitude to the baby, that there was a very strong racial element in their behaviour. As a result of this the Boltons have no contact



with their Pakeha kin, with the exception of one cousin of about their own age who lives in Auckland and has offered to give assistance to Gillian if necessary. They retain close contact with their Maori kin who live close by, and receive occasional assistance from them, particularly with clothes, etc. for the baby.

This case is an extreme example of opposition and also illustrates well the difficulty involved in differentiating between attitudes related to race differences and those related to other social factors. It is probable that these Pakeha parents would have objected to this man as a son-in-law even if he had not been a Maori, but they had never met him, and it was at least partly accidental that he should be so like their stereotype of a Maori. The daughter was sure that they would not have reacted to the illegitimate baby in the way that they did if its father had been a Pakeha.

\* \* \* \* \*

The case of Hans and Wiki Haben was very different. When Hans arrived in Auckland from the Netherlands he was met by his cousin Max who was already married to a Maori girl from Taranaki. Max had found on his arrival, that he was accepted much more readily by the Maoris than the Pakehas and had mixed a lot with them, but without becoming

culturally affiliated. Hans soon met a cousin of Max's wife and a year after his arrival he married her.

Hans said that he was conditioned to accepting a Maori girl as a wife before he left for New Zealand, because in the literature of Europe the girls of Polynesia are always depicted as very desirable. Wiki was very pleased to find a steady, responsible and hard working husband who was ready to build up a position in New Zealand from virtually nothing. Hans is a painter and paper-hanger who makes a good living sub-contracting to large firms, and has also found time to convert a semi-derelict house in the poor part of Parnell into a very attractive and comfortable dwelling.

Max lives close by and the two cousins and their families (they each have one child) form a tight visiting group. Neither couple goes out much except to visit the other, but they are always prepared to entertain visiting Maori kin.

Hans did not tell his parents of his marriage until some time after the wedding, not because he feared that they would object to the girl, but because it would symbolise for them his final break with Holland. However, they have since visited New Zealand, and during their stay grew to like their daughter-in-law very much and were well received

by her kinsfolk in Taranaki.

Wiki had only just arrived in Auckland when she met Hans and had lived all her life before this in a small, predominantly Maori, farming settlement in Taranaki. She had always spoken Maori at home and English at school, and still does speak to her parents in Maori. Her parents made no objection to her marriage to a Pakeha, as soon as they realised that her husband was settling permanently in New Zealand. They are ambitious for their children and think that Wiki has done well, not because of the race of her husband but because of his application and sobriety.

Hans and Wiki have one son, who was about a year old when I first met them. They have given him Dutch forenames and hope that he will be able to retain close social relationships with his Maori kin as he grows up, but at the same time take advantage of the good economic position which his Pakeha father is building up in the Pakeha community.

This couple live a life largely withdrawn from the community but it is because of the degree to which their interests are centred on their home and their immediate family, rather than as a defence against discrimination, for neither have experienced or expect to experience any discrimination from any section of the community.

\* \* \* \* \*

Manu Lawrence is a university graduate who has a good position in one of Auckland's large suburban primary schools. Both he and his wife, Valerie, have lived all their adult life in Auckland, being educated at private schools and later going on to the University, where they met. Manu's parents are farmers, still farming the ancestral lands near Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty. Valerie's parents are in business. They are separated, and while her mother lives in a small town near Auckland, her father, whom she sees seldom, lives in Wellington.

When she was first dated by Manu her mother appeared to accept him completely, but as the dating became more regular she warned her that she should be careful not to get too involved as it wouldn't do for her to marry a Maori. When she announced that they were to marry, her mother was strongly opposed and very upset. She offered to pay for a trip to England for Valerie so that she could have time to think it over, and, when this was refused, insisted that she keep on going out with Pakeha boys. This opposition was kept up until just before the wedding and the fact that in the end Valerie's mother agreed to sign the consent form (Valerie was nineteen at the time of her marriage, while Manu was twenty-two) was largely due to her mother, Valerie's grandmother. She had faced opposition in her choice of

husband (on religious grounds) and so placed herself firmly on the side of her granddaughter. All the close Pakeha kin attended the wedding, but it was noticeable that no business friends, who would normally have expected invitations, were asked.

Valerie's parents did not spare expense on the reception and there was a large list of guests both Maori and Pakeha, particularly age mates of the couple. Her mother accepted the accomplished marriage with good grace and has since grown very fond of Manu. She dotes on her grandchildren and lavishes presents on them.

Manu's father would much prefer that his children marry Maoris although he and his wife are both only three-quarter Maori in ancestry. However, they have become reconciled to mixed marriages as the three of their children who have now married have all married Pakehas. The family is economically acculturated to a Pakeha way of life, but retain many of the values and customs of their own group, speaking Maori in the home, eating Maori food whenever the opportunity offers, and observing such formalities as the tangi. Manu, in particular, is a good example of the Maori who has achieved a satisfactory balance between the two cultures, able to take his place in the Pakeha world, with full awareness of the conventions of city life, and

yet also able to mix easily with Maori kin and friends who accept few Pakeha values, and more important, able to become emotionally involved in their activities.

The Lawrences mix mostly with young professional people, usually Pakehas, and are often involved in the outside activities of the school in which Manu teaches. They entertain kin on both sides who visit Auckland, and are particularly close to Valerie's grandmother who lives nearby and frequently baby-sits. They sometimes take holidays on the Maori family farm and frequently borrow Manu's father's car when they wish to travel. The two sets of parents occasionally meet, usually at the home of Manu and Valerie. Their relationship is cordial but formal.

The Lawrences have two young children neither of whom is particularly Maori in appearance (Manu, himself, although identifiable as a Maori, is not strikingly Maori appearance). This possibly explains why Valerie's mother who was so wary of the possibility of a part-Maori grandchild, so readily accepts the actuality. Each child has been given an English first name and a Maori second name. The parents disagree mildly as to the secondary education of the children who are both boys. Manu would prefer to send them to his old school where most of the pupils are Maori. Valerie fears that if this happens they will become, culturally, more Maori



and grow away from her, so she would prefer them to go to the local state secondary school when they reach that age. It seems unlikely that this will develop into a major conflict.

The whole family is accepted without question or comment in a fairly good, recently developed, predominantly Pakeha, suburb.

\* \* \* \* \*

Malcolm Tawharu differed from Manu Lawrence not so much in the number of his Maori contacts, but both in the amount to which he utilized them and the degree to which he became emotionally involved in things Maori. His behaviour patterns and his system of values were completely Pakeha. Jenny, his wife, had a very similar background to Gillian Bolton in the first case mentioned in this chapter, but she had already made herself a career as a teacher before her marriage and had always been the dominant member of the family. But the most striking difference between her marriage and Gillian's was the man she married. Malcolm had had an outstanding career at a Pakeha boarding school, had become well known in sport, had qualified as an architect, and was already employed by a good firm.

Even so, the initial reaction of Jenny's parents were the same as those of Gillian. They could give no

meaningful reasons for their disapproval of the marriage, and their attitude is only to be understood in the context of the particular local area in which they lived. As farmers in a small Northland community they lived in a world in which, except in economic matters, Maoris and Pakehas remained completely aloof from one another, and in the economic sphere the Maori was almost always the labourer or poor farmer living in depressed conditions, while the Pakeha was nearly always the employer and the comparatively rich farmer.

Neither set of parents had known of the initial dating and courting relationships and when Malcolm and Jenny finally decided to marry they waited several months before announcing their engagement, because, aware of the trouble that was going to arise, they wanted to be absolutely certain of themselves first. They were both over twenty-one and so the news reached their respective parents as a statement of intention and not as a request for permission.

The reaction of the Pakeha parents was immediate. Jenny had expected this and, after telling them, returned to Auckland, refusing to discuss the matter. After meeting Malcolm, and also realising that Jenny's personality was such that she would not be swayed, the Pakeha parents gradually became reconciled and gave their daughter a completely normal wedding.

Malcolm's parents did not like the idea of his marriage to a Pakeha, but this was more disappointment at his not marrying a Maori rather than any active objection to a Pakeha as such. They had high traditional standing in their tribe and felt that because of this and Malcolm's achievements in the Pakeha world he should unequivocally identify himself with the Maori group by marrying a Maori girl. They, too, were fully reconciled before the wedding.

The wedding was held at the home of the Pakeha parents and no local Maoris were invited. There were few of Malcolm's people other than close kin, but this was solely because of the distance they would have had to travel. Since the wedding the two sets of parents have got acquainted to the extent of home visiting and now get on very well. Malcolm and Jenny see little of the Maori parents because they live so far away, but the Pakeha parents are now retired and live in Auckland so they visit frequently. Malcolm has become accepted to such a degree in the home of his parents-in-law that he tends to take precedence over their son in being sought for advice on family matters.

The Tawharus have continued with their old friendships from university days and find that they are accepted in all spheres of society; the only difficulty they have faced is that of accommodation. They found that, in spite of their high occupational status, they were shown only the poorest

range of flats when they applied. They have now bought a house on a mortgage in a good locality and are fully accepted by their neighbours who do not seem to think of them as Maoris although Malcolm is obviously Maori from his appearance.

\* \* \* \* \*

John and Hiria McGregor were introduced to each other by a friend at a beer party when he was twenty-six and she twenty-one. They were immediately attracted to each other and almost immediately began a sexual relationship which just as rapidly resulted in pregnancy. They were married in a registry office six months after their first meeting. However, it is almost certain that the premarital pregnancy was not the cause of their marriage for they would probably have married anyway, although not so soon, and with the knowledge of their parents.

Neither John's parents in Scotland, nor Hiria's who lived in Gisborne knew anything of the relationship until after the wedding, but they all approved of the match without any hesitation. One of John's friends did not attend the small reception they had in a hotel room after the wedding, but with this exception they did not sense any opposition.

They have lived for nine years in a variety of flats in the poor part of the city, but hope soon to build a new

house on the North Shore, aided by a loan from the state.

Hiria is not strikingly Maori in appearance, and although they keep close contact with her family in Gisborne she is completely Pakeha in her behaviour and outlook. She has never met her parents-in-law who would like to come to New Zealand to see their grandchildren, but cannot afford the trip. The McGregors would not think of sending to them for assistance in time of need but would not hesitate to call on the Maori family.

Their oldest child, although fair, always claims to be Maori and is proud of his twenty-five per cent of Maori ancestry. His darker sister who is eight is said by her parents to be ashamed of being part Maori and has complained of being called names on this account by other children at school. The parents have as many Maori friends as Pakeha and several of these friends are also mixed married. Before their marriage John, who works on the wharves, had more Maori friends than did Hiria, and her marriage to him has meant an increase in the proportion of her friends who are Maori.

\* \* \* \* \*

Barry Harris is also a Pakeha who had many Maori friends before his marriage, but in his case this went further than in the case of John McGregor, for he had lived

amongst Maoris for so many years that in much of his behaviour and in many of his attitudes he was completely Maori. His father had died when he was very young and his mother began living with a Maori man who later took her and the child to a predominantly Maori town in the North. Barry feels that he is completely accepted by Maoris and prefers their company to that of Pakehas. He was introduced to Moana by her cousin. She had been several years working in a factory in Auckland. They dated sporadically for three years before they decided to marry, and both the dating and the marriage were treated as completely normal by families and friends. They were married in a church in Auckland after a year's engagement. As many of the Maori kin were already living in Auckland, Moana's parents hired a suburban hall for a big Maori-style reception.

They now live in a good flat on the fringe of a good suburb but travel frequently to the North for family festivals. They often entertain kin visiting town and have been the first point of contact for several younger urbanising cousins. Barry, being a driver for one of the big contracting firms, is often able to find employment for these newcomers.

Neither has been aware of any adverse reaction from members of the community in which they live, but they take



their recreation almost entirely in those places frequented by Maoris and Islanders, the city dance halls and the poorer suburban cinemas.

\* \* \* \* \*

Many other facets of the intermarried will be presented in the chapters that follow, but the above cases are intended to give a brief sketch of how these relationships have developed in a few cases, the sort of reactions which the couples have faced, and some of the adjustments they have made.

PART TWO

GETTING MARRIED

Chapter 5: Mixing and Meeting

Chapter 6: The interracial mixing of a group of young adults.

Chapter 7: Dating and Courting

Chapter 8: Engagements and Marriage

## CHAPTER V: MIXING AND MEETING

People meet, in the sense of establishing person-to-person relationships, either because they have something in common, or because one makes a conscious attempt to meet the other. At one extreme that which is in common may be nothing more than happening to be in the same place at the same time while at the other it may involve a community of interests and activities ranging through many facets of their lives.

In some plural societies, such as South Africa, where there are legal or social restrictions on racial mixing, opportunities for members of one race to meet members of others are few. In New Zealand there is no legislation likely to affect the range of meeting places available to members of both races; also there are no specific customs governing behaviour on occasions of meetings between individuals who differ in race. Social separation is only partial, and inconsistent in its operation. Therefore the young people of both races have available to them in the majority of instances the usual opportunities for mixing: school life, working associations, personal introductions, blind dates, club picnics, and so on. However the two races

are not entirely integrated and racial attitudes and behaviour do, to some extent, affect the opportunities for interracial mixing.

Many Pakehas, while accepting Maoris as work mates, team mates and "drinking coppers" do not extend their friendship as far as invitations into the home, for either Maori adults or children. Typical of attitudes expressed are the following:

(Pakeha factory worker) "Oh yes, I've got lots of Maori friends. Best blokes there are at work ..... well, no, I've never invited them home. I mean home's different isn't it?"

(Pakeha farmer who employs several Maoris) "We get on very well with the local Maoris but you've got to draw the line somewhere. We never have one in for a meal and I wouldn't allow my children to go to their children's parties."

I was told by a Maori member of an Auckland representative team that although he had attended many group functions as a member of the team he had never been invited home by an individual Pakeha member.

Other Pakehas, principally those of higher occupational status have little contact with Maoris, either in work or play and have built up an unfavourable stereotype based largely on the publicity given in the newspapers to Maori wrongdoers and on the day-to-day experience of seeing Maoris

engaged in highly visible lower status occupations such as road work or rubbish collecting. These people, then, because of their occupational status have few chances of meeting Maoris and because of their unfavourable stereotype make no positive efforts to meet them. Ausubel who came across extreme forms of this stereotype summed it up as follows:

"..... the almost universal stereotype of the Maori (is) as a lazy, shiftless, unreliable, improvident and happy-go-lucky human being...."

(Ausubel: 1960, p.162)

From an early age some Pakeha children are warned by their parents not to play with Maori children or, indeed, to have any contact with anything associated with Maoris. The reason given is generally that they are dirty or that they have sores. The following are statements made by Pakeha informants:

"I was told never to sit next to a Maori in the bus in case I caught something."

"As children we were always made to wash our hands after touching money because it may have been handled by a Maori."

The majority of landlords who have good class accommodation to let (and many who have not) will not consider Maoris as tenants. <sup>(1)</sup>

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1. This appears to be an individual decision and is not dictated by any body such as a property owners' association.

A Pakeha informant married to a Maori professional man told me that she was being shown a list of good class flats by a land agent when she told him that her husband was a Maori. He immediately said: "I don't think these flats would really suit you," and showed her instead a list of very poor flats in the worst part of the city.

The reasons given are that Maori tenants do not respect the property and that their customary hospitality means that the accommodation rapidly becomes overcrowded and the neighbourhood disturbed by noisy parties; or that Maori neighbours would not be tolerated by Pakeha co-tenants. The effect of this is that there are few Maoris living in average or higher status suburbs except in places where the Department of Maori Affairs has acquired crown land for their building programme or in new subdivisions.<sup>(2)</sup> Even here there is resistance to Maori section buyers. One of the directors of a large subdivision told me that he was very worried because the Department of Maori Affairs had acquired several sections within the subdivision. He thought that if this became generally known it would make the remaining sections more difficult to sell at a good price.

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2. In subdivisions certain sections are acquired by the crown and some of these are normally allotted to the Department of Maori Affairs.



There is a movement from the center of the city outwards described by Pool as follows:

"It is worth noting that even in the Outer Suburbs Maoris are concentrated in the areas of lowest social grade to a much greater degree than non-Maoris, and these areas are composed mainly of large scale estates of new single unit dwellings. So that while the Maoris have shifted from the lower grade areas of the Inner City, where, however, they are still disproportionately represented, they have not spread into a variety of residential areas but have concentrated in the Outer Suburban areas of lower social grade."

(Pool: 1961, p.61)

State housing areas also tend to have a large proportion of Maori residents.

These factors are linked to a wide differential in occupational status which means that the Pakehas in higher status occupations have very little opportunity to mix with Maoris in the course of their daily work activities (see Harré: 1963, pp.14 and 15).

On the other hand some Pakehas go out of their way to meet Maoris even when they have had little experience of them previously. One of the leading Maori private boarding schools in Auckland encourages high status Pakeha families to take Maori children who live far away, into their homes on leave days. Visiting teams from country schools which

have a large proportion of Maoris are billeted in Pakeha homes, usually those of higher status. Some Pakehas join "Maori Clubs" at school, Teachers' College, or University in an attempt to get to know something of Maori culture.

A subtle form of exclusion is practised by some bilingual Maoris when they continue to speak in Maori in the presence of Pakehas, particularly when making a joke. Whether or not it is so, the Pakehas get the impression that they are talking about them.

A more formal behaviour pattern which tends to exclude Pakehas is the Maori stress on kinship associations. The strong orientation of the Maori towards his kinsfolk has the dual effect of making it less important for him to seek non kin associates and/or accentuating the "outgroupness" of the Pakehas. Dr. Metge emphasises this when she says:

"Kinship plays a much larger part in the life of the average Maori than it does in that of the Pakeha. Maoris pride themselves on maintaining contact with a wide circle of kinsfolk....."

"..... the network of kinship is so strong and extends so far that when Maoris travel they can nearly always find a kinsman from whom to seek interest and assistance." (Metge: 1960, 2/1)

All patterns of behaviour, however, do not separate the races, and some tend to draw them together. Maori youths and to a certain extent Maori adults tend to spend

a lot of time listening to, making, or dancing to, "pop" music. (3) Those Pakehas who like this music, particularly Pakeha girls who are proficient at "rock-and-roll" and "twist", are attracted to halls in which a predominantly Maori group spends its leisure.

Even more widely effective is a common enthusiasm for certain sports, particularly rugby football. People of both races have the opportunity of mixing, not only as players and supporters, but in the social activities organized by the sports clubs to raise money and provide entertainment.

Although mixing opportunities set limits to meeting opportunities they do not define them. Meeting may sometimes be prearranged with the express purpose of beginning a dating arrangement or even a marriage and this case will be dealt with at the end of the chapter. Most meetings, however, occur because the people concerned find themselves in the same place at the same time, and usually there is a "catalyst" present in the sense of a third person to introduce them. What then are the circumstances in which members of different races and of opposite sexes find themselves in this position?

Most of my informants met their future spouses either because of their relationships with kin and friends who in their turn had relationships with members of the other race,

or because of their direct relationships with an integrated group.

Meetings brought about through interracial visiting can occur either by visiting kin or friends who are themselves of the other race or who are entertaining members of the other race, or by meeting a member of the other race who has been brought into the home. Very often a friendship is formed between two men, one a Maori and one a Pakeha, at work, and if one should visit the other he has opportunities of meeting other members of the household. Alternatively a person's sibling may bring home a member of the other race and this gives an opportunity for meeting. One Maori informant told me that he met his future wife in the following way:

"My sister was a nurse and she brought another nurse - a Pakeha - home with her once for a weekend. That was how I first met my wife. She visited with my sister several times and after that we started going out, and then decided to get married."

In some families or friendship networks there is already an established inter-racial relationship, and this may lead to an introduction which is sometimes the beginning of a friendship that ends in marriage.

One of my Pakeha informants told me:

"I met my husband on a blind date. I'd never been

out with a Maori before, but a girl friend rang up and said that her boy had a mate come into town and would I like to join them to make up a foursome. Well, we took a liking to each other straight away and the next day he rang me up and asked me if I'd like to go out again. That's how I met my husband."

Sometimes the friend or kinsman is already married:

When Hans arrived from Europe as an immigrant he found that his brother Peter who had come before him was married to a Maori girl. Through this Peter had a big group of Maori friends and affinal kin and it was only natural that Hans should eventually form an attachment for a cousin of his brother's wife. Peter had met his wife at his cousin's place. His cousin had been some time in New Zealand and had found acceptance easier within the Maori group.

Some informants were members of fully integrated groups where members of both races attended the same parties, went on the same outings, and followed the same pastimes. A Pakeha member of one such group told me:

"Before I was married I went out with lots of girls - sometimes Maori, sometimes Pakeha - I didn't ever think about race. It so happened I finished up marrying a Maori girl - but it could just have easily been a Pakeha."

Informants who belonged to groups like this often expressed

surprise that any New Zealanders should see any difference between Maoris and Pakehas.

"I mean we're all Kiwis<sup>(4)</sup>, aren't we?"

At educational institutions young people are provided with meeting opportunities which are often the starting points for permanent relationships.

Because of a system of zoning which operates in most areas, Auckland secondary schools vary in their racial make-up according to their location. Parents have very little choice as to which school their children attend, unless they wish to pay for them to attend private schools. The state schools, therefore, tend to reflect in their rolls the make-up of the district in which they are situated. For example Seddon Memorial Technical College, situated near the city centre, has a very large proportion of Maori children as well as many Islanders and a general scattering of other nationalities. Tamaki College, situated in the centre of Auckland's largest state housing area is similarly high in numbers of Maoris but has few Islanders. Rangitoto College, in the East Coast Bays Borough on the North Shore has few Maoris.

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4. General slang term to describe all New Zealanders by birth. Sometimes used to differentiate such from immigrants.



Private secondary schools which may be attended on religious grounds<sup>(5)</sup> or on social or academic grounds<sup>(6)</sup> do not exclude Maoris, and some cater especially for them. Although in the larger and more expensive private schools Maori pupils tend to be in a minority, they are in no way discriminated against.

While the private schools are sexually segregated, the Majority of state schools are partly co-educational. In some, classes are sexually segregated as a definite policy, while in all, course divisions bring about a degree of segregation within teaching classes. Very often playground space is divided or partially divided on the basis of sex and games are almost always segregated. There are very few social activities arranged and in some schools social activities involving both sexes are either discouraged or closely supervised. In general it would be true to say that pupils at most Auckland secondary schools are actively discouraged both in and out of school from developing any sort of close friendship with members of the opposite sex.

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5. This would apply to most Roman Catholic schools.

6. Some children are sent to Protestant private schools because of their status symbol value, others because their parents live in a rural area poorly served by secondary schools, and others because their parents consider that the best educational opportunities exist in these schools.

In spite of this, friendships form and dating occurs, but the inhibiting influences mentioned above restrict this to a minimum. None of the secondary schools in Auckland, to my knowledge, makes any attempt to keep apart boys and girls of different races except in so far as this is implied above.

The institutions of higher education in Auckland are the Teachers' Colleges and the University. Here the mixing of the sexes goes on in a reasonably free manner although the school background sometimes tends to make this mixing very self-conscious at first. At the Teachers' Colleges many opportunities exist both in work and at play for boys and girls of both races to mix. The material in Chapter VI illustrates the extent to which meetings at the Teachers' Colleges occur and the way in which these are encouraged or inhibited by the circumstances and ideals of training and the attitude of the staff and parents.

The Teachers' Colleges are shown to be places where opportunities for meetings are frequent and where participation in a common course of study based on a liberal philosophy of education and a unity of vocational aims brings young people of the two races close together.

The situation at the University is more impersonal and to a large extent unsupervised. The few Maori students tend to congregate into a club of their own at regular

intervals, but also attend other social activities freely and to spread themselves in a thin layer over the sporting and cultural life of the university. Hence there are plenty of opportunities for meeting, but the diversity of courses available means that there is less possibility for the strong community of interest that exists at the Teacher's Colleges.

Friendships formed at these institutions often lead to marriage, particularly when they are strengthened by a common occupation; and so, in terms of the small numbers of people involved they represent a major point of contact.

In lower status occupations meeting opportunities are of two kinds. Firstly there are contacts in the course of work. These are relatively few as there are a limited number of jobs where men and women work together in the same department, although in certain types of factory this may occur. Also, relationships between members of the staff are not always encouraged.

One informant who met his wife at a factory in which they both worked said that he had to leave and seek another job after they were engaged. This was not because his fiancé was a Maori and he a Pakeha, but because the firm did not permit this type of relationship between staff members. The reason stated was that relationships of this type might distract factory operatives in the

- course of their work and so increase the likelihood of accidents.

Many very large factories provide extensive recreational facilities for staff members, and this is the second kind of opportunity available for meeting. Sports clubs are encouraged and dances and social evenings are held. It is common also for these factories to employ members of all ethnic groups and there are therefore many opportunities for interracial mixing and meeting.

Office workers have ample opportunities for forming friendships between the sexes but there are relatively few Maoris employed in office jobs and only one couple which I interviewed had met in this way.

Meetings at places concerned principally with recreation must be divided into those where the recreation unit is a corporate group and those where it is a collection of individuals, couples or small groups with no over-all corporate existence.

Sports clubs in particular attract a racially mixed membership and, at least in the realm of club activities, there is no racial bar. There are many occasions when young people of both races mix and the nature of the social interaction is such that they will often meet.

In Dance Halls and Cinemas hundreds of young people of both races are drawn together by common interests but

do not form corporate groups, and thus seldom interact in such a way as to bring about meetings. This is fairly obvious in the case of cinemas; that it is also so in dance halls, perhaps requires some explanation. (It should be noted here that I am not speaking of suburban dances which are usually an offshoot from clubs and societies and come within that category, but of the large regular dances held in the centre of the city.)

The Jive Centre situated at the Trades Hall, and the Maori Community Centre, are well known in Auckland for sponsoring rock-and-roll and more recently twist dancing. They have a general reputation for being good places for a "pick up" and are patronised freely by all races. I visited both the Trades Hall and the "Centre" on many occasions. These two places have in common, seedy, but not decrepit, buildings, Maori bands and entertainers, and a mixed but predominantly non-European clientele. The Trades Hall is a commercial enterprise where continuous rock-and-roll and twist music is played to a packed throng of young people ranging in age from fourteen<sup>(7)</sup> or so up to mid-twenties with the occasional older man, more often than not a seaman.

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7. This is a very rough guess. Most claim to be at least sixteen, but it is possible that some of the girls are as young as twelve.

The majority of the males are Maoris and Islanders. The girls are fairly evenly divided between Maoris and Pakehas and many are very young indeed. The dancers tend to arrive in single sex groups and except when actually dancing remain in these groups, although larger groups form and reform throughout the evening.

Those who arrive in couples tend to keep separate from the rest. The Pakeha men and boys nearly always choose Maori girls as partners, while the Maoris appear to choose freely from both races. The Islanders<sup>(8)</sup> show a preference for Pakeha partners. Many of the males of both races do not dance but just stand in groups near the door.

The clientele of the Trades Hall is almost exclusively of low socio-economic status although young folk of higher status will often go there to "see what it's like" or to experiment in relations with the other race. Maori boys have the reputation, and rightly so, of being excellent dancers. They possess the relaxation of movement and sense of rhythm particularly suited to modern dance forms and are apparently inexhaustible. They are thus in demand at all modern dance halls and some Pakeha girls are attracted to places which they are known to frequent. Part of the story

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8. "Islanders" is the general term used to describe Polynesians other than Maoris.



of the Trades Hall and similar dance halls, then, is that a Maori band playing "pop" music attracts the Maori and Island boys, and the combination of these two attracts the Pakeha girls.

I have tried to show that, although at these dances there is contact between the two races, it is in a highly formalized context. There is little conversation between mixed couples unless they arrive together and in many instances names are not even exchanged. So, although it is true to say that dance halls like the Trades Hall are major points of mixing they do not encourage friendships between young people which are likely to end in marriage. In fact only a very small percentage of my married informants gave dances as their place of meeting.

The Maori Community Centre, although non-commercial and organized by a Maori committee, is similar to the Trades Hall in practice except for the absence of Islanders and the larger preponderance of Maoris. Once again the Pakehas present are much more likely to be girls than boys and there is a sprinkling of older Pakeha seamen<sup>(9)</sup> although any attempts to "pick up" Maori girls are disapproved of by the older Maori people always present. The necessity to remain

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9. The Maori Community Centre is situated very close to the docks.

financially solvent dictates a commercial attitude towards running Maori Community Centre dances which are normally held on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights and on Sunday afternoons.

Such factors as living in the same suburb or travelling on the same bus no doubt give rise occasionally to meetings, but none of my informants met solely as a result of such factors.

Finally, the possibility must be considered that advantages gained in interracial marriage or association are such that members of one race or the other make conscious attempts to meet one another. This is information which is very difficult to collect as the individual may wish to cover his motives or may truly not be aware of them on a conscious level.

However, several secondary informants both Maori and Pakeha assured me that many Maori girls who left the country for the city were aiming at marriage with a Pakeha. The fact that several of my Maori woman informants were married to Pakeha men who in both Maori and Pakeha terms were much their social inferior backs up this point of view. But it must be stressed that neither in Maori or Pakeha eyes does a mixed marriage necessarily raise the social status of the Maori, although in the case of a Maori woman marrying a

Pakeha man this may occur indirectly through his better chance of success as a bread-winner. The various incentives involved in Maori-Pakeha intermarriage will be considered in more detail later.

All meetings by design are not necessarily orientated towards marriage and they may be with the purpose of sexual experiences, as a reaction to parental attitudes, or merely for a novel experience.

Both Maoris and Pakehas tend to have stereotyped ideas of the sexual potential of members of the other race and a reaction on these lines may bring about meetings not orientated towards marriage. Many Pakeha men consider that Maori girls are easily accessible sexually and will make attempts to meet them for this purpose. This explains the presence of seamen at the dance halls. Many lower status Maori girls fall in with this behaviour and the police told me that the majority of girls who get involved on visiting ships are Maoris.

There are a number of Pakeha girls who believe that Maori men are better equipped sexually than Pakehas and attempt to meet them because of this. Many Maori men are aware of this and take advantage of it with some show of scorn and principally from motives of experimentation. The sex act seems to be less hedged round with inhibitions and guilt for the Maori than for the Pakeha (see p. 153 ).

Examples of meetings with the other race as a reaction to parental attitudes are discussed in Chapter VI and attempts of Pakeha girls to meet Maori boys as a novel experience are illustrated in the section on dance halls.

Although meetings may be organized solely on the expectation of sexual or emotional satisfaction these may ultimately lead to marriage either through pregnancy or the development of more complex bonds.

## CHAPTER VI: THE INTERRACIAL MIXING OF A GROUP OF YOUNG ADULTS.

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In order to have a close look at the interracial mixing of a number of young adults I conducted an investigation by interview and questionnaire of one of Auckland's Teachers' Colleges<sup>(1)</sup>. I had been a student at this College a few years before and knew that there were always a number of Maori students and a general atmosphere conducive to racially mixed relationships.

In this chapter I analyse the information collected in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. How much interracial dating occurs?
2. What, if any, correlations are there between interracial dating and the backgrounds of the individuals or their parents?
3. What is the reaction or expected reaction of the

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1. Group interviews were arranged through a member of the staff and friends who were students at the college and held positions in student organizations. The questionnaires (see Appendix 2) took their form from these discussions and were tested on these students before being duplicated. The questionnaires were distributed by me to all second year students present, during normal classwork, on two successive days. I remained with each class while its members filled in their answers, and was able to answer queries in clarification of the questions.

parents, siblings, friends and faculty to interracial dating and marriage ?

4. To what extent is this dependent on the social status of the parents and their personal associations with Maoris?
5. How is the mixed marriage situation conceived by the students?

Although some conclusions can be drawn from this study alone, it is intended to be supplementary to my main thesis. I prefer to use it as one source of material which must stand alongside that obtained from more detailed interviews within a wider context.

#### Characteristics of the Pakeha sample.

The Pakeha sample consisted of 218 students (92.4% of total sample) made up of 154 women and 64 men. The average age of the women was 18.4 years and they ranged in age from 17 to 20 years, the vast majority of them being 18. The average age of the men was 20.2 years and they ranged from 18 to 28.

88% of the students were normally resident in Auckland, 3.7% came from other cities or large towns, while the remaining 8.3% came from rural areas (including small county towns). The majority lived at home, while the remainder either boarded privately or in one of the college hostels,



or lived in flats which were normally shared by a group of students (see Table 23, p. 118 ).

Fewer men than women lived at home and they were proportionately better represented in flats and private board.

All the women were unmarried although 10 of them were engaged to be married. Only one of the men was engaged to be married, but two were actually married.

Some clue to the social status of the students in the sample is given by an analysis of the occupational statuses of their working parents. These occupations ranged from doctors and company directors to cargo-workers and labourers (see Table 24, p. 118 ).

The parents of the women students were more strongly represented in the three upper grades while those of the men predominated in the three lower. Proportions were approximately equal in the middle.

82.5% of the students attended schools in Auckland, the majority of these being single sex schools (47.8% compared with 34.7% co-educational) of the remainder 11.3% attended rural schools (all co-educational) and 0.9% attended schools in other cities.

20.9% of the group held no more than the minimum educational requirement for entrance to the College, i.e. School Certificate, while 26.1% had proceeded further at

Table 23  
Domicile of Pakeha students.

	College Hostel	Student Flat	Private Board	Home
Female	12.4%	5.2%	4.5%	77.3%
Male	14.1%	9.4%	10.9%	65.7%

Table 24  
Percentages of the parents of male, female and total  
students in each occupational status (2)

Status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Female	6.7	19.4	14.9	26.1	16.4	9.7	6.7
Male	1.8	10.5	10.5	28.1	19.3	21.0	8.8
Total	5.2	16.8	13.6	26.7	17.3	13.1	7.3

Table 25  
Degree of contact between parents of male and female students and Maoris

	0	1	2	3	4	Average Rating
Women	22.7	33.2	29.9	21.4	22.7	2.96
Men	15.6	7.8	32.8	21.9	21.9	3.11
Total	20.7	4.6	30.8	21.6	22.4	3.0

Table 26  
Frequency of dating of Maoris by Pakehas

	Women	Men	Total
Never	61.6%	59.4%	61.0%
Once	11.0%	7.8%	10.1%
Several times	17.5%	29.7%	21.1%
Regularly	9.7%	3.1%	7.8%

school, but without taking any more advanced examinations (3). 44.2% had qualified for entrance to the university but had not received any university credits. 5.6% had completed some first year subjects at the university and 3.3% had gone further. The women had slightly better educational qualifications than the men with the exception that more of the men had proceeded beyond Stage 1 at the university.

What are the factors which differentiate this group of young adults from others in their own age group and in what ways are they typical of that age group?

Obviously, the fact that the members of this group wished to become primary school teachers marked them off as having a special type of aspiration. Their academic qualifications were average or above (School Certificate passes are based on each subject being scaled to a 50% pass).

Their home background was basically middle class, but as is shown in the analysis of parents' occupations there were representatives from all social classes.

In the course of their training, social equality and

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3. One year attendance after School Certificate qualifies the student for Endorsed School Certificate and two years for Higher School Certificate.

the desirability of easy social mixing are emphasised. One of the basic principles of their instruction is the relatively greater importance as a social determinative of environment over heredity. It is likely, therefore, that any predisposition they may have already had towards principles of racial equality would be consolidated in the course of their training. The teaching staff of the College consider that one important aspect of their task is to assist students in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Many opportunities are therefore created for social activities at which all students are encouraged to mix freely.

Two further aspects of the teaching profession and the circumstances of teacher training are also relevant. Firstly, it is a socially acceptable field for girls from families which would consider teaching a lower status male occupation. Secondly, it is one of the few professions where students in training receive a living salary. It is thus the most "open" profession for young people from lower income homes.

This explains to some extent the distribution in Table 24, for on the above grounds we would expect a high proportion of the women to be from homes of higher status, while more of the men would be upwardly mobile from homes of lower status.

Backgrounds of students and their parents in terms of their associations with Maoris.

The parents of more than half (58.3%) of the Pakeha students had worked with Maoris. In the case of the men students the proportion was nearly two-thirds, which is in line with their lower occupational status.

Only 20.7% of the parents had had no contact with Maoris, other than perhaps worshipping at the same church. 4.6% had had slight contact<sup>(4)</sup>, a further 30.8% had had some personal contact with Maoris<sup>(5)</sup>, 21.6% had had a somewhat closer relationship<sup>(6)</sup>, while the remaining 22.4% had had close associations with some Maoris<sup>(7)</sup>. Giving these degrees of contact a 0 - 4 rating the distribution between parents of men and women students is as shown in Table 25 (p. 118 ).

The average rating is 3.00. In other words the "average parent" knows some Maoris personally, but although he may attend common parties does not have a close visiting relationship.

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4. belonged to clubs, societies or committees with Maori members
  5. one or other parent knew Maoris personally and/or attended parties in a Maori home
  6. they visited Maori friends for meals and/or entertained Maori friends in their home
  7. they stayed with Maori friends sometimes or had them to stay

Most of the students (92.7%) had attended a school with Maoris, the actual percentage being rather higher for men than for women. Rather more women than men (14.9% compared to 3.1%) had no personal contact with Maoris before coming to College. Half of the men and a quarter of the women had gone out with a Maori at school, but nearly half of these had no visiting relationship with Maoris. However 37.1% (34.4% of the women and 43.8% of the men) had either stayed with a Maori family or had had a Maori to stay (the former being the more common situation). Thus, although most students had had some contact with Maoris only about a third could be said to have had a close relationship.

In summarising this section we see that although in more than half the cases one of the parents had worked with Maoris and only a fifth had had no contact with Maoris at all there was also only a little over a fifth who had had close social contact. Most of the students had been at school with Maoris, but only about a third had had close social contact.

#### Characteristics and backgrounds of the Maori sample.

The Maori sample consisted of 10 women and 8 men (7.6% of total second year students questioned), the average age of the former being 20.0 (range: 18-26) and of the



latter 20.1 (range: 18 - 22).

Half came from large towns which in all cases were centres of Maori population. The remainder were more or less evenly divided between Auckland and rural areas. Most of the Aucklanders (4 out of 5) were men. Their domicile while at college was evenly spread over private board (4), flats (5), college hostels (4) and home (5).

One of the men was engaged to be married (one may assume, from his questionnaire, to a pakeha). One of the women stated she was married, but inconsistencies on her questionnaire suggest that this was an error in answering.

Half (5 women and 4 men) had attended private church schools with a predominantly Maori roll, while 6 had attended state schools situated in areas of high Maori population. The remaining three had attended state schools in Auckland. Only 5 had attended co-educational schools. Only 16.7% held no more than the minimum entrance requirement (i.e. School Certificate) but none had any University qualifications.

The occupations of parents ranged from a priest and a civil servant down to a cargo worker and a labourer. The majority were tradesmen (4) or farmers (4). The latter occupation is hard to assess in status terms as Maori farms vary widely in size. Indeed, occupational status in general, is probably a much less reliable indicator of social status

for Maoris than it is for Pakehas, because of the influence of such factors as traditional status, and the different range of leadership roles available to Maoris.

If the above description of the Maori sample is looked at in relation to the generally poorer position of the Maori group (poorer particularly in terms of economic status and educational qualifications) it is seen that this group of students is, in Maori terms, well above average. It should also be noted that primary school teaching is a relatively high status occupation for Maoris, both men and women. Very broadly speaking, in terms of status advancement the Maori men at college are raising their status while the Pakeha men are not raising, and perhaps lowering theirs. (This needs many qualifications with reference to the Pakeha men).

The parents of all these Maori students had worked with Pakehas and those of all but one are indicated as having close association with some Pakehas (i.e. they stay with Pakeha friends sometimes, or have them to stay). The one exception is indicated as fairly close (i.e. visiting for meals). It is of interest that of the 17 who have had Pakehas to stay, 6 have not received similar hospitality from Pakehas.

All these students had attended school with Pakehas and all but one had had a visiting relationship with at least one Pakeha. All the men, and all but two of the women had gone out with a Pakeha while at school.

In summarising this section, we see that although most of these Maori students came from areas of relatively dense Maori population, they entered college with a considerable past experience of Pakehas. There is thus less of the novelty about associating with another race which exists for many of the Pakehas - particularly the women. On the other hand they should not be expected to be fully submerged in the Pakeha system of values.

#### Maori-Pakeha relations at college.

Only 4.2% of the Pakeha students (3.2% of the women and 6.7% of the men) stated that they had not got to know any Maoris at college and even of these, 4.7% of the men had worked on a committee or played in a team with Maoris. Thus, many of the women students had their first personal contact with Maoris at college. There were in fact 32 Pakeha women who saw considerably more of Maoris after coming to college than they had done before. 18 saw less. There was a tendency for the former group to contain girls from one sex schools (75%), a third of these being fee paying

private schools. The fathers of these girls tended to be of higher occupational status. Most of the girls in the latter group came from co-educational schools and none had attended any of the fee paying private schools. Their fathers were of lower occupational status than those of the other group (average rating on the Congalton-Havighurst scale 4.3 compared with 3.2).

Although coming to college did not affect the majority of Pakeha students in terms of contact with Maoris, of those that were affected many more increased their contact than decreased it. Further, those that had increased contact were mostly girls from homes of higher status.

Let us now look at the frequency of dating at college. 38.2% of the Pakeha women stated that they had gone out (see footnote p. 149 ) with a Maori while at college. This was an increase of 10.3% over the figures for before coming to college. The men, however, decreased in this respect from 50% to 40.6%. An analysis of these figures in terms of frequency (see Table 26, p. 118 ) shows that most have been out "several times" with Maoris and there were more Pakeha women than men who went out "regularly" with Maoris. For the majority of those who go out with Maoris it is not an isolated experience.

For the majority of those women who went out with Maoris at College (36 out of 59) this was not a new experience, but there was a large minority (23) to whom it was. There was only a small number (7) who had been out with Maoris before coming to college but had not while at college. The distribution among the men was rather different. Only 5 of the 36 who went out with Maoris at college had not done so before and a comparatively large number (11) who had gone out with Maoris before coming to college did not do so at college.

Of particular interest in this analysis are those who have changed their behaviour since coming to college. To many Pakehas college represents their first opportunity for close social contact with Maoris. A large number grasp this opportunity so we find that their degree of contact and their dating frequency increases. As would be expected, it is those who, because of their place of schooling and the contacts of their parents, have had little close association with Maoris who show the biggest increase in contact. For those who have not had dates with Maoris at college this does not necessarily mean that they have changed their attitude towards Maoris, for all of the women concerned stated that they had got to know some Maoris at College and 3 out of the 7 had close relationships with Maori girls.

However, all the Pakeha men in this category showed a general decrease in contact, none of them carrying on close relationships of any type with the other race.

In summarising this section we may say that for the Pakeha women college life increases greatly their likelihood of associating with Maori men and this is particularly true for those girls who have previously been segregated from them. It is also quite likely that they should become "emotionally involved" as is implied by the 10% who go out regularly. It would be reasonable to expect that some of these relationships will lead to marriage. For Pakeha men College life is more likely to mean a diminution of their association with Maoris. Why this is so is not altogether clear, but some possible reasons are discussed elsewhere.

All the Maori students retain close relationships with Pakehas, all have gone out with Pakehas while at college, 8 regularly and the remaining 10 on several occasions.

What are the reasons put forward by the students and their teachers for this increased incidence of interracial dating when students come to college? From discussions with students it appeared that a variety of factors influenced this choice. They may be summarized under the following headings: College environment; Reaction from home background; Nature of the Maori men; Nature of the



Pakeha women and attitude of Maori men to in-group dating.

(1) At college there is little consciousness of race shown and dating therefore tends to be free in these terms. Most claimed that they did not think in terms of race, but the concern with which some discussed interracial marriage and dating did not bear this out.

(2) Many of the Pakeha girls said that they had come to college with strong anti-Maori prejudices derived from their parents. After a short time at college most lost these ideas and it is probable that some of the mixed dating was a subsequent reaction. Opposition from home to relationships at college often tends to stimulate them.

(3) The Pakeha girls considered that the Maori boys were generally better specimens of manhood than were the Pakehas. They felt that the selection process was tougher for Maoris than for Pakehas and that they were generally the more able. In particular they were more socially matured, better sportsmen and dancers, and took a greater part in student organizations. It was flattering for a girl to be associated with the sort of boy who stood out in a crowd. The fact that many of the elective posts in student organizations were held by Maori boys (put there by an electorate dominated in numbers by Pakeha girls) bears out these points.

(4) Some students considered that many of the Pakeha girls who went out with Maoris were unduly concerned with the

sexual aspect of the relationship and that they saw the Maori boy as a more desirable sexual object. Most of the girls became very interested in Maori activities after establishing a relationship with a Maori boy. It was more usual for the personal relationship to come first.

(5) There was a tendency for both the men and women Maori students at college to look on each other as siblings. Those who did not know each other before coming to college rapidly established this easy sibling-like relationship. The Maori men nearly always preferred to establish dating relationships with Pakeha girls.

The dating of Maori girls by Pakeha men at College did not appear to the students as needing explanation. They said it did not occur much and considered it the result of random choice.

The lecturers at the college varied to some degree in their assessment of mixed dating. To those most directly concerned with the students concerned it was seen very much in the terms described above, and as a normal healthy pattern of behaviour. To some, however, it was seen largely as the result of a missionary zeal on the part of immature Pakeha girls and a reaction against middle class prejudiced homes. As such it was to be treated warily. The physique of the Maori boys was thought to attract Pakeha girls as did their

concern with the social graces. Relationships between Pakeha boys and Maori girls were either not observed or not considered worthy of mention.

Reactions and expected reactions of parents, siblings and friends to mixed dating and marriage.

Pakeha women: Table 27 (p. 132 ) summarises the reactions of parents who have been confronted with a relationship between their daughter and a Maori boy, as well as those of siblings and friends.

Although very few parents actively encourage the relationship there are also few who actually forbid it. Indeed, if we combine those who treat it as normal with those who encourage it, as the "approvers" we find that they outnumber the "disapprovers" by a small margin. In the 17 cases where parents varied in their reaction 11 were cases of the father being less sympathetic to the relationship and 6 were cases of the mother being less sympathetic.

Siblings and friends are much more likely to encourage the relationship than are parents and much less likely to disapprove. The majority treat it as normal.

The figures for those who have not been told of an existing relationship (see Table 28, p. 132 ) indicate that this is not always done because of an expected adverse

Table 27

Reactions to mixed dating of Pakeha girls.

Type of reaction <sup>(7a)</sup>	Mother	Father	Siblings	Friends
Encourage	1	2	9	8
Treat as normal	29	27	32	45
Disapprove	18	10	1	3
Object	6	9	1	-
Forbid	3	4	-	-
Approve <sup>(7b)</sup>	30	29	41	53
Disapprove	27	23	2	3

Table 28

Expected reactions of parents to mixed dating by Pakeha girls.

Expected reaction	Parents of those who have had a relationship	Parents of those who have not had a relationship	Total
Encourage	0	0	0
Treat as normal	4	29	33
Disapprove	1	22	23
Object	4	25	29
Forbid	0	6	6
Approve	4	29	33
Disapprove	5	53	58

Table 29

Expected attitudes of parents of Pakeha girls to intermarriage.

Attitude to marriage	Parents of those who have had a relationship	Parents of those who have not had a relationship	Total
Approve wholeheartedly	11	15	26
Approve reluctantly	22	31	53
Disapprove	12	16	28
Object	9	14	23
Forbid	9	9	18
Approve/Tolerate	33	46	79
Disapprove	30	39	69

7a. See Appendix for exact questions asked.

7b. It is assumed that to "treat as normal" shows implicit approval.

reaction. Also, whereas in the case of the parents who knew of a relationship there had been a fairly even balance between "approvers" and "disapprovers" in the case of expected reactions there were almost twice as many "disapprovers" as "approvers". There are two possible conclusions to be drawn from this. One is that the girls attribute stronger adverse reactions to their parents than they really hold. The other is that the girls whose parents have stronger anti-Maori prejudices are less likely to begin a relationship with a Maori, either because they conform to the perceived wishes of the parents or because they have themselves taken over the attitudes of their parents. It is probable that all these factors operate to some degree and further light is thrown on this below in an analysis in terms of occupational status.

Most of the girls expected a redistribution of attitudes if their parents were to be confronted with the prospect of a mixed marriage. The data in Table 29 (p. 132) indicates that more parents would be expected to give positive approval and more to actually forbid the marriage. (This is a real sanction as all the girls were minors and hence would require their parents' approval for marriage.) Over all, the girls would expect a show of approval from their parents which indicates that in most cases a mixed marriage is tolerable, even if not desirable.

Pakeha men: The figures in Table 30 (p.135) indicate that most parents, siblings and friends treat the relationship as normal and, while few encourage it, there are also few who disapprove or object, and none who forbid. There was little or no difference between the reactions of mothers and fathers and in the two cases where they did differ, in one it was the father who disapproved more while in the other it was the mother.

As with the girls, those whose parents had not been confronted with a relationship expected a more adverse reaction than was experienced by those whose parents had already reacted (see Table 31, p.135); and the same reasons are probably relevant.

The men expected a generally more favourable reaction to a projected marriage than did the women (see Table 32, p.135). As with the Pakeha girls there were greater numbers of both strongly negative and strongly positive reactions than in the case of reactions to dating.

Maori students:

As is indicated in Table 33 (p.136), most Maori parents accept relationships of their children with Pakehas as a perfectly normal behaviour pattern. There were two cases of objection and these were both fathers.

Marriage with a Pakeha in most cases is looked on as



Table 30Reactions to mixed dating of Pakeha men.

Type of reaction	Mother	Father	Siblings	Friends
Encourage	2	2	2	4
Treat as normal	20	19	20	24
Disapprove	4	2	3	2
Object	1	1	0	-
Forbid	0	0	-	-
Approve	22	21	22	28
Disapprove	5	3	3	2

Table 31Expected reactions of parents to mixed dating by Pakeha men.

Expected reaction	Parents of those who have had a relationship	Parents of those who have not had a relationship	Total
Encourage	0	1	1
Treat as normal	3	11	14
Disapprove	6	8	14
Object	3	5	8
Forbid	1	0	1
Approve	3	12	15
Disapprove	10	13	23

Table 32Expected attitudes of parents of Pakeha men to intermarriage.

Attitude to marriage	Parents of those who have had a relationship	Parents of those who have not had a relationship	Total
Approve wholeheartedly	6	6	12
Approve reluctantly	19	12	31
Disapprove	4	4	8
Object	4	2	6
Forbid	1	2	3
Approve/Tolerate	25	18	43
Disapprove	9	8	17

Table 33Reactions to mixed dating of Maoris.

Type of reaction	Mother	Father	Siblings	Friends
Encourage	1	0	0	3
Treat as normal	15	15	14	15
Disapprove	0	0	1	0
Object	0	2	0	-
Forbid	0	0	-	-
Approve	16	15	14	18
Disapprove	0	2	1	0

Table 34Expected attitudes of parents of Maoris to intermarriage.

Attitude to marriage	Parents
Approve wholeheartedly	9
Approve reluctantly	5
Disapprove	1
Object	1
Forbid	0
Approve	14
Disapprove	2

a desirable action and in no cases would parents be expected to forbid it (see Table 34, p. 136 ).

Analysis in terms of background:

In this section I am concerned with what relationship, if any, is discernible between the reaction of parents and their "backgrounds" (i.e. their previous contacts with Maoris and their occupational statuses). I use the term "approver" to describe a parent<sup>(8)</sup> who treats or is expected to treat a relationship between a son or a daughter and a Maori as normal or worthy of encouragement. I use the term "disapprover" for one who in the terms of the questionnaire would be expected to disapprove, object or forbid, or has actually made such a reaction. Where the parents have actually been confronted with a relationship I speak of an "experienced reaction", and when they have not of an "expected reaction". In using the Conglaton-Havighurst scale of occupational status I have telescoped categories 1 and 2, and categories 6 and 7, thus formulating a five point scale more relevant to the problem being considered.

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8. In this section parents are treated as a unit in each case. If they hold different views the most adverse is taken as general. The assumption is that even when only one parent is adverse, this may affect the relationship.

(i) Work and social contacts: Amongst the Pakeha parents who work with Maoris we find 60.3% are approvers while 39.7% are disapprovers. Amongst those who don't work with Maoris the position is reversed - 34.3% approvers and 65.7% disapprovers. That this is not just a reflection of social status will be demonstrated later in the section concerned with occupational status.

The effect of previous social contact in determining reactions is seen in Fig.3 (p. 139) which indicates the proportions of approvers and disapprovers at each degree of contact from 0 to 4 (see Table 25, p. 118). It can be seen from the graph that there is some positive relation between amount of contact and approval of dating. The Pakehas whose parents have worked or have social contacts with Maoris are more likely to receive approval in any relationship they may themselves establish with a Maori.

(ii) Reaction in terms of occupational status: Fig.4 shows the result of subtracting the number of disapprovers from the number of approvers in each occupational status category for parents of Pakeha male and female students, and expressing them as a percentage of each category total.

For the parents of the men there was either a balance between approvers and disapprovers or an excess of approvers in all occupational status categories. The least approving

Figure 3

Proportions of approving and disapproving Pakeha parents in terms of their contact with Maoris.

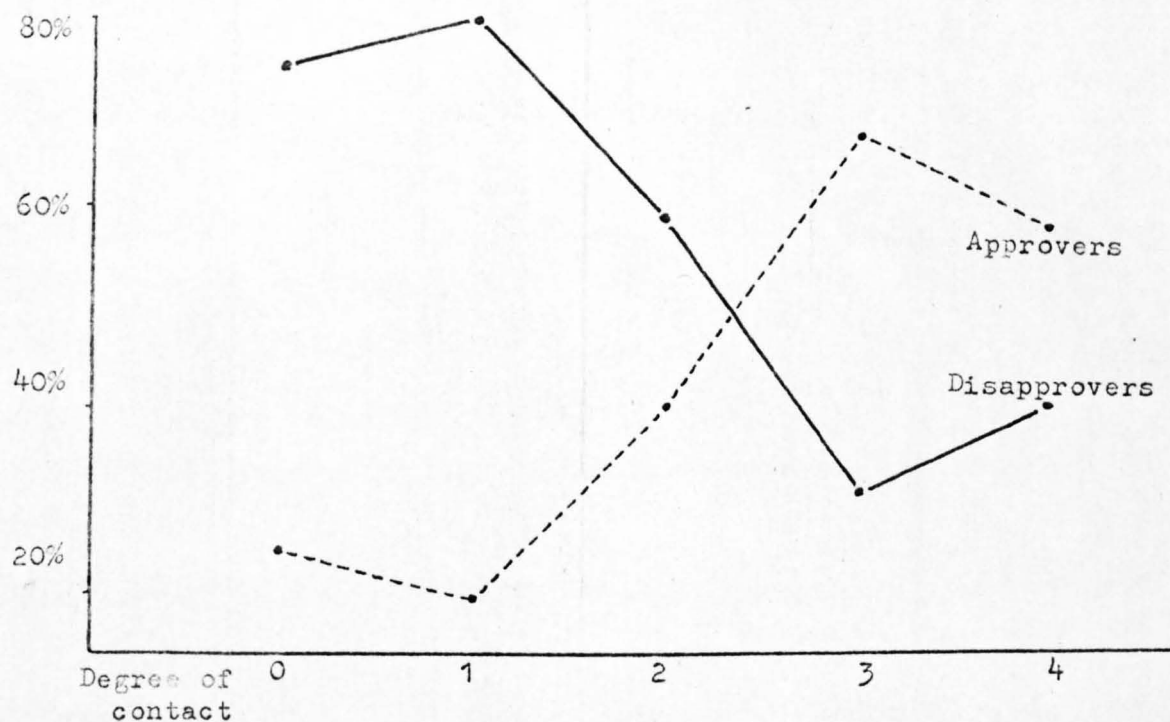
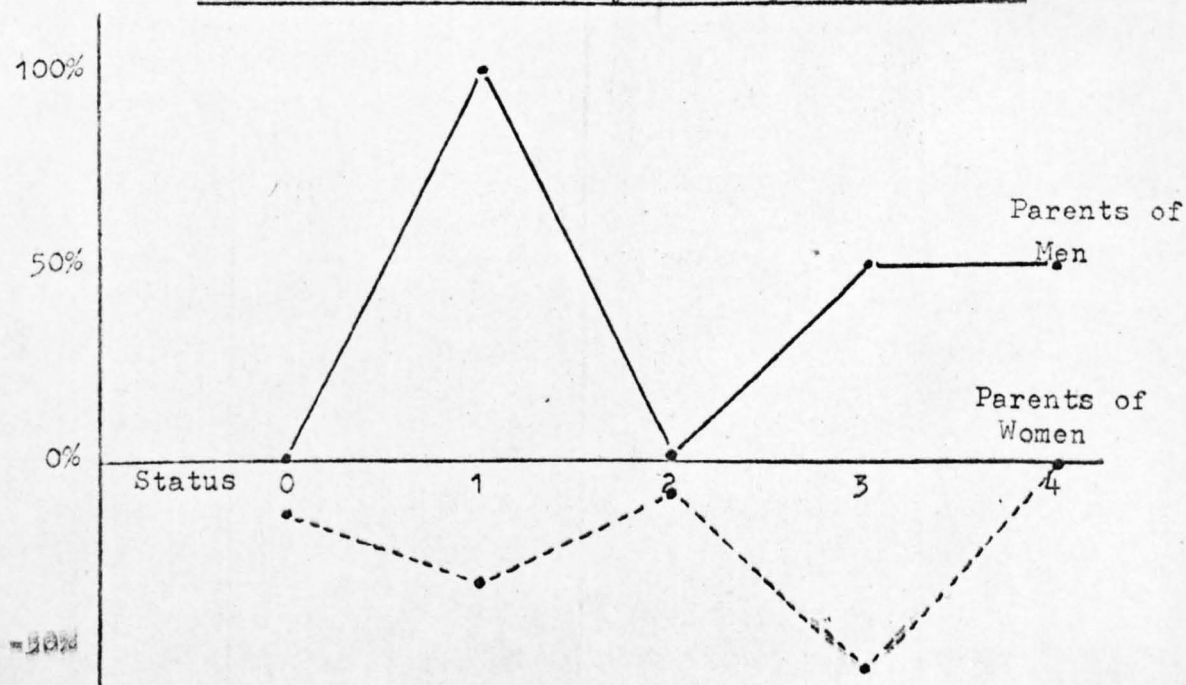


Figure 4

Excess of approvers over disapprovers as percentage of total in each category of occupational status.



groups were the first and third.

The situation for the parents of the women was somewhat different. All categories contained either equal distributions or an excess of disapprovers. The most disapproving categories were the second and fourth.

It is probable that groups two and four are striving most for upward mobility and if this were so marriage of a daughter to a Maori would perhaps be seen as retarding this. It is obvious from the other data that a Maori wife for a son is not looked on as such a disadvantage and there must therefore be some other factors operating in this case.

The graphs in Fig.5 (p.141 ) compare the above set of figures with the expected reactions of the parents who have not been confronted with a relationship between their daughter and a Maori.

The fact that the two graphs in Fig.5 do not coincide could indicate, as has been mentioned above, either a bad prediction on the part of the girls who have not experienced a parental reaction or alternatively that there is a range of degree of conformity. If the experienced reaction is higher than the expected reaction this might indicate high conformity (i.e. it is more often the girls whose parents will approve who go out with a Maori ). If the experienced reaction is lower than the expected this might indicate



Figure 5

Comparison between experienced and expected reactions for parents of Pakeha girls.

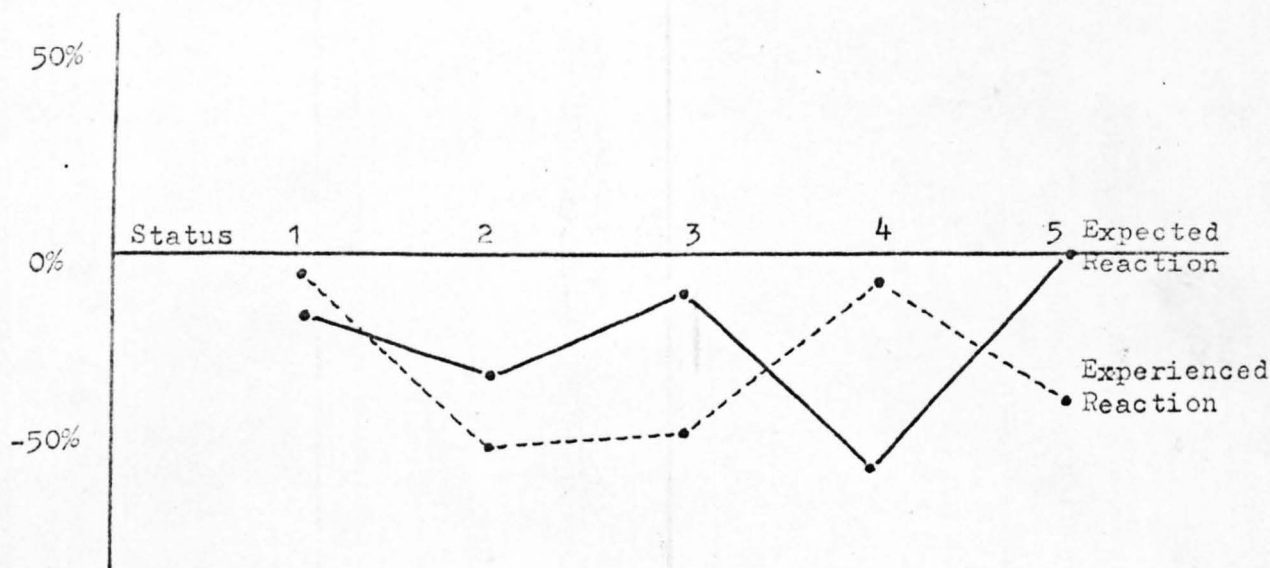
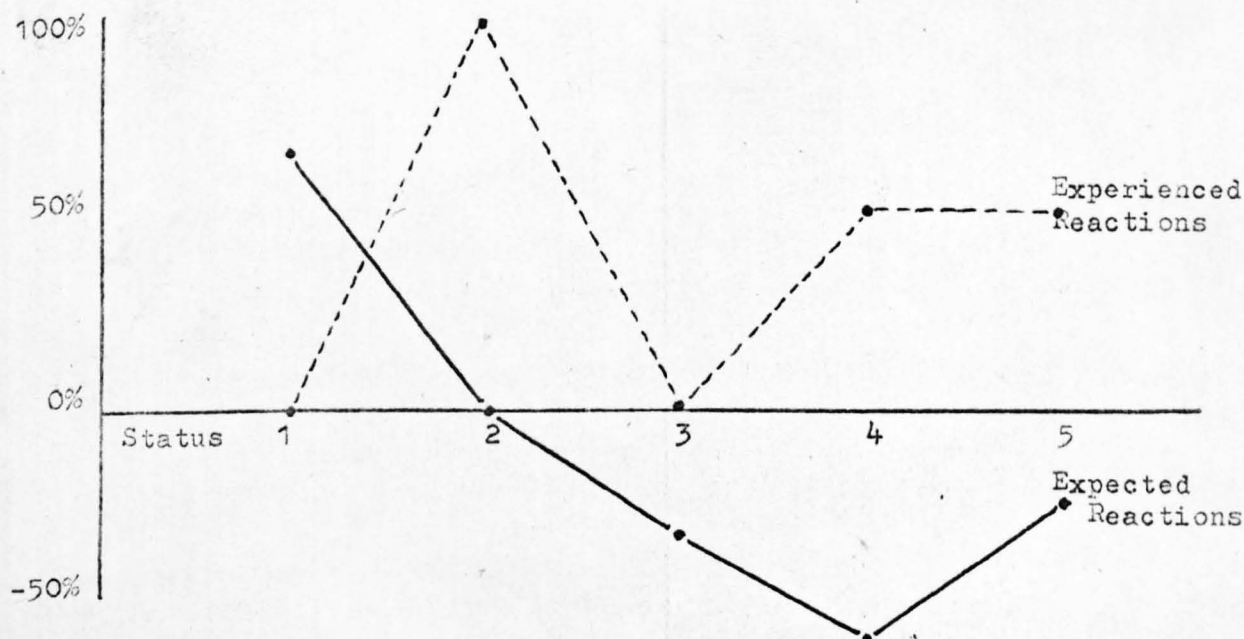


Figure 6

Comparison between experienced and expected reactions for parents of Pakeha men.



low conformity (i.e. it is more often those girls whose parents disapprove who go out with Maoris). Unfortunately, the numbers involved here are too small to attempt to draw rigorous conclusions. The best that can be done is to indicate these possibilities.

In the case of the men (see Fig. 6, p. 141) the divergencies are much greater and in the terms of the argument above indicate a strong tendency towards conformity in most groups. The top group is again an exception. It is possible that it is the first opportunity in terms of available proximate contacts that the boys in the top group have had of showing their non-conformity (this is also indicated by their pre-college record and that the rest have already gone through this "experimental stage").

#### Attitudes of students towards mixed marriage:

Although almost 64% of the Pakeha girls were in favour of marriage between Maoris and Pakehas, only 44% were in favour of intermarriage generally. This same difference in attitude was shown by the Pakeha men (71% and 62%). The Pakeha men, then, were more generally supporters of intermarriage and both sexes preferred

intermarriage with Maoris to other (unspecified) types of intermarriage (cf. Vaughan: 1962).

All the Maori students were in favour both of intermarriage with Pakehas and of intermarriage in general.

Expected reaction of parents of other race to intermarriage:

Only 42% of the Pakeha girls who had not gone out with a Maori expected Maori parents to approve of a mixed marriage for their child. However, those who had gone out with a Maori were more optimistic, 57% expecting approval.

Pakeha men who had not gone out with Maoris were evenly divided on this question, but 55% of those who had gone out with a Maori expected disapproval.

Nearly two-thirds of the Maori students stated that they would expect approval from Pakeha parents when confronted with the prospect of a mixed marriage. In this respect they are more optimistic than the children of the Pakehas concerned.

The students' conception of the problems of intermarriage

Very few students considered that there would be no problems facing a mixed married couple as such, and the problems I suggested were ranked in the following order<sup>(9)</sup>:

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9. All categories of students were consistent in their ranking except for those factors ranked here 4, 5 & 6, where the precise order varied from one category to another.

- 1: Social disapproval.
- 2: Different customs.
- 3: Parental disapproval.
- 4: Difference in standards.
- 5: Difference in aims.
- 6: Lower social position of the children.
- 7: Different tastes in food.

Unfortunately it seems that the choice of problems here has been affected by the degree of generality.

There seems to have been a tendency for the more general problem to be ranked higher, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions from this question. It is surprising, however, that more should expect difficulties with society than with parents. One possible reason for this would be the belief that while parents may adjust to particular circumstances, society will not.

Although the question relating to the social position of the children was ranked low, a similar problem was very often introduced by the student. Many were concerned that the offspring of a mixed marriage would hold an ambivalent position, accepted in neither race and unsure of their allegiances. No Maori gave this answer as presumably most have Pakeha ancestors and none have had difficulty in being accepted as Maoris. No doubt the real worry of the Pakehas

is that the children of a mixed marriage will not be accepted as Pakehas. Others saw a problem in actual colour variations among the children of a mixed family.

Of general importance here is the fact that while nearly three-quarters of the Pakehas named problems affecting the marriage from outside (parental and social disapproval), less than half mentioned problems affecting the marriage from within<sup>(10)</sup> (differences in aims, customs, food, etc.). In some measure this justifies the approach I have taken in orientating this study more directly towards the relations of a mixed couple or family with the social groups of which they are members rather than towards problems of individual adjustment, although these are not entirely neglected.

#### Some comments on the questionnaires:

Most students who commented at the end of the questionnaire were concerned that they had been asked to generalise. They emphasised that there was much variation between individuals in each race and they were loathe to state the answers to some of the questions in general terms. However, many of the Pakeha comments carried the underlying implication that Maoris were generally unsuitable as spouses

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10. The Maori students showed the same emphasis but not to the same degree, however the numbers were too small for this to be significant.

for Pakehas but in spite of this there were some who had established themselves as equals.

The usual platitudes were presented by some, about "the noble Maori race" the members of which were "our brothers and sisters" and that the "best Maoris" were as good as "any Pakeha" (but not that the worst Pakeha was as bad as any Maori). A few stated that "we should all get to know Maoris", but much fewer that "we should try to learn something about them." Rather more implied that parity would be achieved when Maoris had all become culturally Pakehas. The onus was much more often placed on the Maori to "raise his standards" (i.e. become more like a Pakeha).

None of the comments by Maori students implied that the members of one race were not appropriate spouses for the members of the other. Most acknowledged the existence of tensions between the races but all of these did not give the Pakehas sole blame and one emphasised regional variations. Increased intermarriage was seen as a positive factor in improving race relations.

#### Relation of questionnaire answers to interview statements:

In general, the results of the questionnaires confirmed the information obtained from interviews and vice versa. The only points on which there were much difference



were those covering the reactions of parents. The students who talked with me left the impression that opposition from Pakeha parents was both universal and intense. This was not fully born out in the questionnaire answers. It must be assumed from this that the students who came forward to talk with me were predominantly those who were experiencing adverse reactions at home. Individual reactions will be discussed in the appropriate place in the body of the thesis.

As I inferred above the reactions of the authorities at the college varied, but there have been attempts to discourage relationships developing, even before they are known at home. This is justified by those concerned by the belief that: 1. The girls are attracted solely by the physical attributes of the boys, 2. They act in reaction to parental opinions, 3. A permanent relationship would be unwise because of "differences in background", 4. The girls' parents, if they knew, would not approve of the relationship. (It should be noted that to many of the girls who are minors living away from home, the college authorities stand in loco parentis and therefore feel a certain obligation with respect to the control of students and its relation to expected parental reaction).

Interference from college authorities, as with that from parents, is strongly resented by students and seldom

achieves the desired ends, even when it may appear to do so. Many couples who have been affected in this way apparently continue with their relationships on a less public level and there is a possibility that in these cases it is given an added attraction by being clandestine.

Discussions I had with students at the other Teachers' College in Auckland confirmed in all points the results from the college discussed here.

## CHAPTER VII: DATING AND COURTING

In Chapter V most of the discussion was concerned with interactions not specifically orientated by the individuals towards dating, courting or marriage. I was concerned with people's membership of groups based on kinship, friendship, interests, aims, work or education. The fact that the groups contained members of the other race was usually, as far as the individual was concerned, accidental.

Meeting does not normally involve a decision on the part of those who meet but is imposed on them either by the situation or by an intermediary. Dating<sup>(1)</sup> on the other hand is a type of social interaction which involves not decisions about joining groups, but decisions about interacting with a specific individual, and while a group may not be conceptualised in racial terms an individual nearly always is. Asking for, or accepting a date and establishing a courting relationship involve a series of decisions based

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1. The phrase "going out with" is more normally used in New Zealand than the word "dating", however the latter term is in more general use and will be used here.

on the needs, wants or desires<sup>2</sup> of the individual and his evaluations of the situation, as well as on the range of choices available.

The range of choices available is directly related to the composition in sexual and racial terms of the groups of which the individual is a member. In most cases this will coincide with meeting opportunities which have already been discussed.

For satisfying the individual's desire or need for a dating partner, a member of his own race may be suitable, in fact in most circumstances may be more suitable than a member of the other race. However, there are some wants felt by some individuals which can only be filled by a member of the other race, or at least may be filled more effectively by a member of the other race.

A "date" as the term is used here implies that the couple meet by appointment and spend part or all of a day or evening together, very often taking part in some

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2. No single term seems adequate in this context so I have used "needs", "wants" and "desires" where each seems appropriate. Many of the factors being discussed are not necessities in the sense of Malinowski's primary or basic needs but are never-the-less seen as highly desirable by the individual and may indeed be considered truly as needs if this term is used with reference to the optimum functioning of the individual in a social environment.

recreational activity, usually either a film or a dance, with a visit to a coffee bar or more rarely a restaurant. Sometimes the couple is part of a larger unit, the members of which take their pleasure together, frequently in the form of parties. In the summer months, a date is often centered round a visit to a beach for a swim or a picnic. When a boy owns a car or has access to one it is usual that this be shared with several friends. It is very unusual for a girl to pay for herself on a date.

There are few situations in which either Maoris or Pakehas see members of the other race as unsuitable for satisfying their desire for the company of a member of the opposite sex. Many of the Pakehas who do date Maoris see them as more adequate in this respect, particularly when interacting with the opposite sex is closely associated with dancing and sport. As has been mentioned in Chapter VI, the attentiveness of the Maori boy is often seen as acting to his advantage.

Some of my Maori men informants mentioned the unpredictability of behaviour of Pakeha girls as sometimes creating a block in the relationship.

"The trouble with Pakeha girls is that you never know how they'll react or what they're thinking. With a Maori girl you're pretty sure of their feelings all the time."

In a sense this is paradoxical because the air of mystery surrounding members of the other race with reference to their behaviour in close personal relationships appears at times to act as a positive incentive. A Maori male student teacher told me:

"We always like to take out Pakeha girls when we come to College, but it's mainly just to see what they're like."

The approach of Pakeha men and Maori women to each other seems to lack both the uncertainty and the mystery, and to be thus closer to an in-group relationship. This is possibly because this type of relationship has occurred in some measure since the earliest days of contact.

Many Pakeha girls, particularly those interested in modern dancing prefer the company of Maori boys on dates. This is emphasised by the number who, once having been dated by a Maori, continue to be dated by Maoris.

Perhaps what I have called the desire for the company of a member of the opposite sex is just a more generalized form of sexual desire. However these two are separated conceptually by the individuals and any attempt to combine these categories would involve the use of psychological techniques which I do not have at my disposal.

Sexual desire exists on two levels. Firstly where the individual definitely aims in the relationship to achieve



sexual satisfaction and secondly when the individual has a strong desire for sexual satisfaction but does not see the fulfilment of this as the short term aim of the relationship.

Maoris, both men and women, tend to treat sex in a much freer way than do Pakehas. In comparing Maoris and Pakehas in this respect the Beagleholes say:

"..... sex appears to be one aspect of Maori life in which the Maori has worked out a fairly good personal adjustment, even though at times this adjustment may be in conflict with the dominant Pakeha standards of sexual morality."

(Beaglehole: 1946, p.116).

They give several examples, illustrating the uninhibited sexual relationships which can occur, involving young Maoris in the district of their study (op.cit.: pp. 49-50, 160-1).

I have little information on the motives of Maori girls in their relationships with Pakeha men, but several Maori men stressed sexual curiosity as a motive in their affairs with Pakeha girls (see p. 152 ). Some implied, without saying so explicitly, that there was an element of revenge in such a relationship, but this will be discussed more fully below.

For a number of Pakeha men, Maori girls represent easy sexual "conquests", but this is more noticeable in older men who, as is pointed out in previous sections

frequent some dance halls for this purpose.

Although I have no direct evidence, it often appears that Pakeha girls approach dates with Maori boys with a combination of hope and fear. This is compounded from their stereotype of the Maori (see p.129), their desire for sexual satisfaction and the moral stringencies placed on them by the Pakeha community.

It should be noted that the recognition of sexual desire as a motive for dating does not necessarily mean that the dating couple have full sexual relations.

Writers on other societies (e.g. Dollard: 1949) have mentioned sexual gains as one of the motives for the development of interracial liaisons. Where this does occur in Auckland it appears to be more a matter of individual personality rather than a cultural pattern. Neither race gives the appearance of being sufficiently insecure to need to establish domination relationships in dating or sexual activities. It may be fruitful, however, to investigate the attitudes of Maori men as mentioned above, in these terms, but I am not in possession of sufficient data to do so here. This would involve attributing to the Maori men the motives Dollard attributes to Negro women in Southern-town. (see Dollard: 1949, pp.152,3).

One aim of a date is that of sheer enjoyment and apart

from factors of personal attachment as mentioned above there are many which are related to the amount of money a boy is prepared to spend. This may be related to whether he chooses more or less expensive seats at the cinema, whether he owns a car or a motor cycle, or whether he is a good provider of liquor at parties. Although the stereotype of the Maori as a reckless spender has a degree of validity when applied to adults, in the case of youths it applies equally to Pakehas of the same socio-economic status.

In Auckland the individual's status or prestige in most groups is not normally affected by dating a member of the other race, as long as the relationship is recognised as casual. But this is not always the case. One informant stated that she and other Pakeha girls at the University, who dated Maoris, lost status in the eyes of the Pakeha men. Although there is some evidence to show that a Pakeha man may lose status among some of his fellows when he marries a Maori there is nothing to suggest that he does so by dating alone.

A type of status gain was experienced by some Pakeha girls who found it especially gratifying to be seen in public with someone who stood out, even if only by virtue of his colour.

The close friendship groups of younger mixed dating individuals sometimes show ambivalence in their reaction.

Although they recognise mixed dating as deviating from the mores of at least some sections of the Pakeha community, as members of the age group in which it is common to show rebellion against authority, they are very apt to applaud the relationship and give prestige to the participants because of their defiance.

In some cases younger Maoris lose status in the eyes of the older generation if they date Pakehas, but the middle-aged Maoris are by no means consistent in this attitude. Sometimes younger Maoris speak of mixed dating friends in such a way as to indicate that they are so gaining status.

Some wants or needs are directly related to social situations where an essential feature of the individual's role is his accompaniment by a member of the opposite sex, as at a ball, where men are expected to bring partners, and girls are not expected to come unattended. In all such situations a member of the other race is acceptable. Indeed if an individual is not in demand as a dating partner the necessity for a partner in certain social situations may force him or her to accept a member of the other race in spite of a feeling of prejudice against the race. This is particularly true of women and girls, because they do not normally take the initiative in arranging a date. A girl asked on a date by someone whom she would not ask

herself had she been taking the initiative may accept, either because it is embarrassing not to, or because she fears she may not be asked by anyone else and sees it as desirable to be dated on this occasion. In these circumstances she perceives her role as being that of "partner" and her failure to fulfil this role would result in a loss of status. An extreme example of this is pointed out by Banton in his Stepney study:

"Conventional attitudes operate so as to restrain any English woman from consorting with a coloured man, and it is only those women who rebel, or those whom the white group has rejected and over whom it has lost the power of restraint, who will go out with any of the immigrants." (Banton: 1955, p.150).

I know of no mixed marriages in Auckland where the Pakeha is a complete reject in the way implied here.

The information from the student teachers (see pp.131-3) indicates that when faced with a mixed dating situation parents of Pakeha girls are fairly evenly divided between those who give implicit approval and those who show some form of disapproval. About one in ten reacted adversely in strong terms. One Pakeha girl told me that when she took her Maori boy-friend home her mother went out of her way to make him feel uncomfortable. She never took him

home again. Others admitted to resorting to subterfuges to enable them to meet their Maori boyfriends without the knowledge of their parents, who had forbidden them to go out. Some had left home for flats or even shifted to another city.

Many parents of Pakehas evaluate their children's actions as showing immaturity and a lack of understanding of the supposed social consequences of intermarriage. As will be shown below the evaluations may change with persistent dating. Pakeha parents are more ready to accept a mixed dating situation for their son.

Both male and female Pakeha youths who have not actually experienced a parental reaction tend to expect an adverse one.

Maori parents are much more likely to express approval, although there are some who react strongly against mixed dating. One Maori girl told me with some conviction that her father had threatened to shoot any Pakeha boys she might bring home. Some of the very old Maoris see any associations with Pakehas which are likely to lead to marriage as a threat to the existence of the race and may also be suspicious of the motives of the Pakehas concerned.

The reaction of own generation kinsfolk and friends has been indicated above. Very few cases came to my notice where adverse reactions were shown or expected. This is



fully substantiated by the statements of the student teachers (see pp.     ). There is no doubt that in a vague sort of way the community in general does not fully accept mixed dating. I say vague because reactions are not always consistent, and explanations seldom explicit. They tend to be expressed in such statements as:

"It's better to stick to your own race."

"It's disgraceful the number of Pakeha girls you see with Maori boys now-a-days." (Without any explanation why.)

"It's just asking for trouble." (Unspecified.)

Only very seldom are such hostile reactions directed at specific individuals.

Mixed couples who complained of the community's reaction usually mentioned the curiosity and stares of passers-by. To some extent the mixed couple is a rarity even in Auckland and curiosity shown may not be associated with hostility. On several occasions I observed closely the reactions to mixed couples as they walked in crowded Queen Street before and after the evening cinema shows. On no occasion did I see any unusual show of curiosity or any action whatever which could be taken to show disapproval or hostility. This implies that the mixed couple is often over-sensitive and sees reactions where there are none.

Many couples who have never experienced an adverse

reaction never-the-less always go in fear and expectation of such occurring. This fear is always with reference to the Pakeha section of the community and not the Maori.

Very often a Pakeha dated by a Maori is apprehensive on his or her first meeting with a Maori group, but I know of few cases where this has persisted.

Although all these reactions are not always conceived as sanctions they do often take this form. Simple disapproval may on occasions build up to a pitch where a parent gives sign of some form of breakdown. In the few cases where this has been said to occur it was implied that this condition was used as a form of intimidation. A sanction of mild disapproval is sometimes applied by other groups and by the community. On rare occasions this takes the form of loudly spoken derogatory comments, but usually it is less direct.

Cases of physical intimidation are rare and those of which I have been told were threats which probably would not have been executed. I know of no cases of either actual or threatened intimidation involving anyone other than a parent.

When a daughter is either turned out of the house or refused readmission, the most grave implication for her is not so much the loss of physical support as the implied

loss of kinship status, and the threat of exclusion is normally the strongest sanction used. Although the instances of which I have first hand knowledge occurred after the couple had begun living together though not married, I have been told of cases where it was related to simple dating. I know of no group other than the family which has ever threatened exclusion to a mixed dating member.

Another sanction often applied by parents is that of non-acceptance into the family circle of the dating partner. This causes embarrassment to both partners and stops them having a completely normal relationship as such would involve home visiting as it developed into courting. Social groups other than the family do not apply this sanction, but in some cases fear that they might acts as a sanction.

In only a very few cases are any of these sanctions effective.

If parents disapprove of a relationship the sanction of exclusion can be applied by their child in the form of a threat to leave home.

Mary had been dated occasionally by a Maori boy, but when this became regular her mother told her that she must stop seeing him. Mary threatened to leave home and join some girl friends in a flat. Her mother capitulated, probably feeling that she could exert more influence while Mary

was living at home. Subsequently she got to know the Maori boy concerned, grew to like him, and eventually gave her approval to their marriage.

This last example demonstrates one of the most important aspects of race relations in New Zealand; that is the extent to which the qualities of the individual are able to override the prejudice which often prevails in a generalized form. For every type of adverse reaction mentioned above instances could be presented in which the qualities of an individual have overridden the generalized prejudice. Unfortunately an individual is not always given a chance to prove himself and his special qualities may have no chance to take effect until a permanent relationship has been established.

The special characteristics of the individual often have a noticeable effect on the decision-making of the dating partner. Several of my mixed married informants appeared quite prejudiced against the other race but justified their own relationship by saying that their spouse was an exception. The following are typical statements both given by Pakehas married to Maoris who would be readily identified as such:

"No one ever recognizes my husband as a Maori."

"Everyone thinks my wife is Italian or Greek."

In such cases as these the personal qualities of the individual have outweighed the disadvantage of being a

member of the other race. This recognition of exceptions occurs in all prejudiced societies. It is not the fact that it occurs here which is important, but the frequency with which it occurs and the proportion of the dominant race who are prepared to make these exceptions.

Often a Maori gains more ready acceptance because of his ability as a sportsman or musician or because of his establishment in a higher status occupation. In all these cases the individual Maori has special endowments which carry status in the Pakeha community. Similarly, Pakehas who are familiar with Maori cultural standards and accept them are much more readily acceptable to Maoris in a dating relationship.

As has been indicated in various places above, the social groups of which the individuals are members play an important part in determining their actions, either by the opportunities given for mixing, or by the type of reactions shown to mixed dating.

Not only does each individual play a variety of social roles and belong to a variety of social groups, whose reactions may not be consistent, but he also plays different roles in different phases of his life. This means that the motives for interracial dating and the reactions to it show some variations with the ages of the

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individuals as has been suggested. Another aspect of this is that the same group shows a different reaction to the interracial activities of its members depending on their age and other criteria such as their status within the group.

A businessman who has several adopted Maori children said that he is often aware that the tolerance members of his group show towards his "idiosyncrasy" is to a large extent because of his status.

If the group is uniracial then the dating of one of its members with a member of the other race means that it must either lose the member concerned or incorporate the member of the other race<sup>(3)</sup> which action will automatically destroy the racial identity of the group. In terms of racial purity the continuance of the group is threatened. However, whether the group is racially mixed or exclusive, the reaction in any particular case will depend on the relationships between the individuals of different races and their attitudes.

Some groups which are exclusive in racial terms may not see this as an important characteristic of their groups, and members may have close relationships with the other race through their other roles in the community. For example, several of my Pakeha informants who were the first in their

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3. In the case of incorporation, both the normal role and status given to the incoming member and the existing role and status of the outdating member may be varied.

family to date a Maori (the family thus being until this time a racially exclusive group) never-the-less received no adverse reaction because, firstly, the racially exclusive nature of the family was not important to its members, and secondly, members of the family interacted freely with Maoris at work, at school and at play.

In some groups where both races are represented there may be a status difference based on race within the group. In these cases the members of either or both races within the group may still react against mixed dating. An example of this is where a Pakeha father who was the director of a large business enterprise which employed Maoris as wage labourers, strongly disapproved of his daughter's association with a Maori boy.

Individuals do not see all their roles in all the groups as equally important. A Pakeha who, in the role of "rugby player" may fully accept Maoris as members of his group, may in the role of "kinsman" react strongly against the association of his brother with a Maori girl.

It has already been shown that racial differences based on economic status within a group may destroy the unity of the group; but do groups within one category which are differentiated from one another by criteria of

economic status necessarily vary in their reactions to interracial dating and marriage? Economic status as such, is probably not important, but it is almost impossible to differentiate this factor from that of racial composition, because there are very few Maoris with high economic status (see Harré: 1963, p.14). Often when Pakehas of high economic status have reacted against the interracial activities of one of the members of their group it is impossible to discover to what extent they are reacting against the race of the Maori and to what extent against his economic status.

The group of student teachers discussed in Chapter V had a strong ideology favouring race mixture and thus on the whole members of the College reacted favourably to interracial dating. To some church members, notably Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists, race mixture is seen either as an ideal, or as irrelevant, in comparison with the unity of their church. However, in both these cases and also in the case of the Church of England the clergy are reluctant to give their approval to mixed marriages on the grounds of difficulties in cultural adjustment.

As has been pointed out in Chapters V and VI, members of the younger age groups seem to accept interracial mixing more readily than their elders. It is difficult to say

whether this truly represents a variation with age or whether it is the result of a general improvement in the climate of race relations.

When a couple is dating regularly and exclusively, but there is no arrangement for marriage, I refer to the relationship as courting. It is perhaps more usual to use this term only when the man is dating the woman with the object of marriage, but very often dating is started without marriage in mind and it is impossible to say when the motive changes. In these circumstances it seems better to use regularity and exclusiveness as the criteria for a courting relationship. Courting is the relationship which draws such remarks as "They're going steady" and "They're getting serious". When a couple is courting it is assumed by their associates that when the role they are playing demands a partner they will date each other. From the point of view of the reactions of others the important aspect of courting is that it carries for them the implication or expectation of marriage. To the individuals concerned there may still be no conscious orientation towards marriage and the relationship may be seen as an extension of casual dating. Thus, while courting does not usually mean a re-evaluation of the relationship on the part of the courting partners it may well do so on the part of the other members of the groups to which they belong, particularly

their families.

It is with the parents of the couple that the most noticeable shift often occurs. Several of my informants said that while their relationship with members of the other race had been casual their parents had accepted it with equanimity. The transition to courting had drawn forth criticism and sometimes demands that the relationship should cease. In every case the reactions of the parents was the result of a fear that the relationship might lead to either marriage or pregnancy. Many Pakehas attribute to Maoris a low standard of sexual morality and fear that a regular relationship between their child and a Maori may result in a pregnancy. This reaction is strongest when the Pakeha is the girl. Special circumstances may make this fear stronger as is shown in the following account of the experiences of one of my informants.

Mary had lived at home until the time of her marriage. Prior to going out with Hemi she had been dated by two other Maori boys. These casual relationships were accepted without comment by her parents. Her mother, however, reacted unfavourably to her going out steadily with Hemi. According to Mary this attitude was caused, in part, by the events which led up to their meeting. She had met him at the wedding of a Pakeha girl friend to a Maori boy.

The wedding had been precipitated by the girl's pregnancy and this was a great shock to Mary's mother. From this time she had developed a fear that her daughter might get into the same situation if she went out steadily with a Maori.

In dating and courting relationships there are few adjustments which need to be made either by the individuals or the groups. Where there is a cultural difference (and this is not always the case) there may be the beginnings of cultural adaptations which are not fully faced until after engagement or marriage. The family is more likely to begin its adjustment at this stage if it is going to eventually accept the out-group member. As I have already implied in Chapter V, an adverse stereotype of the Maori is often able to exist because of the lack of contact with those Maoris who are equal in economic or social status. Thus the mere fact of being given the opportunity of meeting someone who does not conform to the stereotype may eventually bring about the necessary adjustment, as is illustrated in the following account:

Andrew's parents had lived most of their lives out of New Zealand in a situation where the inferior social position of members of the dark races was taken for granted. Since coming to New Zealand they had lived close to a particularly depressed Maori housing area. They were at first opposed to their son's relationship with a Maori



girl, but after meeting her several times came to accept her fully.

Rather than seek social interaction, the mixed couple occasionally isolates itself, either because it cannot gain acceptance in the group of its choice, or because it wrongly judges that it is not acceptable. This isolation is often actually the result of personality defects on the part of the couple who would have difficulty in participating in any group activities and use the racial situation as an excuse.

When Wiremu and Margaret go out together it is usually to a film. They have tended to neglect the old groups of their friends since they began going together because Margaret does not feel comfortable with a Maori group, and they fear that they may be discriminated against in the restaurants, etc. habituated by the Pakeha group. Actually they have never known such discrimination to occur.

Rangi and Jane seldom mix with the other young people but neither had ever been very gregarious in the past and it is doubtful if this isolation could be attributed to the fact that they are a mixed couple.

These cases are unusual and there are many more instances where the mixed couple belongs to an integrated group, that is, one that consists of members of both races

with both mixed and unmixed couple. Sometimes all combinations of person-to-person relationships are present which implies that the individuals lack or are low in racial prejudice and probably do not form categories in terms of race (see p.103). In many ways the Teachers' College is like this and the visiting groups of many of the mixed couples who I interviewed tended towards this form. In the case of the Teachers' College the integration is assisted by the relative social isolation of the institution.

Where the group is only partially integrated (i.e. when all the combinations mentioned above are not present) it is apparently because circumstances have not yet provided all combinations of relationships.

The situation where either unmixed couples of both races may be present and mixed couples not tolerated, or mixtures of one type only may be accepted is not found in Auckland.

Some groups which were formerly racially segregated are able to accept dating partners of their members without losing their basic characteristic of segregation.<sup>(4)</sup> This

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4. The term "outrigger group" with its implication of a large body with a small one attached in such a way as to be an integral part, but discernibly distinct, seems appropriate to describe such a group.

type of group occurs very often the most obvious example being the family. Normally such a situation implies that the other-race partner has already changed his cultural affiliation or is trying to do so, or that the group member is in a dominant position in his group and able to force the issue. At least the outcome is that the other-race individual becomes accepted as a member. In some cases the couple have an "outrigger" relationship with both Maori and Pakeha groups, as when they are accepted by both families but the families themselves do not interact.

Some groups which give the appearance of being integrated are really a multiple form of the "outrigger" type. Many Maori families retain their social identity as Maoris and mix little with Pakehas other than those who have (in local phraseology) "gone Maori". In nearly all cases such Pakehas have developed dating or marriage ties with Maori members of the group.

## CHAPTER VIII: ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Betrothal normally involves a decision on the part of the individuals concerned, but such decisions are not always based on a free range of choices. The composition of the population in racial terms has a direct effect on the possibilities of marriage, particularly if either group has an imbalance of sexes. In extreme cases this may act as an imperative, as for example in the early days of colonization of tropical territories by European men. The same factor has an effect at the University where there are more Maori men than women.

The University situation is also an example of how channels of upward mobility, because they act through occupational status, allow Maori men to move up more than Maori women. Maori men thus often find themselves in a group where nearly all the women available to them are Pakehas.

The mere fact of belonging to a minority group gives the Maori men a greater potential choice, as the total number of Pakeha women is much greater than the total number of Maori women. The normally passive role played in dating and courting by women makes this less applicable to Maori women.

In a few of the cases I studied the first child was conceived out of wedlock, but in these situations the decision to marry should only be considered as forced if it is likely that the same decision would not have been arrived at in other circumstances. In none of such cases was this certain, although in two cases it seemed likely that the marriage was caused by the pregnancy as the women had conceived within a week or so of their first meeting with the men. In light of the very high proportion of first children which are conceived out of wedlock in New Zealand this factor does not appear to be of special importance in mixed marriages.

In one case such a pre-marital pregnancy affected the marriage decision because the reaction of the Pakeha girl's parents was such that she was forced to leave home. Marrying the father of the child was the only way she could find support.

Sometimes the decision had already been made in effect by the development of courting. It was not that no overt decision was made at betrothal, but that this decision was seen as a natural outcome of the previous relationship rather than as a new departure. In a courting relationship three things are building up which may eventually determine the marriage choice. Firstly a mutual dependence, secondly

a habit of being together, and thirdly an exclusion of other potential mates. Thus very often the decision to marry is not in terms of marriage qua marriage, but is the next step in a developing relationship.

"We just drifted into marriage. When John proposed to me it wasn't like in the books, but it just seemed a sort of natural follow-up. You see after we were going steady we both stopped looking round after others so there wasn't much alternative."

A sidelight on this is thrown by the following statement from a parent:

"I tried to stop Margaret seeing Wiremu so that she would look around a bit amongst other young people. It's a mistake for someone her age to get too serious. Next thing you know they rush into marriage without knowing what it's all about."

A recognition of the importance of steady dating in determining marriage choice was one reason why parents objected to a relationship even when their child insisted that there was no thought of marriage. Most mixed couples regard parental disapproval as based on racial prejudice and it seems to have the effect of accelerating courtship.

"I was so mad at Mum for interfering, and so ashamed that she was so intolerant that our dating became even more regular."



It is not the case that all couples "drift into marriage", and in most cases what occurs is that the developing relationship leads them to consider marriage and at this point there is a reassessment. The point of interest in this study is the way this assessment is made when one partner is a Maori and the other a Pakeha.

Factors related to the partners as individuals, such as the compatibility of personalities and the amount of reciprocation of feelings, as has been pointed out in earlier chapters, have limited special relevance in racial terms, and nothing need be added in the present context. Of greater importance are those factors concerned with social relations and social structure. In particular, the questions must be answered: "What is the prestige or status potentiality of the relationship?" and "How adequately will the dating partner fill the role of spouse?"

The first question to ask when considering prestige is "Prestige in what group?". It has been suggested in Chapter III that one reason for the high incidence of mixed marriages amongst younger Pakeha girls is an outcome of the particular attributes which establish prestige in their social groups. It was suggested that physique and ability to dance were two important prestige producing attributes. To this might be added, as was suggested in

Chapter VI, the prestige to be gained by defying the older generation.

Looked at in this way, it can be seen that in terms of prestige amongst her age mates a Maori spouse has distinct advantages for the teenage Pakeha girl. The older Pakeha woman becomes increasingly concerned with status in the wider community where the most important aspects are conformity to the social mores and economic position. It should follow from this that the older Pakeha women who marry Maoris are those who have discarded the prevailing value system, or those who find themselves unable to gain status in the Pakeha group (cf. Banton: 1955, pp. 152 ff.) or alternatively, the Maori men involved may be those who can provide them with status in the Pakeha community.

The latter is seen to be the correct interpretation of the situation, as all those Pakeha women among my cases who were over twenty-one years of age married Maori men who were either of high occupational status, or, although in lower status jobs, kept up a relatively high standard of living and rapidly established themselves in good quality houses, reasonably well located in terms of their wives' backgrounds.

It has been suggested that, for a Maori girl, marrying a Pakeha man may mean a rise in status. This is certainly

true when confined to economic status, but more doubtfully so with regard to social status in general. For when the question is posed "Social status in what group?" it is seen that very often the only gain for a Maori girl is in prestige with reference to some of her age mates. Sometimes she may enter into new sets of group relationships which she may value more than her old ones, but this is a change in group rather than a change in status. In assessing the effect of marriage to a Pakeha man on the social status of the Maori women in my sample I have come to the conclusion that in the few cases where it changed, as many lost as gained.

It was certainly true historically that Maori leaders encouraged some Pakeha men to marry their women and this may have been in part for social status. The proprietary attitudes some of these chiefs adopted towards such men is shown in the phrase "my Pakeha" which has been quoted from the period of early colonization. But even here the most important function of the Pakeha was to act as an economic adviser and interpreter as is illustrated by the phrase "to talk for", which occasionally appears in historical documents. Several of my Maori woman informants mentioned economic status as a motive in their choice of a spouse, but always phrased it in such terms as "Maori men never get anywhere in a job." rather than in a positive

assessment of Pakeha potential.

It is very unusual for a Maori man to lose social status by marrying a Pakeha.

Although a man's status may be affected by his marriage, he does not normally take this into account when making a decision to marry, unless the change of status is likely to affect his job. This is possibly the reason why so few Pakeha men of high occupational status marry Maoris, and all those in my sample who did so, married girls who were fully Pakeha in behaviour and values, if not in appearance.

Cultural affiliation and the behaviour patterns of the individuals enter closely into any discussion of status. The status of an individual Maori in a Pakeha group is determined to a large degree by the amount of "Maoriness" he shows in his behaviour. In groups concerned with recreation or sport it may be an advantage for a Maori to behave in a manner closely approximating certain aspects of the Pakeha's stereotype and his status in the group may depend on this. Some Maoris play up to the situation, wearing bright clothes, being always ready with a song, and becoming known for the spontaneity of their hospitality.

However, in a kin or occupational group, particularly when the possibility of marriage is involved, the Maori, to achieve high status recognition, must approximate closely

to the ideal Pakeha behaviour pattern. This means he must dress conservatively, be abstemious in food and drink, be particularly careful in financial matters, and not be reckless in the hospitality he shows to Maori kinsfolk. Thus the majority of my Maori informants who have established good relationships with Pakeha affinal kin who have no interest in or contact with Maoris, are those who have adopted a predominantly Pakeha way of life.

Similarly, the Pakeha mixing with Maoris often adopts the behaviour patterns which are valued by the particular Maori group to which he aspires. Such things as lack of formality, generosity, hospitality, and particular modes of dress.

I was told by some Maori women informants that they hadn't wanted to marry Maori men, not only because they had a smaller chance of earning a good living, but also because they were unreliable and were always making their wives pregnant. For them the ideal role of husband implied responsibility and economic potential, and their decision to marry a Pakeha was influenced by their expectation that a Pakeha man would fill this role more adequately.

Maori men married to Pakeha wives fell into two categories. Those whose way of life was Pakeha, and those whose way of life was Maori. The role of the wife in these

two cases is different and it was noticeable that their choice of spouse followed the likelihood of role fulfilment. Most of my Maori men informants who thought and lived as Maoris had married Pakeha women who were themselves culturally very Maori and thus filled the role of wife as conceived by their Maori husbands, that is, ready to bear children without protest, easy going round the house and happy and able to cope with numbers of visitors. However, in most mixed marriages the Maori men were living culturally as Pakehas, or at least accepted Pakeha values. These men conceived the role of wife as Pakehas, and thus had been influenced in their decision to intermarry by the expectation that a Pakeha woman would be more likely to fulfil the role of spouse as they conceived it.

Huru, who was a student at the Teachers' College when he met his wife, said, "I had become completely Pakeha in outlook and not even at Training College were there any Maori girls I could have thought of marrying."

Another professional Maori man told me:

"In my job I have to do a lot of entertaining, and quite frankly I did not know a Maori girl who could adequately play the part of hostess."

Most Pakeha women saw little virtue in their Maori husbands as Maoris, but there were many Pakeha men who saw



Maori women as much more able to fill the role of wife and mother. They liked the fact that their lives centred on the home, that they were permissive in the treatment of their children, that they were hospitable and catered well and copiously.

It can be seen that although there is some individual variation in the way in which the role of spouse is conceived, cultural characteristics (or perhaps stereotypes) favour the marriage of Pakeha men to Maori women. The marriages of Maori men to Pakeha women more often occur when the Maori men are changing their cultural affiliation and thus their role conceptions. When this is linked with the increasing number of Maori men achieving greater economic status it provides some explanation for the increase in this type of intermarriage.

Finally, in the decision to marry, there are factors concerned with the groups to which the individual belongs. What alternative choices are available and what are the expected reactions of other group members to an intermarriage choice?

Not only does acculturation affect the role expectations of the individual but it may affect also the groups to which he belongs. Thus for the Maori or Pakeha who mixes mostly with the other race there are few alternatives to intermarriage, particularly as the other members of his

own race in any group may also be favourably inclined to intermarriage. Once again the best example of this is in the educational groups where there are few Maoris, most of whom are men.

Most of my informants were assisted in their decision to intermarry by the expectation that the reaction of other members of their peer group to this choice would be favourable. This is well illustrated by the statements of the student teachers in Chapter VI. They were not always so confident of the approval of other members of their kin group, but this seldom seems to have affected the making of a decision to intermarry. Admittedly most of my informants were those who had actually married, but I heard of only one case where a Pakeha man broke off an unofficial engagement because of pressure from friends and family:

"Jim was on the point of becoming officially engaged to a Maori girl but broke it off because he was made to feel uncomfortable by his friends calling him 'abo'; he also knew that his mother was very upset by the match."

A number of the young Maoris to whom I spoke at one of the Teachers' Colleges were avoiding becoming too involved with Pakehas because they were sure that a decision to marry would be opposed by their kin, especially their parents and grandparents.

It would seem that these fears were largely groundless, for in very few cases of recent mixed marriages did the parents of the Maori concerned object in any way to the marriage. Several of the instances of objection were concerned with young Maoris who were of high standing in the tribe and whose parents felt a special obligation to maintain an uncompromised allegiance to everything Maori. The pressure was greatest on those whose achievements in the Pakeha world were highest.

"My father said that as I came from a high-ranking family and had achieved so much personal distinction I should emphasise my Maoriness by marrying a Maori."

In at least two cases a marriage with another Maori had actually been arranged through the parents without the knowledge of the young people concerned.

With only a few exceptions all my informants who had married before World War II faced some opposition from the Maori parents. Two of the exceptions concerned Maoris who were thoroughly acculturated to European customs and values, and in one of these cases the father was actually a Pakeha. (In no case where one of the parents of the Maori was a Pakeha was there any objection to a marriage with another Pakeha). The other two cases where there was no opposition both involved Pakehas who had lived for some time amongst Maoris and had come to take on many of the

customs and values of the group.

Objections to more recent marriages were usually related to factors other than race. Two were cases of religious difference, at least two involved men who were social misfits to the extent that they would probably have been unacceptable to most parents of either race as sons-in-law. At least one case was concerned with an excessively possessive mother who would have found some reason for objecting to any prospective spouse.

There was a feeling by one old Maori father that a mixed marriage would be unwise for his daughter because it would be an unequal relationship. He was a minister of religion and felt that marriage should be an equal partnership. He felt that a Pakeha husband would look down on his Maori wife.

Sometimes the disapproval of Maori parents is related to the fact that their child is marrying out of the tribe as much as to the fact that the marriage is also out of the race. This factor is becoming decreasingly important, but like the arranged marriage has not entirely disappeared.

There was only one instance which gave the appearance of being an objection to the Maori's stereotype of the Pakeha and was thus not related to the individuals concerned.

On the other hand this seemed to be a very prevalent type of reaction from Pakeha parents. This is indicated by the fact that many of the Pakeha parents who had shown violent reaction to the first suggestion of a mixed marriage very soon changed their attitude after they had got to know the Maori concerned. It was also evidenced by the way that very often the reasons they gave for disapproval bore no relation to the actual Maori chosen by their son or daughter.

Elizabeth had become engaged to a professional Maori man who was completely Pakeha in his way of life. He had a good position and was well respected by those who knew him. Her parents who were living in a part of the country where many Maoris were living at a low economic level objected strongly to the match. They said that they knew Maoris to be dirty and indolent and did not want their daughter to ruin her life by getting involved with one.

It seems likely that these Pakeha parents were concerned more with their own status than with the status of their child, or at least were thinking in terms of the methods of status ascription used in their own age group and locality, for there were very few Pakehas who received any similar reaction from their age mates or siblings.

It does not appear to make any difference to the initial reaction of Pakeha parents whether the prospective Maori spouse is Pakeha or Maori in his cultural orientations,

as I was told of as many adverse reactions related to the former as to the latter. What does seem to be important is whether the Pakeha is a man or a woman. There were very few cases of Pakeha parents reacting adversely to a marriage between their son and a Maori girl. Most of those few I came across had, because of their job or living circumstances gained an especially unfavourable view of Maoris.

Chris's father objected strongly to his marriage to a Maori girl. He was a welfare officer and he told his son that the majority of the cases of delinquency he had to deal with involved half-caste children. He didn't want his grandchildren to be like that.

The father and mother normally reacted with equal intensity, and when only one reacted adversely it was as often the father as the mother.

Most of the Pakeha parents of higher occupational status showed adverse reactions, but such reactions were not uncommon at all levels of occupational status.

Apart from those instances mentioned above there were very few Pakeha parents who had had some contact with Maori people but still objected to their child's choice of spouse.

There were of course several cases where the objection



to the match was not based on the race of the prospective spouse, and more where it was very difficult to isolate racial or cultural factors from those related to the individual or the circumstances of the particular marriage. In some cases this was a difference in religion, in one, the Pakeha parents thought the couple too young (they were both only seventeen) and in a few others the parents objected to the socio-economic status of the particular Maori.

Pakeha parents seldom detailed their objections to their children, but when they did it was sometimes in terms of the fate of the offspring (which may often have implied an embarrassment to the prospective grandparents), but more often that the cultural differences between the races were such that the marriage "would not work". This was never to my knowledge founded upon actual experience, or even second hand knowledge.

In expressing objections to mixed marriages there is a code of accepted behaviour operating even between parents and children which would make it very bad form to show unqualified prejudice against the Maori group. This, to some extent, explains the reluctance of parents to detail objections which may show them up as prejudiced.

Occasionally the sanctions employed by Pakeha parents were extreme. In two cases of parents of high socio-economic

status the daughters were offered a holiday abroad, and in one of these cases the mother insisted on her daughter making dates with Pakeha boys until just before her marriage. A sanction rather more often threatened, but only seldom employed, was that of exclusion. Other less extreme sanctions were employed, differing little from those already described above as a reaction to mixed courting.

Two important qualifications must be made to Maori reactions which mark them off as different in type from Pakeha. One is that the objection is very often couched in such terms as "we would rather you married a Maori" and not "we don't want you to marry a Pakeha". The other, linked to this, is that Maori opposition is assuaged if they can trace even the smallest fraction of Maori "blood" in the in-marrying "Pakeha".

Peter, a Maori man who had achieved high status in the Pakeha world, became engaged to a "Pakeha girl" who turned out to have a trace of Maori ancestry (1/16). He found that when he introduced her to his kinsfolk they clung tenaciously to this fraction and on the strength of it accepted her as a Maori and approved the match.

When Hiria took her Pakeha husband home for the first time all the old people questioned him closely as to his ancestry expressing the hope that maybe there was a Maori ancestor previously undisclosed.

In most cases where both spouses were orientated towards Pakeha values the time between meeting or engagement and marriage was fairly long (three to four years between meeting and marriage and often a year's engagement). Amongst those who were fully mixed it was the marriages between Maori men and Pakeha girls which were preceded by the longest relationship. Pakeha men who married Maori girls (except in those cases where both were culturally Pakeha) tended to do so after a relationship of not more than a year and very often much less. It was also unusual for members of this category to have formal engagement parties or to wear engagement rings.

It would be tempting to believe that the longest engagements were where there was an opposition from the Pakeha parents, but a closer look at the cases within these categories indicates no such correlation. What is more likely on the evidence is that longer engagements are associated with Pakeha culture in general and with higher status individuals in particular. For even in fully mixed marriages the Pakeha girls conformed in general more closely to the Pakeha model and the Maori men were more generally influenced by this model than the Maori girls. The same argument is relevant to the holding of formal engagement parties. These tended to be held by Pakeha

parents, and for daughters rather than sons.

The whole complex of engagement and engagement formalities did not enter greatly into the relationships of the intermarried. For most, the period between engagement and marriage was merely the unfortunate delay involved in organizing a wedding after the decision to marry had been reached.

In particular, those who faced opposition or expected it, were usually keen to get married as quickly as possible with the minimum of delay and formality. It was very unusual for the couple to consider the engagement period as one of trial or adjustment, although inevitably adjustments, both between the individuals and between each of them and their prospective affinal kin groups, began during this time.

In all cases of marriages between individuals who were both culturally Pakehas (with the exception of one couple who had already begun living together, one couple where the girl was already pregnant, and one couple where the bridegroom was a divorcee) the wedding involved a church ceremony. In most cases this was held in Auckland, although in a few they returned to the home town of one of the couple.

In all instances of marriages between Maori men with a dual orientation and Pakeha women, the wedding was held

in a church. These were all cases of couples of higher socio-economic status and it is probable that this is the important factor involved, because an analysis of the type of marriage of other fully mixed couples indicates that it was nearly always those with rather higher socio-economic affiliations who got married in church. There was a slightly greater tendency for this to be so when the bride was a Pakeha. This is probably because of the Pakeha tradition that a wedding is more especially the concern of the bride's family.

When married away from home it was quite usual for the couple to pay the basic costs of the reception, although in most cases liquor was contributed freely by those attending. Where the organization was more formal and carried out by the parents (nearly always those of the bride) they paid the total bill, although in the case of Maori parents they sometimes received assistance from close kin, particularly when the wedding was held in their home town.

Gift giving at weddings was confined to those where the reception was more formally organized. Although it was impossible to verify this, most of my informants agreed that the scale of gift giving in the case of their wedding had not been affected by the fact that they had made a mixed marriage, even when the marriage did not receive full approval of one or both sets of parents. The with-

holding of a present would be considered a very ill-mannered way of showing disapproval.

There were very few cases where either kin or friends refused to attend the wedding, even when hostility to the match had not been resolved. However, sometimes when the absence of parents at the wedding was attributed to the travelling distance, it is possible that this was being used as a subterfuge to disguise the fact that they had preferred not to attend.

In one case the parents of the bride modified their expected list of guests by not inviting any of their business friends and this was almost certainly because of the status implications the match held for them.

Although in at least one case the couple were married in the registry office because the marriage was opposed by both sets of parents, there was certainly no regularity in this and most of those who faced opposition from Pakeha parents were married in church.

Generally those who were married in church had some formal type of reception afterwards. This might be at a restaurant, in a hired hall, or more often in a private home. Sometimes, as in several registry office weddings, the ceremony was followed by a beer party or an informal dinner with friends in a hotel. Whether or not the



reception was closer in style to Pakeha or Maori custom depended on several factors, as did the locality of the wedding. The most relevant customary variations here were concerned with the food served and the formal organization of the wedding breakfast. Although many Maori weddings are now modelled on Pakeha procedure, most still serve Maori foods, if possible cooked in a Hangi (steam oven). They are also less likely to have an organized toast list, and speeches will often be made in the Maori language. It is imperative also that a full Maori style wedding be held in the town of the kin group of one of the spouses and for a blanket invitation to be issued or to be understood by all close kin and even remote kin living close by. Very few mixed marriages were celebrated in this fashion.

Very often the type of wedding was chosen by the couple and when this was the case they usually decided on a wedding in Auckland and a Pakeha type reception, the degree of formality depending on their socio-economic status.

In many cases, although the couple had met in Auckland, one or both sets of parents lived out of Auckland, often at a considerable distance. It was usual in these cases for a compromise to be reached with a wedding in Auckland, particularly as most of the friends of the young couple were in Auckland. This is well illustrated by the following

accounts by Maori informants:

"My parents said that they hoped the wedding would be in their own town of Kaitia, but I told them that according to Pakeha custom it should be held in the town of the bride, which was Hamilton. They were very unhappy about this but finally agreed to Auckland as a compromise."

"There was never any doubt that our wedding would be held in Auckland. I told my mother right from the start that it would be silly to hold it in Tauranga because all Jim's and my friends lived in Auckland, and it was them I cared about - not a whole lot of cousins I hadn't seen for years."

In summary, the following factors seem to be involved in the choice of wedding type: the cultural orientation of the bride; the degree of involvement of the parents in the wedding arrangements; and the socio-economic status of the couple and their parents.

Not all marriages as I have defined this term in Chapter One are preceded by any legal ceremony. Such de facto marriages were very rare and all three recorded in detail involved older Pakeha men (Two of them were aged forty and one, fifty-two at marriage) married to similarly aged Maori women. In two of these cases both partners were already legally married to other people.

There were other cases of temporary liaisons between

Pakeha men and Maori women of very low status, but these were more akin to prostitute client relations and did not come within the term marriage as defined for this study. In the three cases with which I have dealt the couples were settled in permanent or near-permanent accommodation and were passing amongst their friends and neighbours as husband and wife. In none of these cases did the fact that they differed in race appear to be an important determinative in the type of relationship.

PART THREE.

BEING MARRIED

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Chapter 9: Relationships between spouses.

Chapter 10: Relationships with kin and friends.

Chapter 11: Relationships with the community.

## CHAPTER IX: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPOUSES

In most cases overall, and in all of those where the marriage was not culturally mixed, the fact that the marriage was racially mixed did not appear to be a significant factor in the relationship between the spouses. Very often one of the spouses was dominant, but this seemed to be related to the individual personalities, as it was as often the Maori as the Pakeha, and as often the wife as the husband. In many of the marriages that I studied adjustments had had to be made and in some there were conflicts; but adjustments and conflicts are problems which arise in all marriages. I have mentioned in previous chapters the problems of differentiating those factors which were solely a product of marriage as such, from those which were specifically related to the fact that it was racially, and perhaps culturally, mixed. It is in the field of interrelationships between spouses that this problem is greatest. However some of the normal problems are accentuated and some new problem areas can be observed.

In those cases of fully mixed marriages where problems of adjustments and conflicts arose, their origin was often linked with the degree to which the couple had

shared group memberships and interests before marriage as well as the conception one spouse had of the other and his group. The intensity of the conflicts and the amount of adjustment required depended on the degree to which each spouse was committed to the cultural values and customs associated with his or her race.

I have pointed out in Part Two that the common interests and activities shared by courting or dating couples can vary widely, from merely dancing in the same hall to actually sharing kinsfolk. Thus in many cases where these common activities did not ramify into most phases of life the individuals did not know very much about their spouses' values and behaviour patterns, more especially those associated with keeping a home and rearing a family. In nearly all cases my Maori informants were already familiar with Pakeha culture, so these problems were more specifically those of the Pakeha spouse. In particular they were problems for the Pakeha wives, for in nearly all cases Pakeha men marrying Maori women, even when these men were immigrants, had had a greater experience of Maori life than had Pakeha women who married Maori men.

The most prevalent error made by Pakeha women was to assume that because a Maori man lived in the city, was occupied in a normal "pakeha-type" job, and perhaps even



highly educated, he was therefore exactly the same as a Pakeha man in his values and behaviour<sup>(1)</sup>. This was felt most acutely in a few cases where the Maori man was highly educated and established in a higher status occupation.

One Pakeha woman told me:

"I had known Huru for two years at university where we were taking the same course and belonged to the same clubs. I never really thought about his home life being different. If I thought about it at all, I suppose I expected him to be like my father and brothers in his outlook on things."

One Pakeha man I met had made the same error, but he was an exception. He had been a seaman and had immigrated into New Zealand after meeting a Maori girl whom he wanted to marry.

"I've regretted it ever since. She never does anything to the house and the kids are always in a mess. No, it doesn't work."

Another aspect of this was demonstrated by the following two cases described by a perceptive informant from a dominantly Maori community.

"I can only remember two mixed marriages in my home village, and in neither case did the Pakeha wife stay more than a few months. Each time the couple had married in town where the men were leading more-or-less Pakeha lives. When they returned to the community they quickly reverted

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1. This error is common to many Pakehas in many situations.

to a Maori way of life. The wives could not adjust to this so they left their husbands and returned to town."

The principal anomalies found by the Pakeha spouses were concerned with food, patterns of hospitality and the degree of interdependence of husband and wife. Food was never made an issue of, and in all cases of Maori men who yearned for Maori food they made do with Pakeha food for most of the time, cooking their own Maori food occasionally when the provisions were at hand. I was told by one Maori man informant:

"We nearly always have Pakeha type food because my wife doesn't like the Maori way of cooking things. But every now and then when one of my mates has been fishing I cook myself up a good feed of fish heads. And I always look forward to any gathering at home where they're likely to have a hangi.<sup>(2)</sup>"

It was the wives who tended to impose the pattern of diet and household organization, but they were largely influenced by the general patterns of urban life.

Several of my Pakeha women informants who had been married for a number of years had not been able to adjust to their husbands' conception of hospitality. In one case this was associated with an attempt by the wife to run her home to a budget and she found catering for unpredictable

numbers of guests incompatible with this. In several other cases the Pakeha wives made it quite clear that they were not prepared to "throw open their house to all in sundry". This in some instances resulted in their Maori husbands spending a disproportionate time away from home at parties and in the hotel. Mrs. Williams, echoing the remarks of several other Pakeha wives, said:

"I'm not turning my house into a boarding house or a pub bar. I know this disappoints my husband because he likes to meet all his friends from the country. It means he often goes off to parties at other houses, but I've got the kids to think of. And anyway we aren't millionaires."

There was a tendency for other Maori husbands also to absent themselves from home without informing their wives and in at least one case this led to suspicion on the part of the wife as to her husband's relationships with other women. However, although Maoris in general seem to be more promiscuous than Pakehas before marriage, there was nothing to indicate that these absences from home of married men were associated with sexual infidelity. It also should be noted that for the Maori men this was not a behaviour pattern specific to the mixed married. In some cases it was the characteristic of "party man" that had originally attracted the girl to the man and she

resented the fact that after the arrival of children she was tied to the home while her husband felt he could continue with his former habits.

This desire for, or expectation of, change was one of the factors which occasionally made a marriage unsuccessful, for some few Pakeha women saw themselves as reformers and expected to change their menfolk by influencing them with their Pakeha values. One of my informants said that she knew of several unhappy mixed marriages where this had happened.

"They thought that as soon as they got married their husbands would suddenly turn into Pakehas under their influence, but I've never known this to work. As far as I'm concerned you marry one man and that's the man you live with."

It was sometimes the other way round, for in several cases a Maori woman who was strongly Pakeha in values and aims had married an aberrant Pakeha man and had attempted to establish him in a stereotype Pakeha mould. On the whole they were the more successful, for they understood more the need for a man of this type to go his own way on occasion and were much less possessive than most Pakeha wives. Mrs Brown had virtually picked her Pakeha husband out of the gutter. He had been divorced by his wife and

was drinking heavily.

"I didn't expect to change him overnight. We've been married twenty years now and have a good home as you can see, but I don't expect him to toe the line all the time. He goes out with the boys every now and again. What's the use of a husband if he isn't a bit independent?"

In several cases where Pakeha men were married to Maori women it was the Pakehas, at least on the surface, who most valued certain Maori customs and values, while their Maori wives were attempting to run their homes on Pakeha lines. Mr Smith, a Pakeha married to a Maori woman said:

"They talk about Maori hospitality, but often as not my wife doesn't think of offering a cup of tea when someone drops in, unless I remind her. Sometimes I think that I'm more of a Maori than she is. Most of her friends are Pakeha neighbours, but I work with Maoris nearly all the time on the wharves, and it's usually them I drink with in the pub."

These were cases where the Pakeha man had married a Maori wife because he admired certain of the characteristics of Maori life, for which he felt an affinity; while the Maori woman had sought a Pakeha husband because of her desire to establish herself and achieve status in the Pakeha world.

In these, as in other cases, one or both spouses

inevitably underwent some cultural change during the course of their marriage. This was most rapid in the case of those who married, at least in part, because of their interest in the other culture, and most significant in the case of those who were attempting to change their status.

In some cases a conscious decision was made by the couple either after engagement or marriage, as to whether they should guide their lives by Pakeha or by Maori standards, although, more often, this was determined by the individual personalities, by the potentiality of each for the other's culture, or by their pre-marital patterns of life.

The manner in which changes or modifications of cultural affiliation were brought about is probably best understood if a few cases are quoted, each illustrating one or more of the factors mentioned above.

Mrs Hatu told me that when she and her husband decided to marry they had discussed their future way of life.

"I said to Charlie: 'Now either we're going to be Maoris or Pakehas but we can't mix the two - apart from anything else it wouldn't be fair on the kids.' We were pretty sure that everyone would look on them as Maoris, and I was very happy to live as a Maori, so that's what we decided. I suppose that even if we hadn't talked about it I'd have still gone Maori, but I think it's better to talk these things out and then you know where



you stand. One thing it meant was me becoming a Ratana,<sup>(3)</sup> but the main thing was that I started to think of myself as a Maori. I feel really hurt personally now if anyone criticizes Maoris, and I've often got into arguments by sticking my neck out in defence of Maoris."

The force of personalities could be seen as important in the relationship between Mr. and Mrs Corning.

Mrs Corning was a Maori woman of high tribal standing and a dominant personality, who married an English seaman who was weak both physically and in force of personality. The organization of the home was completely dominated by the Maori wife and this meant that over their ten years of marriage Mr Corning had adopted many of the habits and values of Maori life. He ate Maori food, numbered more Maoris than Pakehas amongst his friends and tended to identify himself with Maori problems of housing and employment.

Of course the Maori personality is not always the most dominant as is illustrated by the case of Max and Sophie Haben

Max was a hard working Dutchman determined to establish a high standard of living for himself and his family. His whole outlook on life demanded from his wife a meticulous attention to household organization. She was already pre-disposed, by her ambitions, to this sort of behaviour but it seemed that it was the dominant

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3. One of the Maori separatist churches (see p.57 )

position of her husband which made her adjustment to Pakeha methods of household organization so complete.

This last case shows also how, when the individual has a potential for change, this can assist the process of acculturation. This was particularly so in the case of Doris Carrier.

Before meeting her husband Doris had had little contact with Maoris and no Maori friends, but her whole approach to life seems to have been closer to that of a Maori than a Pakeha. She had always enjoyed rhythmic music, had always wanted lots of children, she loved a house full of people and could cope calmly with unlimited household disturbances. Thus when she did marry a Maori there were few barriers that she had to remove in order to behave as a model "Maori" wife. It is also probable that Doris's rapid absorption into the Maori kin group of her husband was assisted by the fact that, coming from a broken home, she was unconsciously seeking the security of a close knit family group.

It is possible that a general application of this last factor is at the base of the relatively large number of Pakeha women in fully mixed marriages who were from broken homes. Extensive psychological testing would be necessary to establish this and it is thus beyond the scope of this study.

In some cases one spouse had already established a pattern of life more appropriate to the other cultural group, before marriage.

By attending a secondary school in a suburb of Auckland where there were few Maoris and by becoming a clerk in a city bank, Stephen Welling had, even before marriage, adopted many Pakeha traits, although he was, never-the-less, because of the influence of his home, basically Maori in his values. His marriage to a Pakeha girl had the effect of reinforcing the Pakeha patterns already existing, which also made him particularly susceptible to Pakeha influences once he had cut himself off from his family of orientation.

Of course it must be realised that there is only a limited sense in which one can speak of a member of one cultural group "changing his cultural affiliation". In the case of a Maori full acculturation is more of a real possibility because he has of necessity to adopt a Pakeha economic life and the law demands conformity to a Pakeha system of morality. These and other overriding influences of the dominant Pakeha society mean that the Maori, and in particular the city Maori nearly always has a momentum towards a total Pakeha way of life. It is very rare for a Pakeha in the city to be able to become absorbed in Maori life in the way that a Maori is often absorbed in

Pakeha life, but there were cases where the strongly integrated nature of the Maori kin group provided an influence strong enough to affect the habits and value system of a Pakeha. This was more effective in the case of Pakeha women because of their lack of contact with Pakeha economic life and, for the same reason, affected most those Pakeha men who worked in lower status jobs where the work force was largely Maori.

I have already discussed the criteria of membership of the cultural groups of Maori and Pakeha in Chapter III. However my statements here about changes of culture do not mean that the individuals concerned adopted completely the cultural traits of the other group, but rather that they changed significantly in the direction of the other group after their marriage.

I have so far discussed the manner in which adjustments were made and what was implied in a cultural adjustment; it remains in this context to assess the amount to which these adjustments were a feature of mixed marriages in terms of the various categories of marriages developed in Chapter III.

Where the marriage was only racially mixed there was usually no question of cultural adjustment. In the case of those who were culturally Pakeha all couples except one remained fully Pakeha. The exception was a couple who by

inclination and profession had a strong interest in Maori culture, and as a result of this both husband and wife had tended to become slightly Maori in some of their habits and values.

In the sub-category where both spouses were either Maori or partly Maori in their cultural affiliation there was a tendency for the Maori wives to adjust in the Pakeha direction, while the Pakeha husbands altered little, although in one case the husband did become also more Pakeha in his way of life. In general the couples settled down to a way of life which differed little from most city Maori couples.

It was amongst the fully mixed couples where cultural adjustment was most necessary and most evident. Cases have already been mentioned in which the individual spouses remained culturally distinct. In these cases, neither by acknowledgement nor by behaviour did the couples classify themselves as either Maori or Pakeha as a unit, but they were exceptions to the general rule. In most cases the couple, as a unit, adopted a mode of behaviour which was either fully Pakeha or a blend of Maori and Pakeha with the latter predominating. The tendency towards a Pakeha pattern was slightly greater in the cases of Pakeha men married to Maori women than in those of Maori men married to Pakeha women.



Although a few of the Pakehas in both sub-categories became very Maori in their outlook and behaviour, the majority adjusted little or not at all. More minor adjustments were made by the Pakeha women than by the Pakeha men.

The Maori spouses showed a general trend towards Pakeha cultural behaviour which was slightly more noticeable for the women than for the men. However there were more Maori men who adjusted completely and fewer who did not adjust at all.

In the cases where the Maori man had a dual affiliation all the couples except one (where the spouses tended to be completely Pakeha in their joint life) showed themselves to be culturally predominantly Pakeha, but at the same time to blend with this some Maori values and behaviour patterns. The Maori men changed little in their individual affiliations but the majority of the Pakeha women adjusted to some extent to Maori life.

It can be seen that in general it was more usual for the couples to tend towards Pakeha cultural values and behaviour, probably because this meant moving with the tide of Maori acculturation as well as a recognition of the fact that the economic future of their children would be enhanced by an identification with Pakeha culture.

Finally, in this context of cultural adjustment, it



should be noted that although I have discussed it under the general heading of "Relationships between the spouses" these adjustments are by no means always solely, or even principally to the spouse but often to his kin group, or to the society at large.

In the few cases where there were continuing adverse reactions from kin, or other sections of the society, the effect on the couple was to throw them more closely together by making them more dependant on each other and less dependant on other sections of society.

A racial factor sometimes entered into the relationship when a quarrel between husband and wife had arisen from some other cause. It occasionally happened that in the heat of the argument one spouse or the other would use a racial generalization as a term of abuse. The possibility of this situation arising was feared greatly by some of the intermarried, because, although it was probably just an unconscious speech habit without any relation to the basic attitudes of the individual, it would be taken to indicate that after all the spouse was prejudiced, and his true feelings for the other race were only then emerging. This indicates a certain degree of insecurity on the part of some Maori spouses which was often more marked in their relationships with the community

in general. One Pakeha man who spent most of his time with Maoris said:

"One thing I've got to be careful of is how I use the word 'Maori'. I can call my mates at work 'Maori bastards' - it's more or less a friendly way of speaking. And at home even my wife talks about 'Maori time', and calls the kids 'dirty little Maoris' when they've been playing in the mud. But it would never do for me to call her a Maori when we were having a scrap. All the rest are jokes, but if you say it in anger - well, that's very bad."

Open conflicts between the spouses were very unusual, and in only two of the cases that I studied had the couple separated. In one of these the Maori wife had taken the initiative because of the complete irresponsibility of her Pakeha husband (who was in fact very close to the Pakeha stereotype of a Maori in his behaviour). In the other it was a Pakeha wife who had taken action against her Maori husband. In neither case did the mixed nature of the marriage appear to be significant.

Finally, it is interesting to note, that, although difficulties in adjustments between spouses in a mixed marriage had been the most frequent reason given by parents to dissuade their children from making such a marriage, in

actual fact such problems rarely arose. This seems to be principally because of the relatively large number of cases in which the marriage is not culturally mixed, but also because of the potentiality for adaptation by one spouse or the other, and the high level of sophistication with which the problem is faced by many couples.

## CHAPTER X: RELATIONSHIPS WITH KIN AND FRIENDS

In discussing relationships with kin and friends it seems appropriate to look first at the formation of recreation groups, as well as at visiting patterns, assistance, and gift exchange. Arising from this, the questions to be answered in this chapter are:

- (1) On what bases are the recreation groups of the intermarried formed, and, in particular, how is race relevant to this?
- (2) What patterns of visiting occur between intermarried couples and the various categories of kin which would normally be appropriate for this purpose?
- (3) To what extent are avenues for assistance from kin and friends affected by the fact of intermarriage?
- (4) Is there any modification in normally accepted patterns of gift exchange?

Cutting across these are the questions:

- (5) In what way are relationships affected by attitudes and reactions shown before marriage?
- (6) Do these patterns of relationship change during the course of a marriage and what are the causes of these changes?

And also:

- (7) Even when the general form of relationships is unmodified, to what extent is the intensity affected? Allied to this are the roles and statuses implied in affinal kin relationships and the adjustments involved:
- (8) Does an affinal kin role established by a mixed marriage carry the same status as that established by an in-marriage?
- (9) What adjustments are made by the individual spouse and by his kin in order to cope with problems of role?

Finally there is the general problem of the degree to which special relationships associated with inter-marriage are the result of racial mixture and a reaction to this, and that to which they are a result of cultural differences between the two groups.

"Recreation groups" refer to the groups of friends (some of whom may also be kin) who habitually associate with each other in their leisure periods. There were a few mixed couples who lived in a high degree of isolation, and in at least some of these cases this was because their marriage was racially mixed. Manu Brown told me:

"Mary and I don't really mix regularly with any particular group. I've got the feeling that her old Pakeha friends are embarrassed by my presence, and I know she has very little in common with my Maori friends."

In each of these cases the couple was upwardly mobile and, partly in consequence of this, their lives centred very much on the establishment of the highest standard of living possible. Interests outside the home were seen as distracting from this main purpose. These were all cases of Maori men married to Pakeha women.

Another small category consisted of couples where each spouse had his or her own recreation group, usually retained from before marriage. In one or two cases of fully mixed marriages these groups were racially defined, or largely so, but some degree of separation in the recreational lives of husbands and wives is a feature of New Zealand culture. There was, as has already been mentioned a greater tendency for Maori husbands both mixed married and in-married to go their own recreational way, and when their Pakeha wives were not fully at home in Maori groups this was accentuated. There was only one case, of a Pakeha man married to a Maori woman, where one spouse neglected the other apparently because of the racial difference.

In most cases, although the husband had his group of friends from work and the hotel, and the wife had special friends among neighbours or old work or school friends, the couples shared a common group for most of



their recreational life. In no case did this group consist exclusively of members of one race or the other. They were thus always what I have called in Chapter Seven either "integrated groups" or "multiple outrigger groups".

In nearly all cases where the marriage was only racially mixed and the couple was culturally Pakeha, their recreation group consisted almost entirely of Pakehas with a few similarly orientated Maoris. Quite often Maori kin came within the orbit on special occasions, but in only two of the twenty-one cases in my main sample did these Maori kin live in Auckland, and so contacts with them were confined to specially organized visits which took the couple outside their regular sphere of recreational contacts.

Rangi and Hilda Buckley lived with their three children in a suburb in which they were almost the only Maori residents. Nearly all their friends were Pakehas. They had some contacts with Maori activities in Auckland, but their interest was academic rather than participatory. However, they always took their annual holiday on the farm of Rangi's parents which was near the Bay of Islands in Northland. To both them and their children the Maori farm was a holiday place rather than a real part of their everyday lives.

In only one case were these Maori contacts avoided (this was because of an estrangement) and in no case did they appear to cause any embarrassment in spite of the fact that the couple normally belonged to a Pakeha-oriented group. This easy recognition of Maori affinal kin was recently contrasted with the situation in the United States, by a visiting American Negro Scholar.

"In New Zealand pakehas speak with pride of Maori in-laws. Never in the U.S.A. would white or European easily discuss a Negro son-in-law." (1)

In all cases where both spouses were Maori or partly-Maori in cultural orientation their recreation group was racially "integrated", although there was a tendency for most of the Pakeha members to be at least partially orientated towards Maori values, if not Maori customs.

In nearly all cases of fully mixed marriages the couple moved in an integrated group. As implied by the term "fully mixed" this meant that some adjustment had taken place in the behaviour of one or both spouses. Normally it was the Pakeha spouse, (more often when this was the wife) who increased in contact with Maoris after marriage, as most Maoris already had a number of Pakeha

friends in their recreation group.

Jane who met her Maori husband on a blind date had never previously known any Maoris at all, while her husband had taken out Pakeha girls several times and moved in a mixed group with nearly as many Pakehas as Maoris. When they married Jane became a part of this group, which meant that while she still had many Pakeha friends she made lots of new Maori ones.

In a few cases involving marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women the Pakeha husband had moved more amongst Maoris in the city than had the Maori wife and in such cases she increased her Maori contacts because of the marriage. This is illustrated by the case of John and Hiria McGregor quoted in Chapter IV.

The most complex category was that in which, while the marriages were fully mixed, the Maori husbands had a dual affiliation. In two of these cases the wives were able successfully to cope with the overlapping groups implied by their husbands' dual cultural affiliation, but in another two the Pakeha wives found it very difficult to move between the cultures. In the fifth case the husband was a clergyman, which meant that his recreational contacts were rather specialized and atypical. The particular problem faced by these wives, that was not faced by those married to fully Pakeha-orientated Maoris,

was that their husbands' contacts with a strongly Maori group were not sporadic occurrences in the exotic environment of the country village or farm, able to be treated as a vacation. They were numerous, often in the city, overlapped contacts with the Pakeha group, and contained a high degree of emotional involvement. It was of some importance here that these Maori contacts usually involved conversation in Maori which effectively excluded the Pakeha wives from full participation. In the two cases where the wives had made a successful adjustment to the situation they were strongly in sympathy with things Maori before their marriage, while in the others the Pakeha wives were attracted to their husbands in spite of their being Maori and had grown increasingly out of sympathy with the Maori group as they had perceived the unexpected hold it had on their husbands.

One Pakeha wife told me: "When I married my husband it didn't mean I was marrying the whole Maori race. I suppose it was silly of me not to realise what a hold Maori things still had on him. I find myself resenting more and more the strong emotional ties that seem to bind Maoris together. I can't think the way they do, so it just means I'm continually on the outside."

In no case did the recreational group of the couple take the form it did solely because the marriage was mixed,

although there were cases of one spouse bringing kin or friends with him into the new group. The bases of recruitment to these groups was normally residential contiguity (more especially for women), common occupation (more especially for men), common places of education, common drinking habits for men, membership of clubs or societies, and - more especially in the case of Maoris - kinship. Where husband and wife did not hold their recreation group in common before marriage there were dual tendencies for them to move towards the husband's group and that of the Maori spouse.

Amongst the fully mixed marriages there were several cases where Maori women who had mixed almost exclusively with Maoris before their marriage had the greatest apprehension in meeting their husbands' Pakeha friends for the first time, or attending a party held at the house of a Pakeha. Fear of discrimination was the reason for their apprehension, although in no case was this based on actual experience. One extreme case was described to me by the Pakeha husband as follows:

"Whenever I take Joy out to visit a Pakeha family for the first time she gets as worried as anything. Usually she starts by asking what my mate's wife is like and whether she likes Maoris. Sometimes when we arrive at the gate she is so scared of getting a knock-back that

she won't leave the car at first. Eventually she comes in. I can't understand it, because all my friends like her and she's never been knocked back by them. Anyway she knows that if any of them did I'd knock them down."

Similar to this were the cases of two Maori men who told me that they never spoke out in a group when they were the only "coloured" person there. These men were both "life of the party" types but they couldn't bear to draw attention to themselves when they were the only ones who weren't Pakehas. One of them said that the other non-Pakeha didn't have to be a Maori.

"Anyone will do - Islander, Indian or Chinese - just as long as there is someone else who is of a different race to the main group."

Although the recreation groups just discussed accounted for a large amount of the home visiting that took place, nearly all my informants felt that they had a special obligation to visit kin, and expected to be visited by them. Visiting patterns thus usually indicated the effective role of kin in the lives of the intermarried, but because many, both Maori and Pakeha, were immigrants to Auckland they were less useful in defining the effective role.

There was a tendency for the couples to see rather more of the Pakeha parents than of the Maori, but this was



largely because it was more often the Pakeha parents who were living in Auckland. For in the cases where both sets of parents lived in Auckland the Maori's tended to be the more frequently visited, and in nearly every case where they did not live in Auckland a special journey was made at least annually to visit them. For some this involved considerable expense and inconvenience, while for others it constituted a cheap and enjoyable holiday. The following statement should be contrasted with the one which follows it.

"I feel it is the duty of city Maoris to fulfil their traditional obligations and I've returned home for every close tangi since I moved to the city. Of course, as a professional man I have obligations in town here and it is often very inconvenient to make sudden trips home. It costs quite a bit too."

The most appropriate time to visit home was Christmas, although unscheduled visits were often made because of a death or a wedding.

"Every year without fail we go home for Christmas. Family come from all over the place and we wouldn't miss it for worlds. All we take are our cigarettes and everything else is laid on. Plenty of shell fish, plenty of beer, and a good time had by all."

I found only one case where the couple definitely avoided contact with the Maori parents and this was largely

because they had disapproved strongly of the marriage. There was also one case where a Maori husband avoided contact with his wife's parents because he felt that he was not fully accepted by them.

"They were dead against June marrying me and I'm sure they still look down their noses at me. They only live two miles away now that they have retired and June visits them at least once a week. The only times I see them are when they come here and I haven't got a good excuse for being away."

There was only one case where the continued isolation of the couple from one set of parents was brought about by the parents themselves and that was the case of the Boltons already discussed in Chapter IV.

In a number of cases the fact that the couple were Auckland residents while their parents and other kin lived in the country meant that they were a focus for visits to Auckland. This was particularly so for Maori kin. Maori parents sometimes came to Auckland on business, although more often it was on a social visit or to attend a sporting event. When this occurred they very often moved in on the mixed couple who in their turn were expected to offer hospitality unhesitatingly.

One couple told me: "At least twice a year our place looks like a boarding house. That's the

Grand Prix in January, and the annual football game between Auckland and North Auckland. One time a whole bus load turned up."

This hospitality was expected even by distant kin. In many cases this involved younger "cousins"<sup>(2)</sup> coming to Auckland to look for a job and to see the bright lights. This has already been illustrated by the experiences of the Harris's quoted in Chapter IV.

I have already mentioned the strain that these obligations of hospitality imposes on some Pakeha wives, and a knowledge of this often makes Maori kin unsure of the reception at the home of a kinsman who is married to a Pakeha. In some cases the Pakeha spouse had taken pains to allay these suspicions, while in others they were well founded. In the latter cases the Maori spouse tended to become isolated from his kin, especially if he had a brother or cousin resident in Auckland who could form an alternative focus for visitors from the country.

Jean Williams who was doing her best to stick to a household budget resented having to entertain numbers of kin at a moment's notice and they soon became aware of this. Her husband had a brother living in another part of town and they soon found that visiting kin always went and stayed with him and his Maori wife when they came to Auckland. At first they would call over and visit the Williams, but eventually

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2. This term is generally used by Maoris to denote kin of a similar age to themselves who are not siblings.

this was stopped and all they received was a phone call as a token of interest.

Sometimes it was difficult to differentiate these cases from those where the rural kin had become unsure of the Maori man or woman because of his or her long absence from home and change in status. They felt that they should be careful in case their kinsman had "gone Pakeha" and would be embarrassed by their presence. Usually their suspicions were quite unfounded as there were few Maoris in Auckland who would refuse hospitality to a kinsman.

A Maori professional man told me: "We see little of my kinfolk now and visit home only seldom, but it is not because I am married to a Pakeha. My rise in status has meant a change in my life and I no longer have much in common with my family. We always welcome anyone who turns up from home, but I'm sure they feel out of place, although we always do our best to make them feel at home. Some are actively hostile to my changed status and look on me as something of a deserter."

There were a few cases where older Pakeha kin (one grandfather and several uncles) broke contact with a Pakeha spouse but these were unusual and in most cases temporary. In no case had this occurred with an own-generation kinsman.

Only a few of my informants had ever had to call

upon kin for assistance. Those who had, utilised those kin (usually parents) with whom they had most contact, that is those who lived closest. There was a tendency in this, as in other things, for Maori men to remain more closely involved with their kin than Maori women, and for Pakeha women to be closer to their families of orientation than were Pakeha men. This is probably accounted for by the fact that with the Maoris kinship in its broader sphere, with a stress on the male line is still of some significance, while for the Pakehas kin ties rest more strongly on person-to-person relationships which seem normally to be strongest between mother and daughter. (cf. Young and Willmott: 1957).

Although there were one or two cases where the couple had been assisted financially by one or other set of parents, it was more usual for assistance to take the form of goods or time. Thus the commonest forms of assistance from parents were the provision of baby clothes and baby-sitting. None of my informants indicated that any of their in-married siblings were more favoured in this respect than themselves.

In the two cases of separation and one of widowhood which I encountered the women concerned had received some assistance from their own kin and this had been readily offered. In the context of assistance it must be remembered that New Zealand is a welfare state with well established

and liberal social services and so material assistance is seldom required. There are also fewer pressures on the middle class to lay out money for the education of their children than is common in England.

Amongst the people with whom I was dealing gift giving was almost completely confined to Christmas and birthday gifts for children, and wedding gifts. I found no cases where habits of gift exchange within a family had been modified because of a mixed marriage, except in the few where all contact had been broken. Women, in particular, of both races usually maintained contact with a wider range of kin than their husbands by means of Christmas cards if the kin lived out of Auckland, and by frequent phone calls if they were subscribers to the Auckland Telephone Exchange.

It would then, be generally true to say that, except in some of the cases where the couple had encountered strong opposition from their kin, the fact that a marriage was mixed seldom modified the relationships the spouses might have been expected to have had with their kin had the marriage not been mixed. In only one case, that of the Maori man already quoted, did the premarital opposition of parents embitter one or both spouses to the extent that they had not attempted to establish a closer relationship after marriage.



In a few cases opposition to the marriage had been continued after the wedding but in only one marriage of long standing had this really developed into a permanent break with kin.

Mr Knight told me: "When my wife and I married nearly forty years ago there was no violent opposition from my Pakeha side. But there was a general disapproval and this has meant that over the years my brothers have withdrawn from me and it is now many years since I have seen them. I accept the fact now that I have lost my family. I'm happy with my mate, but it's a great penalty to lose your family."

It was much more normal for the situation to be accepted, if not by the time of the wedding, at least within the first few years of marriage.

The progression from opposition to acceptance made by some spouses occurred at certain regular stages in the relationship between them and their parents-in-law or future parents-in-law. The initial reaction of parents was usually to their stereotype of the other race. The first possible point of reconciliation was when they received some information on their child's spouse or fiancée as an individual. This was usually almost immediate but in cases where one side or the other put up a block, it took some time. In the case of the Tawharus quoted in Chapter IV the

first step in the adjustment of the Pakeha parents was made when they realised that the Maori whom their daughter intended marrying differed as an individual from all others they had known.

More often it was when the parents first met their child's spouse or fiancée that they made the adjustment which was usually of the form: "So-and-so isn't really like a Maori at all." Both knowledge of the spouse and meeting him very often made their effect by showing up his status, particularly if he was a Maori.

Sometimes the Maori had not achieved status measurable in Pakeha terms by this time and full acceptance was delayed until this occurred. The following is the story told me by one such Maori:

"It was at the beginning of the war when we got married and I was too young to have become established in any profession so my wife's parents only half-heartedly accepted me. However, I was in the army and in line for a commission. I very soon saw that this for them was the test of my suitability, for as soon as I received the commission and more especially as I advanced up the ladder their attitude underwent a change and my place in their family was established."

In at least one case it was when the Pakeha parents began meeting the family and friends of their Maori son-in-law

that they consolidated their relationship.

Mavis Rewiti was an Australian who said that her parents first reaction to her marriage to a Maori was one of horror. They imagined some sort of tribal native and it was only when they had visited New Zealand, got to know the Maori family and visited them in their home that they fully accepted the situation.

In some of the few cases where there was opposition to a Pakeha man marrying a Maori girl this was partially founded on her supposed inability to run a home in an orderly "Pakeha fashion". When she was given an opportunity to demonstrate her abilities in these directions it helped in her acceptance by her Pakeha parents-in-law.

In several cases of Pakeha men married to Maori women, although there had been no violent opposition to the marriage by the Maori parents, the men found great difficulty in becoming accepted into the kin group of their wives. It was only after the Maori group had gained an intimate knowledge of their values and attitudes towards Maoris that they became fully accepted. The problem of what is entailed in acceptance by each of the two cultural groups will be discussed at the end of the chapter. I was told by one Pakeha man:

"It's taken me ten years to really become accepted

by my wife's brothers, and even then I always get the feeling that I'm sort of on probation - you see they are always half expecting that I'm going to react differently from them in any situation."

In a few cases full acceptance by the Maori group was effected by a particular show of trust or acceptance of Maori custom by the Pakeha spouse. In telling of his wife's relationships with his family one Maori man said:

"The first real contact Jill had with my family was at the tangi held for my sister. Here Jill took her place at the side of the coffin on the ground along with my mother and aunts and sisters. This was a great surprise for the locals. The relationship was really sealed when she went home to my mother to have her first baby."

There was only one case, where the difficulty of attaining a close relationship was caused by the parents, in which the coming of grandchildren did not either cause a reconciliation or at least prepare the ground for one.

In all the cases so far discussed where a normal relationship with affinal kin was established after an initial block the causative factor was the discovery that the Maori concerned was culturally more Pakeha than expected or that the Pakeha was culturally more Maori than was

supposed. There were some cases, however, where the reconciliation was due to an appreciation by the parents belonging to one culture, of some of the values of the culture to which their son- or daughter-in-law belonged.

Malcolm Tawharu, whose case is quoted at length in Chapter IV, told me that one of the turning points in his relationships with his parents-in-law was when his father visited them and demonstrated by his easy and helpful behaviour some of the qualities of Maori culture of which they had not previously been aware.

There were some cases in which a sharp conflict continued, and in each of these, with the exception of one where there was a strong personality clash which seemed to have nothing to do with race or culture, the pivot of the conflict was the relationship between the Pakeha wife and her Maori affines. Open hospitality was mentioned several times. Usually it was the male kin who were affronted because their drinking habits were criticised, but in one case the Pakeha wife was censured by her mother-in-law for not always having spare food in readiness for unexpected visitors. In another case the conflict was kept alive by the critical attitude the Pakeha daughter-in-law adopted towards the way her parents-in-law made their younger

children work on the farm without giving them an opportunity to do their schoolwork.

The question of the intensity of a relationship is much the same as that of the status carried by a specific role. There are two principal problems which arise in attempting to assess these factors. The first is the problem of actually determining the intensity of the relationship or the status attached to a specific role, while the second is that, even in in-group marriages, there is a very wide range of behaviour patterns between affinal kin. It is probable that relationships between affinal kin are the least well defined and the least consistent of all kin relationships amongst Pakehas.

For Pakehas it appeared that in most cases where the Maori spouse was accepted at all, his or her position approximated that of a Pakeha son- or daughter-in-law. In a few cases such as that of Malcolm Tawharu already quoted, the relationship achieved was very close.

For the Maori family the problem was somewhat greater, for, while Pakehas in general were used to greeting strangers and non-kin as spouses for their children, Maoris were not. In the majority of in-group marriages amongst Maoris, even in the city, the spouses are each well known to their parents-in-law and other affinal kin, and more often than



not can trace some genealogical connection. Professor Biggs' study of traditional Maori marriage indicates this also, although it must be remembered that he is not writing of an urban situation.

"[In the past] Some degree of consanguinity between husband and wife was desirable..... Today a usual way of advocating a marriage is to trace the descent of the boy and girl from a common ancestor....." (Biggs: 1960, p.24).

It is therefore to be expected that the relationship between affinal kin will be close, for in a sense marriage is an affirmation of existing kin ties. I heard of several cases where the opposition to an inter-tribal marriage had been at least as strong as that to a racially mixed marriage, and several cases have already been mentioned where the opposition to a mixed marriage was provoked by the fact that the parents had already arranged for a spouse for their child.

It was therefore seldom that a Pakeha son- or daughter-in-law could play the same role or achieve the same status within a Maori family as would be possible had he or she been a Maori. One Maori informant told me that she was asked by an elder before her marriage:

"Who is this Pakeha you are going to marry?  
He is nothing. He has no ancestors, nor a canoe.

He owns no land. He has no roots, no background. Who is this Pakeha?"

It is possible, however, for a Pakeha to overcome this and to become almost fully adopted into a Maori family as is shown by the following statement from a Maori man married to a Pakeha woman:

"At first my family were very wary of Jill but have now come to accept her even to the extent of referring to the relationship between her and her mother and brother in the past tense. 'This used to be Jill's mother.' If Jill were to die she would be given a full-scale tangi and her Pakeha kin would have the status of strangers and would not be able to mourn round the coffin with her Maori 'kinfolk'."

These last problems of relationships between the intermarried and their kin group were based on real cultural differences between the two racial groups rather than on racial antagonisms. A further way in which the customs of one group affected the relationship between spouses and their kin was in assistance in looking after children. It is customary among Maoris for children to move from one home to another much more frequently than in the case of Pakehas and in several cases of mixed marriage that I studied the Maori kin living in the country had, on

occasion, looked after one or more of the children. In one case it was because the child had been sick and needed to convalesce while in others it was merely to take some of the load of housework off the mother. In all these cases the wife was the Maori.

This movement of children which sometimes amounts almost to enforced adoption was a matter of concern for some Pakeha wives of Maoris who were apprehensive of the possibility of some childless kinswoman of their husband's coming and demanding one of the children. One Pakeha woman said:

"I had to go into hospital after the birth of one of my children and one of my husband's sisters who had no children was so adamant that she should take it I was afraid it would be just whisked away without me having any say. She treated the matter as if it were her right to take the baby, and seemed very surprised when I held on."

In all cases the problem was resolved in favour of the Pakeha mother and it did not seem to create any strong feelings of insecurity.

It can be seen that for a mixed couple the type of relationship open to them with their Maori kin is often very different from the type of relationship they might expect with their Pakeha kin. This sets special problems

for the Pakeha spouse because of the unfamiliar depth of Maori kinship. The problems set the Maori spouse by the Pakeha kin are rather those of overcoming opposition.

In nearly all cases, in solving the problems of relationships between a mixed married couple and their kin and friends adjustments were necessary. These were not always adjustments in overt habits and customs, which were the more readily observable, but often the much more difficult adjustments involved in the dismantling of stereotypes or at least in recognizing an exception to a stereotype which had been nursed and fed since earliest childhood. These were the adjustments more commonly faced by the Pakeha parents. For the Maori parents the most difficult problem was to adjust to a new set of criteria for judging the suitability of a spouse for their child. These criteria also, at least to the older generation, were integral to the whole cultural system of which they were part.

## CHAPTER XI: RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COMMUNITY

In the last chapter I was concerned with relationships between the mixed couple and both their kinfolk and the category of people who stood in a close affective relationship to them. In this chapter I shall move into a wider frame of reference - the total community. Of course the members of the community do not always act as a single unit; neither are they consistent in their reaction to an individual or a married couple in all their social roles. Nevertheless, with some reservations to be discussed below, there is a high degree of consistency in the relationship between the various categories of intermarried couples and most members of the community.

The roles played by the individual are of at least two distinct types. Firstly there is his role as a member of a racial or cultural group - in certain circumstances he will be classified as a Maori or a Pakeha, and this classification may dictate the status he has in various institutions. Secondly there are the roles he plays in the institutions which make up society - his role as a worker, a resident, a customer, and various roles in voluntary associations.

My purpose, then, in this chapter, is to examine how an individual's set of roles in the wider community is affected by the fact that he or she has made a mixed marriage; to see to what extent these are dictated by the reactions of the members of the community and to what extent they are determined by the individual's own wishes; and finally, to summarise these into a general statement on the status of the intermarried in the community.

The problem of how the couples and the spouses classify themselves culturally, whether it be by overt recognition or by their observable behaviour, has already been discussed in Chapter IX. The question arises here as to whether the verdict of the community is in practice the same as my verdict or that of the intermarried couple. But before answering this I must clarify what I mean by the community in this context. In theory I am referring to the total community including all its racial and cultural sections, but in practice by far the most significant section is the Pakeha, and so, except when I explicitly speak of "the Maori group", I am referring to the dominant Pakeha section of Auckland.

In casual contacts the individual is usually judged on appearance alone. This judgement is based principally on physical appearance, but, in the case of those who are



not obviously Maori by their physical appearance, by such things as their mode of dress. This then is principally a racial definition, but it has a cultural dimension because the Pakeha who makes the judgement expects the individual assessed to evince the cultural characteristics which he believes most Maoris possess. When there is regular contact with other members of the community they tend to make their assessment less on physical appearance and more on cultural characteristics. Several Maoris who were highly acculturated told me that they were often accepted as Pakehas in a group, to such an extent that disparaging remarks about Maoris were sometimes made in their presence causing the speaker acute embarrassment when he was reminded that the listener was a Maori. These were all cases where the Maori was readily recognisable as such by his appearance.

A mixed family was generally branded as "Maori", particularly if the children showed physical evidence of their Maori genetic background, but again their behaviour and the degree to which this conformed to the Pakeha stereotype of Maoris affected their classification.

The couple, of course, was sometimes thought of as a mixed couple, in which case the individuals were assessed separately. Of interest here is the change of status attributed to the mixed married Maori or Pakeha by the

community, and in this case it is useful to examine the responses of both the Pakeha and Maori sections of the community. Curiosity was the reaction most frequently mentioned by the intermarried couples, although it was evident that there was some variation depending on the social status of the couple and in particular how this was indicated by their appearance. When couples were of high socio-economic status their mixture tended to go unmarked, but if they appeared to be of low status, and in particular if this meant that they were poorly "turned out" there was a tendency for the Pakeha observer to think of the Pakeha spouse as degraded, or at least downgraded. In the case of a woman the inference was that she had become what she was because of her association with Maoris, while in the case of the man the inference was more that he had firmly established his low status by his association with a Maori. There was often an inference in the attitude of Pakehas towards mixed couples that they were probably not legally married and were therefore "living in sin".

It was very unusual for Maoris to assess either Europeans or other Maoris any differently because they were intermarried, although they normally assumed that a Pakeha married to a Maori had a greater knowledge of Maori attitudes and values than would other Pakehas. From this they did

not further assume that the Pakeha was necessarily acculturated to any degree unless he showed such by his behaviour.

While in the first two chapters of this part I was concerned with the effect of intermarriage on the roles played by such Maoris and Pakehas, as spouses, kin and friends, the main body of this chapter is concerned with the roles of these individuals or couples as workers, residents, customers, and as members of various voluntary associations. In each case it will be necessary to discuss the roles that Maoris normally play in the institutions concerned, although some relevant statistical material, and inferences that can be drawn from this, are contained in the accompanying paper, "The Background to Race Relations from New Zealand". (Harré: 1963).

### The Worker:

There is ample evidence to show that proportionately more Maoris are in lower status jobs than are in higher, but there is little reliable information to be had on the degree to which this results from discrimination by employers. It is certain that this situation is mostly the result of the difficulties of adjustment of the Maori group to a European economic system as well as of defects in the education

system as it is applied to Maoris. The figures on employment expectations (Harré: 1963, p.15), however, indicate a reluctance on the part of private employers to employ Maoris. I heard many stories during my field research describing how Maoris were turned down for jobs which were subsequently given to poorer qualified Pakehas. These were difficult to substantiate and many were doubtless used as excuses for lack of ability, but there were some cases in which it seemed certain that Maoris had been refused employment because of their race. What is perhaps more important is that many Maoris believed that they would be turned down if they applied for a good job. I heard of no case where the fact that he was married to a Pakeha improved the chances of a Maori getting a job, although one professional man already quoted (see p.181 ) indicated that his choice of a Pakeha wife was affected by her indirect assistance in his job. Similarly there were no cases of Pakehas who were refused jobs because of their marriage to a Maori. One Pakeha claimed that this was so in a particular trade, but inconsistencies in his information indicated that his claim was unfounded.

There were some Pakehas who considered that in certain jobs their chances of promotion were seriously affected by their marriage to a Maori. The following account

from a Pakeha man indicates some aspects of the situation:

"Before I got married I was employed in an accountant's office. I had passed most of my exams and at the time of my engagement to Rangi was definitely in line for promotion. When I announced my engagement my boss made it quite clear that my future promotion would be jeopardised by my marriage to a Maori. So I changed my job to school-teaching where I was sure that my advancement would not be affected by a Maori wife."

Other cases indicated that the degree to which this was likely to happen depended on the appearance and behaviour of the Maori. Certainly no one suggested that mere knowledge of some Maori ancestry would affect a person's employment possibilities or those of his or her spouse.

#### The Householder:

I will examine here three different roles which are relevant to the mixed couple as householders - those of tenant, house purchaser and neighbour. The problem of renting a good class flat or house, or often of renting any standard of accommodation at all, was the only form of discrimination encountered by all Maoris with whom I discussed such matters. I have already dealt with this problem in Chapter V (see pp. 97,98 ) and the case quoted

there indicated that when the couple was mixed they were treated as if they were Maori. It was assumed by the landlord in these cases, either that the Pakeha spouse had "gone Maori", or that the frequent entertaining and overcrowding (which was the usual reason given for discrimination against Maoris) would follow the pattern of the Maori spouse. Very often what the landlord feared was that the other tenants in his house would object to the mere presence of a Maori and if such was the case, whether the Maori was married to a Pakeha or to another Maori made no difference. I have mentioned earlier in this chapter the belief that some Pakehas seemed to hold, that a mixed couple was probably not married. It seemed likely in some cases that this background myth affected the attitude of landlords to mixed couples.

While in some cases the landlords had had experience of troublesome Maori tenants, there were many others where they had not, and in the cases where by subterfuge or argument a mixed couple was able to obtain accommodation from a reluctant landlord, a good relationship had often grown up between him and the Maori spouse. This is well illustrated by the case of Peter and Joy Macmillan.

"We had got so tired of being told that we were not acceptable, or, what was more usual, just not being shown flats which were any good,



that I decided to go on my own and not let on that my wife was a Maori. I got this good flat, made sure I paid up the first month's rent in advance and got my receipt. We then loaded up all our gear in the car and just turned up. Well, you should have seen the old lady's face when she saw Joy. She tried to say that she had just heard that one of her relatives now wanted the flat; but I had her receipt and told her that I'd go to the lawyer if she made a fuss. Well, we were like two armed camps for the first month. Joy was scared stiff and never showed out until she knew the landlady was out. The softening up process started when she first came into the flat and saw how well it was kept and how Joy had done a bit of painting, and then when the landlady got sick and Joy took over and looked after her for two weeks she came completely right. From that time on we've been good friends and she still visits us now that we have our own home. And do you know that the next time she let the flat after we left she got a Maori couple?"

The most important aspect of the experiences of mixed couples in rented accommodation was that, without exception they were treated as if they were a Maori couple - if an exception were made it was not because one of the spouses was a Pakeha but because the landlord had adapted in his behaviour towards Maoris.

The most surprising aspect was that there seemed to be little or no modification of attitude when the couple were

obviously of high economic status or in professional occupations.

There was one category of tenants to whom the above did not apply and that was those who rented state houses. As a matter of policy Maoris are allotted a proportion of available rentals, this being higher than the proportion of the population they represent.

Buyers of houses were in a much better position than most tenants, and, although, as I have stated in Chapter V (see p. 98 ), there were property owners who were concerned that Maoris were to build on some of their sections, I was not told of any case where a sale was actually blocked because the purchaser was either Maori or married to a Maori. Of course in buying sections, as in the renting of state houses, the situation was affected by the fact that the state is involved, for many Maoris who had houses built had obtained their section from the Department of Maori Affairs which is allocated some of the land compulsorily purchased by the government from most estates.

When a Maori family does own or occupy a house - and, as in renting, a mixed family is identified as a Maori family - it often affects the decision of Pakehas who are prospective purchasers of neighbouring houses. However in these cases the mere fact of the race of the occupier

is less important than his behaviour as a householder. It is demonstrably true that in many of the lower socio-economic status suburbs the houses occupied by Maoris are often the worst kept. One Pakeha informant who, being married to a Maori woman, was very sympathetic towards Maoris, was in a good position to observe this.

"I am a meter reader and have been working for the last few years in a new developing suburb. Without a doubt the householders who most often allow their new houses to deteriorate most rapidly and those who take the least care of their gardens are Maoris. This isn't to say that there aren't some bad Pakeha homes or that some of the Maori homes aren't immaculate, but most times I can tell what colour face is going to come to the door."

Without exception, those mixed married couples who took normal care of their gardens and kept their house in good condition reported that they had noticed no adverse reaction to their presence in the neighbourhood. But, as before, it was not the presence of a Pakeha spouse which made them acceptable but their care in avoiding any carelessness which would be branded as "Maori behaviour". The general problem faced by a Maori was summed up well by one Pakeha woman who was married to a Maori and whose children were decidedly Maori in appearance.

"If you're a Maori you're assumed to be dirty unless you make it obvious that you're clean. It's just like the courts in reverse. I always take great care with my kids - how they look and all that. A ragged and dirty Pakeha kid is O.K. he's just a dirty kid. But if one of my kids is dirty he's a dirty Maori and that means he brands the whole race."

This leads us to the role of a householder as neighbour. Indeed the major points here have already been covered above for it is as a potential neighbour that a house purchaser views those occupying adjacent properties. But because the criteria used in practice to define a Maori culturally varied with the frequency of contact the actual way neighbours reacted to mixed married neighbours often varied from the way Pakehas viewed the prospect of having Maoris as neighbours. In general those mixed families who had a high standard of living were treated to their face as Pakehas, but it was evident in some cases that, even so, they were referred to out of their hearing as Maoris. This is illustrated by the following account by a Pakeha woman who was married to a Maori man.

"I always thought that my neighbour really thought of us as Pakehas, even my husband, and she certainly behaved as if she did. But one day when I was in visiting I was introduced to a stranger as 'the next door neighbour'. She

looked surprised and said, 'But I thought you said your neighbours were Maoris.' This made Mrs 'Next-door' very embarrassed and she denied it. But it was obvious that she usually referred to us as a 'Maori family'."

The sort of reaction shown towards Maori neighbours did not vary significantly with the social status of the suburb, although the type of area did produce a different type of situation. Most of the cases to which I have referred relate to couples living in newly developing areas. In the "decadent centre" there was a much lower standard of living in general and so the decrepit Maori house was less likely to be racially identified. Similarly in the higher status areas the high cost of housing meant that it was only those Maoris who had succeeded in the Pakeha world and hence were thoroughly acculturated who lived there.

In those majority of cases where the standard of living of the mixed couple was the same as that of their neighbours both spouses had completely normal visiting patterns with Pakeha and Maori neighbours although they were usually very careful to avoid contact with any local Maoris who were living at a lower standard. In one case a mixed married Maori man was able to take a positive role in improving the standard of behaviour of what the Pakehas had thought of as "a troublesome Maori family".

"Some of the Pakehas had complained to a Maori family about the behaviour of their children and the only response they got was some stones through their windows. So they asked me because, although I was generally accepted as a Pakeha, they knew I was part Maori. I went in and spoke to them as a Maori. We haven't had any trouble since."

In general the mixed family as a household unit is thought of as being Maori, but like fully Maori families it is accepted in the neighbourhood according to its degree of conformity to current living standards.

#### The Customer:

Another important field in which the individual is involved in relationships with the community is in his role as a "customer". In some societies it is in the provision of services that the dominant community emphasises most potently the different position of the minority group. (1)

Firstly it must be emphasised that there is no legal discrimination either at government or local body level between Maoris and Pakehas in any of the service facilities of the community, although, until recently in some parts of the country there were some restrictive laws relating

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(1) This is well documented in the studies of Negroes in the United States cited elsewhere in this study.



to Maori drinking, and within certain prescribed areas of Maori control, Maori wardens are able to take special action on certain matters (see Harré: 1963, p.20).

In practice also there seems to be no discrimination in service in shops or transport facilities, at least in Auckland.<sup>(2)</sup> Certain problems however did arise in restaurants and hotel bars.

These problems were of two types. Firstly there were those cases in which Maoris were actually refused service or for whom service was modified, and secondly those in which the approach of Maoris to these places was affected by a fear that service would be refused or modified. There were several hotels in Auckland in which service had been refused to Maoris in private or lounge bars, but I know of no case where such an informal ban operated in a public bar. Several Maoris to whom I spoke avoided hotels because of a concern that they may be refused. I know of no restaurant where Maoris were refused admission but many avoided the best restaurants because of an uncertainty as to their reception. Those who were the most assured and confident in their bearing had never come up against discrimination in these services.

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2. For a description of discrimination in a town outside Auckland see Harré: 1962.

In cases of mixed couples the actual refusal or modification of a service was something which was experienced only by the Maori, even when both spouses were present. That is, the Pakeha was not normally affected by being with a Maori, and normally, being accompanied by a Pakeha did not change the situation of the Maori. This latter was seen to be the situation in the case discussed in Harré: 1962. The situation in Auckland is illustrated by the experience of an Irish informant, named Patrick O'Hagan who took his Maori wife into the lounge bar of an Auckland hotel.

"I went up to the bar and ordered drinks for us and the barman said, 'Is one of these for the lady?' When I said that it was he said he was sorry but he couldn't serve her. So I said, 'Why not?' and he said it was because she was Maori. I said, 'But that's silly she's Irish. Her name's O'Hagan and that's an Irish name if ever there was one.' He didn't see the joke and just said, 'She's a Maori and so I'm not allowed to serve her. You can have a drink but none for the lady.' Well, I told him where he could put his drink and we walked out. Of course it doesn't happen everywhere and you get to know which places to avoid. They always serve Maoris in public bars - after all it's only money that the publicans think of and they know who does the spending in the public bars."

Another mixed couple told me that they avoided going

to good restaurants, not because they feared that they may be refused admission, but because they felt that in that environment they would be stared at. In one case where, because of professional commitments, a mixed couple had to attend formal dinners in hotel dining rooms they were genuinely apprehensive in case they should not be admitted.

"It's terrible you know. On our way to a dinner at a hotel we are all tense. This lasts right up until we are actually through the door and sitting down. Then we relax. It's not that we've ever been refused admission, but from what you read this sort of thing does occur, and honestly I just don't know what we'd do if we got knocked back."

From the above cases it can be seen that the status of an individual Maori or Pakeha as a customer is not changed by the fact of intermarriage, but in fact the Pakeha becomes emotionally and sometimes physically involved in discrimination practised against his Maori spouse and the Maori is often faced with situations of potential discrimination in which he may not have become involved if he had not been married to a Pakeha.

#### The Member of an Association

The place of a Maori as a member of most voluntary associations (and within this category I include the churches) is not normally inferior to that of the Pakeha, but there may

be a difference in the actual organizations in which he seeks membership. The only voluntary associations, other than those concerned with specifically "cultural" pursuits, in which there is a tendency for segregation are some of the churches. This does not arise through the barring of particular churches or services to one race by the other but through a variety of other factors.

Firstly there are some churches such as the Mormon and the Seventh Day Adventist which have attracted Maoris in particular, and Maori separatist churches to which few Pakehas belong. Secondly, there is the fact that the Christian church has become closely associated in the minds of many Maoris with their traditional culture and therefore many services in "Maori churches" are conducted in the Maori language - a practice which tends to exclude Pakehas. Finally, the tendency towards a concentration of Maoris in certain suburbs and the siting of church missions in the centre of the city has meant that some churches in these areas have become known as catering more especially for Maoris.

That this separation is not related to bars inserted between the races was indicated by the fact that in two cases of which I know, Maoris had taken responsible committee positions in churches with a predominantly Pakeha congregation.

In general there was a shyness on the part of Maoris to put themselves forward in such situations and it was perhaps because those of whom I speak were married to Pakehas that they took such a dominant part in the activities of their church. Similarly, there were several cases where Pakeha spouses who were culturally adjusted towards the Maori group took their places within Maori churches or churches more especially associated with Maoris. Thus intermarriage was one of the processes which tended to break down the racial exclusiveness of some churches.

The position of Maoris in sports organizations has already been discussed in Chapter V (p.108 ) and I know of no case where this was affected one way or the other by intermarriage.

There was a tendency, because of cultural differences, for membership of "cultural societies" (such as Maori Clubs, Drama Societies and Music Societies) to be restricted in practice to one race or the other. Where such did occur it was quite usual for this pattern to change because of intermarriage. Both through the spouse, and his kin and friendship network, wider interests tended to be developed which led to membership of new organizations and consequently further contact with the other race and culture. In most cases it was wives who were involved in such societies.

Very often cultural groups were an offshoot of welfare



associations such as the Women's Institute and the Maori Women's Welfare League. In several cases Pakeha spouses had become involved in the activities of one of the Maori organizations. One man told me that he had recently been asked to sell the raffle tickets at a Maori Community Centre dance, a job which was normally done by a Maori, while one Pakeha woman had actually become a committee member in the Maori Women's Welfare League. The adoption of new roles of this type was always associated with either marriages where the couple was only racially mixed, or fully mixed marriages where one spouse had adjusted to such an extent as to adopt the other's culture, within the limits discussed in Chapter IX. The membership of an organization like the Maori Women's Welfare League was probably the strongest evidence that an individual had made a cultural adjustment, for such movements are generated from within the cultural group and not from outside.

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In general we may say that when the role and status of the individual in the community or in one of its institutions was imposed by the community, then the individuals in a mixed marriage tended to be treated as individual Maoris and Pakehas; but in cases where they were taken as a unit they were more often identified as



Maoris than as Pakehas.

When the individual was given an opportunity of defining his own role as in most voluntary associations he tended to identify himself with the total culture to which he was committed, either by his upbringing and pre-marital activities or by adjustments resulting from marriage to a member of the other cultural group.

It was also evident that the status allotted to a Maori or mixed couple by any section of the community tended to vary according to the amount and type of contact.

PART FOUR

SOME RESULTS OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Chapter 12: Children from mixed marriages.

Chapter 13: The descendants of mixed marriages.

## CHAPTER XII: THE CHILDREN OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Although 59 of the couples in my main sample had children at the time of my field study, the stage which the nuclear family had reached varied so widely that it was difficult to study fully the position of the children from these cases. In three cases the children were adopted.

In those cases where it was unlikely that further children would be born there was a wide variation in the size of the family (from one to ten) and this did not correlate with the various categories of mixed marriages. The same was also true of the intervals between births. If anything, these two characteristics - family size and the time between births - were related to social status, but there was so much variation that it seemed more likely to be a matter of individual choice unrelated to cultural factors.

In all but one of the cases where there were no children to the marriage (with the exception of couples very recently married) the spouses were older than usual at the time of their marriage. There were no cases where a decision of the couple not to have children was related to their race difference or a concern about the place of mixed children in the society.

All three cases of adoption involved couples where the wife was Maori and in two cases she was middle aged at the time of marriage. In these cases the child adopted was part-Maori, being the "biological child" in each case of a Maori man and a Pakeha woman. There was a further case in which a Maori woman and her Pakeha husband had care of two children who were under the authority of the child welfare department. In this case the children were both Pakeha, but the couple were disappointed that this was so and wanted to enlist my help in finding them Maori children to look after. There was thus a tendency for couples who had a choice in the race of the children which they were to bring into their family to prefer Maori children, although this must be qualified by the fact that in these cases the children were obtained by utilising kin or quasi-kin networks and not outside agencies.

In three cases of marriages which were only racially mixed and in one which was fully mixed, one of the spouses had brought to the marriage one or two children from a previous marriage. In the cases of racially mixed marriages it was the Maori wife who had brought these children and in all these cases they were accepted by the Pakeha husband without problems of adjustment. In all cases the biological father had also been a Pakeha. In the case of the fully

mixed marriage the child was from a previous in-group marriage of the Maori husband and, although his Pakeha wife tried her best to look after the child, she had some difficulty in adjusting to him.

In appearance nearly all the children of mixed marriages showed evidence of their mixed ancestry. The exceptions were mainly in those cases where the marriage was only racially mixed and both parents were culturally Pakeha. In this category there was a tendency for the Maori parent to have less Maori ancestry than in others and, particularly in the case of the Maori wives, to show little evidence of it. There was no instance of a child showing more extreme racial characteristics than either of its parents.

In no case did either parent appear to have any problems in adjusting to the existence of a child which bore physical characteristics of the other race, nor did they appear to favour one child out of several because of its physical appearance.

In the case of marriages which were only racially mixed, those parents who were themselves "culturally Pakeha" classified their children as such, while the couple which was "culturally Maori" identified their children unequivocally as Maori irrespective of their

appearance. In the other categories there was a tendency to accept the known procedure of the community and identify the children according to their appearance, although there was usually consistency within each family even when the appearance of the children was not uniform. There were some who spoke of their children as "half-castes" a term which acknowledged their mixed origin but this seems to be dropping out of use as it was seldom used by younger informants. Most parents were of the view that their children would be identified either as Maoris or as Pakehas by the community and that it would be unrealistic not to follow this procedure themselves. This was especially true when the surname of the man was Maori, as was pointed out by one couple.

"Our children will have a Maori surname and will more than likely be Maori in appearance, so everyone will think of them as Maoris. What would be the use of us telling them that they were Pakehas? That'd be a sure way of getting them all mixed up."

The most obvious way in which parents could emphasise the Maori background of their children was by giving them Maori forenames, but this was not often done, even in cases where the general behaviour and values of the couple were dominantly Maori. It was only in the families where the



marriage was fully mixed that Maori names were used to any extent and the only sub-category in which all couples had used Maori names for some or all of their children was that in which the Maori husbands had a dual cultural affiliation. The explanation for this seems to lie in the fact that it is in the fully mixed marriages that the couple are most conscious of the ambivalent position of their children. In addition to this there was a greater tendency for a Maori name to be used when the father was a Maori and there were many more Maori men involved in fully mixed marriages (twenty-three out of forty-one) than in those which were only racially mixed (ten out of thirty-two). The greater likelihood of a Maori man choosing a Maori name than of a Maori woman doing likewise is probably at least partially accounted for by their greater interest in their Maori ancestry, which I have suggested arises from the patrilineal emphasis in the traditional Maori kinship system. The choice of a name is normally arrived at by the parents in consultation, but in cases of conflict the husband usually makes the decision.

Although I have said that those couples who were culturally Pakeha normally identified their children as Pakeha, there was no case in which the children's Maori ancestry was kept a secret from them. In most cases the

parents, both Maori and Pakeha, went out of their way to point out to their children that it was a matter for pride, rather than shame, but it was usual to relate this to the traditional Maori past than to the Maori realities of the present day. To put it another way - the identity was with grandparents and not with cousins; with culture and not with society.

The attitudes of parents towards their mixed children gave rise to two anomalies. Firstly there were some cases where, although the community accepted the children as Pakehas, their parents thought of them as Maoris. An instance of this will be given later in this chapter when I discuss the reaction of the children themselves. Secondly, many of the parents who insisted that they think of their children as Maoris were bringing them up as Pakehas. In doing this they were recognising the fact that an individual is classified by his physical appearance, but they were further working on the belief that the economic advancement of their children depends on their adoption of the body of cultural values and habits normally associated with Pakehas. This is illustrated by the case of Hans and Wiki Haben given at some length in Chapter VI (p.81 ).

Although there were no cases when the mixed married couple were apprehensive about having children, there were

many Pakehas who were upset by the prospect of being faced with part-Maori grandchildren. However, with only one exception, when they were faced with the reality, they treated their grandchildren with the usual combination of pride and indulgence. There were many facets to the problem of the Pakeha who had to face up to a part-Maori grandchild but I would suggest that one of the most important was that this child was a descendant - a "blood relative" - not merely an affine. People are not always expected to approve of their children's choice of spouse but they are expected to have a special feeling towards their grandchildren. There is also a sense in which the grandparent is the "descendant" of the grandchild, for the use of such phrases as "my own flesh and blood" indicate that the grandparent is of the same "stuff" as his grandchild. Thus a grandchild who is classified by the community as "Maori" carries with him the implication that his grandparents are Maori. Grandchildren are supposed to look like grandparents and it is customary for admiring friends to say that they do whether this be true or not. If a Pakeha's grandchild looks Maori it becomes impossible to carry out this little formality without embarrassment. In countless small ways the customary behaviour and attitudes surrounding the grandparent-grandchild relationship become embarrassing when the grandchild is the

member of a different race.

In addition, the existence of a grandchild forced an individual to face up to the marriage of his child in a way that he may not have done previously. A prejudiced mother can say that her daughter is married, and even speak of her by her married name (if it is not obviously Maori) without disclosing the fact that the marriage is racially mixed, or at least without reminding everyone of the fact. But if the grandchild shows evidence of his Maori ancestry, as soon as he is shown the truth about the marriage becomes evident or is emphasised. One Pakeha wife summed up the expected attitude of her parents to a coming child as follows:

"Mum will accept our baby all right herself, but I know it's going to be awfully embarrassing for her whenever she takes it out, especially if it's very dark. She'll feel that she'll have to explain all the time. You know, why it's dark. And she'll feel everyone will look at it and be dying to ask why she, a Pakeha, is wheeling a dark baby. You see I've got used to having a Maori husband and these things won't worry me, but she's never really accepted the fact and the baby's going to make her face up to it."

The reason why grandparents do "face up to it" when the occasion arises is, I believe, because the birth of a grandchild is a fait accompli, as well as a validation of

the union. You can try and talk a daughter out of getting married, but when she tells you she's presenting you with a grandchild there is nothing in practice you can do to stop it. The completeness of acceptance which can take place is illustrated by the following statement from an informant:

"My father keeps a shop which caters mainly for Pakehas in a town where there is quite a lot of prejudice against Maoris. He was very much against our marriage and one of his arguments used against it was the difficulty he would have in his business circle because he wouldn't be able to own to having Maori grandchildren. Well, he just dotes on our kids now they're here, and even has a photograph of them up in his shop! And he proudly shows it to all his business friends!"

There were no cases where Maori grandparents were either apprehensive of the arrival of a mixed grandchild or reacted adversely to it. This is understandable in light of the fact that most of the Maoris concerned had some Pakeha ancestry themselves, and also because of their conception of being Maori. I have already explained (see p. 189) that for most Maoris the fact that an individual has any Maori ancestry at all is sufficient for him to be accepted as a Maori. Maoris are used to accepting as

kinsmen individuals of all physical types and do not place a stigma on the individual who has a "dash of Pakeha blood" even if it's a large dash.

It is interesting to note that Maoris and Pakehas view the effect of mixed ancestry in the same way, each considering that even the smallest amount of Maori "blood" makes a Maori. The difference is, that for the Pakeha this acts as an excluding device while for the Maori its effect is including.

There are some problems faced by all children of mixed ancestry and these lie in the field of their adjustment to the society and its attitudes towards them. For the offspring of the mixed marriage the special consideration is the adjustment and reactions of the parents and grandparents and these have already been discussed. Such individuals are also in a special position because of the possibility of identifying directly through their parents with either race.

A full description of the place of the Maori in the community has already been given and this is generally also a true picture of the place of the child of mixed married parents. It should be emphasised, however, that many of the offspring, particularly in the category of racially mixed couples who were culturally Pakeha, looked and behaved as



Pakehas. With few exceptions these were treated as Pakehas. The exceptions were two cases where older children who wanted to date Pakehas were frowned on by the Pakehas' parents who knew of their Maori ancestry.

Maori members of the community accept without question those children of mixed marriages who wish to be accepted, and are prepared in principle to accept all individuals who have any Maori ancestry. They are, however, suspicious of those who have identified completely as Pakehas and such individuals must make evident their recognition of a Maori ancestry.

Two sections of the community are of special importance to a child - his playmates and his teachers. Young children do not normally react to racial differences but in one case a child of four had already, through influences at kindergarten, not only arrived at racial categories but was making value judgements based on them. His Pakeha mother told me the following story:

"Little Rangi who is just four came home from kindergarten the other day with a story that Maoris were 'baddies' and Pakehas were 'goodies'. His father told him that this was silly because while I am a Pakeha he and Rangi are Maoris, so Maoris are all right."

I was told of isolated cases where children had been taunted by their fellows because they were Maori. In these cases

it seemed that the other children felt this was a useful term of abuse for someone who was temporarily out of favour, rather than that they were excluding the child because of his racial background. In one case this happened to a girl who showed few physical signs of her Maori ancestry and who identified completely as a Pakeha. It upset her very much and she developed a hatred for the fact that she was part-Maori. In general, the children of mixed marriages were accepted by both or either race in school and neighbourhood activities.

Except in the few cases where teachers had troubled to find out something about the family background of their pupils they were not aware, in the schools I visited, whether a child was from a mixed marriage or not. Any child who appeared Maori or was known to have Maori ancestry was thought of as a Maori. Although this does not necessarily imply differential treatment from the teachers concerned, their beliefs as to the potential of Maoris must have affected their relationship. The following extract from my field notes referring to a school where this was slightly more marked than usual illustrates this point.

"All the teachers expected the Maoris to perform worse than the Pakehas and always thought it a matter worthy of special comment that a particular Maori was clean and well turned out. Two, at

least, of the staff obviously thought that the Maoris as a race have an inherent lack of intelligence. This was in spite of the fact that they commented favourably on particular Maori children that they were teaching. These particular teachers were a mass of contradictions in their comments."

The child's definition of his position when he was old enough to be concerned with this was based on three sets of factors. Firstly the influence of his parents, his school teachers, and his playmates. Secondly there were the demographic and social characteristics of the neighbourhood in which he lived and thirdly his own appearance and personality.

It was clear that for nearly all the children of mixed marriages their basic cultural orientations were dictated by those of their parents. But cultural orientations aren't quite the same thing as a sense of identity and in some cases one parent or the other had a dominant effect on the child. The influence of the school teacher seemed only to be of account in so far as it supported or opposed that of the parents.

The ten year old daughter of Mr and Mrs Kepa came home from school one day and said that they had been having a team game in which the teacher had divided the class into Maoris and Pakehas. She stood in the Maori team. The teacher told

her that she was a Pakeha and so was in the wrong team. The girl replied that her mother said she was a Maori, so as far as she was concerned that was what she was. She was allowed to remain in the Maori team.

There is always a strong tendency for a child to take on the attitudes, values and behaviour patterns of its peers and it was very noticeable that in those cases where mixed children were strongly Maori in outlook they mixed with a predominantly Maori play group. Whether it was the cultural affiliation or the friends which came first was not always clear, but even if the play group was not always the initiating agent it was usually effective in cementing cultural affiliation.

The composition of the play group itself was often the product of the demographic features of the neighbourhood. For those children who lived in some of the newly developed suburbs there was little opportunity of forming friendships with Maoris, and it was noticeable that even when this was so the Pakeha cultural affiliation of the parents which had usually affected their decision to live in the particular neighbourhood was emphasised by the necessity of the children finding Pakeha playmates. In nearly all cases where the family was living in either the "decadent centre" or in the state housing suburb of Tamaki

the children belonged to a play group which, if not predominantly Maori, had a large Maori representation.

Whether or not the children took advantage of these possible Maori contacts depended partly on the attitudes of their parents but also often on their own temperament. There was a tendency for the extrovert easy mixer to take advantage of any opportunity to join in with a Maori group, while the shy or quiet child more often avoided Maori contacts. It was also noticeable that many followed the community and identified themselves according to their appearance. It must be remembered that in New Zealand there is not usually any questioning of a person's racial background, and if an individual looks European and wishes to be treated as a Pakeha all he has to do is behave as a Pakeha is expected to behave and his origins will not be questioned. Therefore it would be misleading to speak of the part-Maori who looks European and allows it to be thought that he is European as "passing", in the sense that this term is used in the United States.

Many individual children had a variety of influences bearing on them which did not necessarily all pull in the same direction, but there were few cases in which this seemed to have produced significant tensions. Thus there did not appear to be any special tendency for these children

to show a higher rate of delinquency. In only one case did I find a record of delinquency among the children of my informants and even in this it was probable that the mixed marriage aspect of the family was not relevant to the problems of the children. Information from both a Child Welfare Officer and an Educational Psychologist indicated that in general the children of mixed marriages did not constitute either a social or a psychological problem.

Individual children within families showed considerable variation both in the experiences they had had and their reactions to these and to their situation in general. Accounts of some of these cases will not only illustrate this, but also point up most of the generalizations made above.

There were four children in the Murphy family. The eldest daughter, aged twenty-three, was completely European in appearance but owned with pride to her Maori ancestry. She was married to a Pakeha and completely accepted by his family. The eldest son, aged twenty-one had been about to become engaged to a Pakeha girl when her parents had found out that he was part Maori. Their reaction had made him break off the engagement and since then he had had a chip on his shoulder about being Maori. He avoided all contact with Maoris. His brother who was a year younger worked with Maoris most



of the time and preferred their company all the time. He was noticeably Maori in appearance and was the dominant member of the group with which he mixed. The youngest daughter who was sixteen had all Pakeha friends, but although fully Pakeha in behaviour and outlook she seemed to accept with difficulty her Maori ancestry. The family lived in a neighbourhood where there was ample opportunity for Maori contacts, but the two eldest children had been to school where there were few Maoris. The only child who was very close to the Maori father was the second son who identified as a Maori.

This case also illustrates the change that can occur in the behaviour of an individual because of the type of reactions he receives from members of the society.

The members of the Hataru family varied widely in physical appearance but all identified as Maoris. A conversation between two of them which was overheard by their mother shows the uncomplex way in which young children are likely to view race.

"I overheard my nine year old daughter who is dark telling her six year old sister who is fair that she was too white to be a Maori and so wouldn't be able to join the Maori Club at school."

Very often the individuals do not fit into neat stereotypical patterns as is illustrated by the two daughters

of Mr and Mrs Robinson.

"Jennifer is dark, with black hair and blue eyes. She likes meeting people and goes out often with Maori boys. She is very polite and proper in her manners. Her sister, Judy, is blonde and has never mixed with Maoris. She is slapdash and casual in her ways."

The Pakeha wife of a Maori gave me the following account of her children, which also illustrates the changes which can occur in time.

"Both our children have been brought up to consider themselves Maori, although we live as Pakehas really. Our son who is twelve and very dark is a real Maori. He tells everyone he's a Maori and likes to mix with other Maori kids when he can, although in our suburb there isn't much opportunity. At the same age, our daughter, who is now fourteen and has never looked at all Maori, was very self-conscious of being part-Maori, but now she's changed so much that she always wants her father to be home when she brings new friends so that they can meet him."

In some cases the cultural affiliation of the children was contrary to the way the parents had developed and this sometimes caused an adverse reaction or at least a feeling of disappointment on the part of one or both of them. The story of Mr March was, for him a sad one.

"When I married my Maori wife forty years ago I was rejected by most of my Pakeha friends and relatives and so over the years grew very close to the Maori people and their ways. I've got used to doing things the Maori way. But out of eight children not one will have anything to do with Maori things at all. They've all married Pakehas, and the other day when I said to my little grandson, 'What about a hong<sup>(1)</sup> with Grandad,' his father said, 'Here cut out that Maori stuff Dad, I don't want to bring up a lot of horis<sup>(2)</sup>.'"

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1. Pressing noses - a sign of affectionate greeting.
  2. Slang term for a stereotype Maori.

### CHAPTER XIII: THE DESCENDANTS OF MIXED MARRIAGES

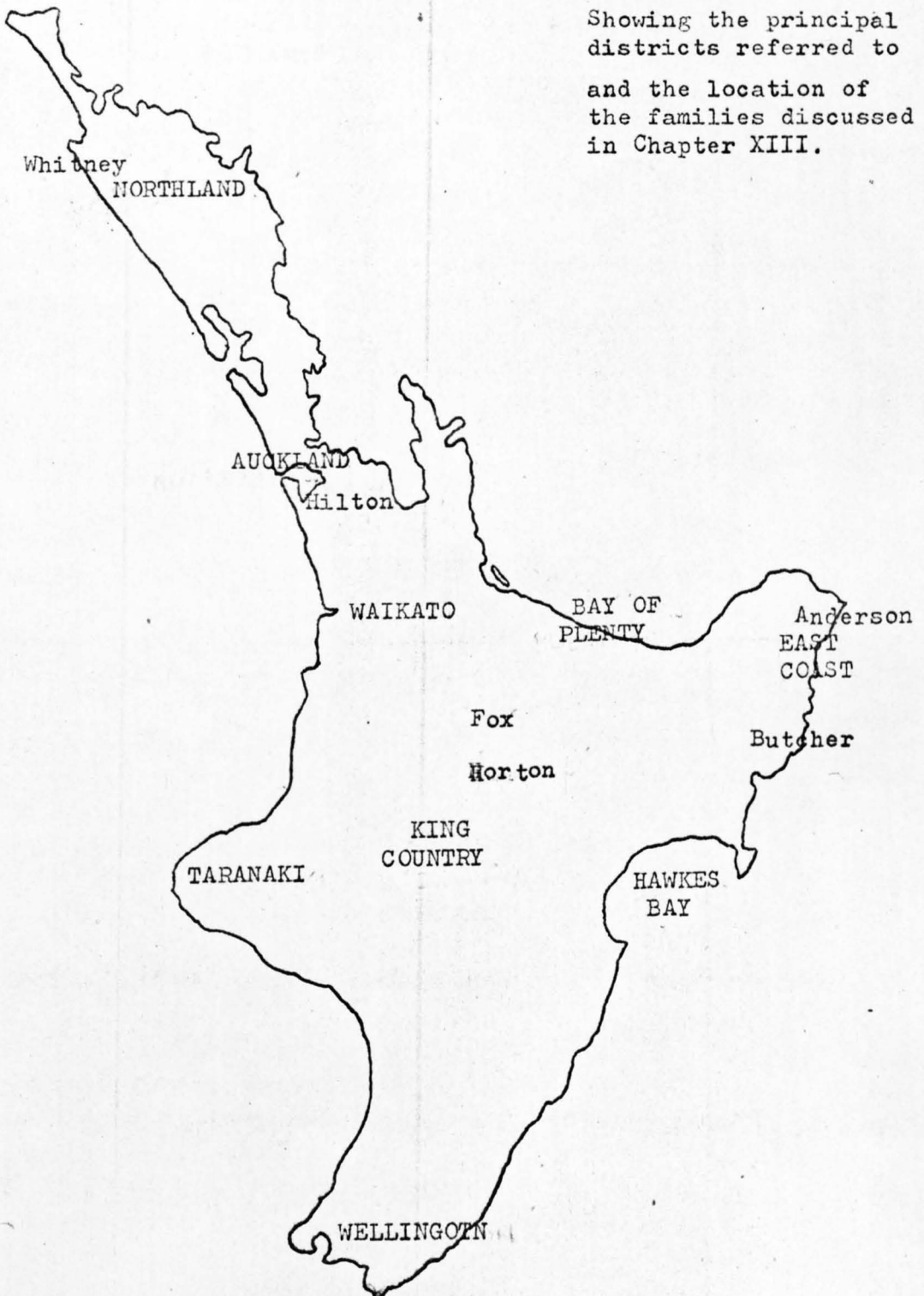
In order to show what intermarriage has meant to the descendants of some such unions and what factors determine the behaviour of successive generations I examine in this chapter six mixed marriages which occurred between 1865 and 1885, and look briefly at the behaviour of the descendants. Each case is accompanied by a genealogical table in which the symbols representing the individuals indicate their ancestry (see Key with Fig. 7). The generations are numbered in each case (0 to 3d or 4d - i.e. original marriage to third or fourth descending generation) and individuals named in the text are indicated by their generation and a reference number. Thus when a name is followed in the text by the note (2d/3) it means that this individual is in the second descending generation in the figure and is there labelled with a 3. In order to keep the tables to a manageable size the last generation given has been extended horizontally. The places referred to in this chapter are on Maps 3 & 4 (pp. 79 + 282).

#### Butcher:

In the middle part of the nineteenth century John

NORTH ISLAND OF  
NEW ZEALAND

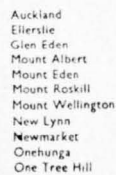
Showing the principal  
districts referred to  
and the location of  
the families discussed  
in Chapter XIII.



## NORTH ISLAND

The position and Maori population of each city, borough, and town district is indicated as under:—

Maori Population	
Under 100	+
100-250	△
250-500	●
500 and over	■



Birkenhead	+
Devonport	+
East Coast Bays	+
Northcote	+
Takapuna	+

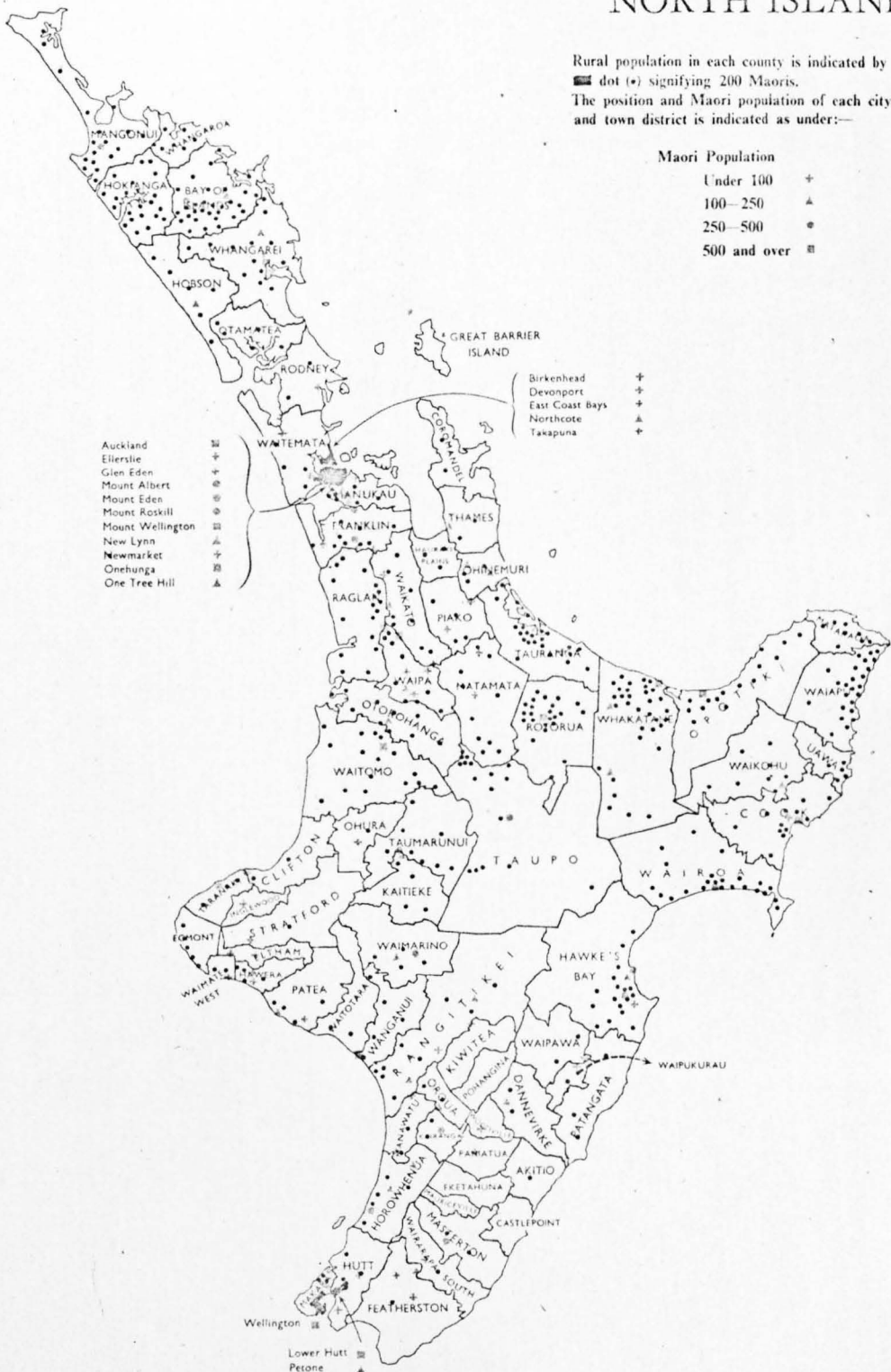
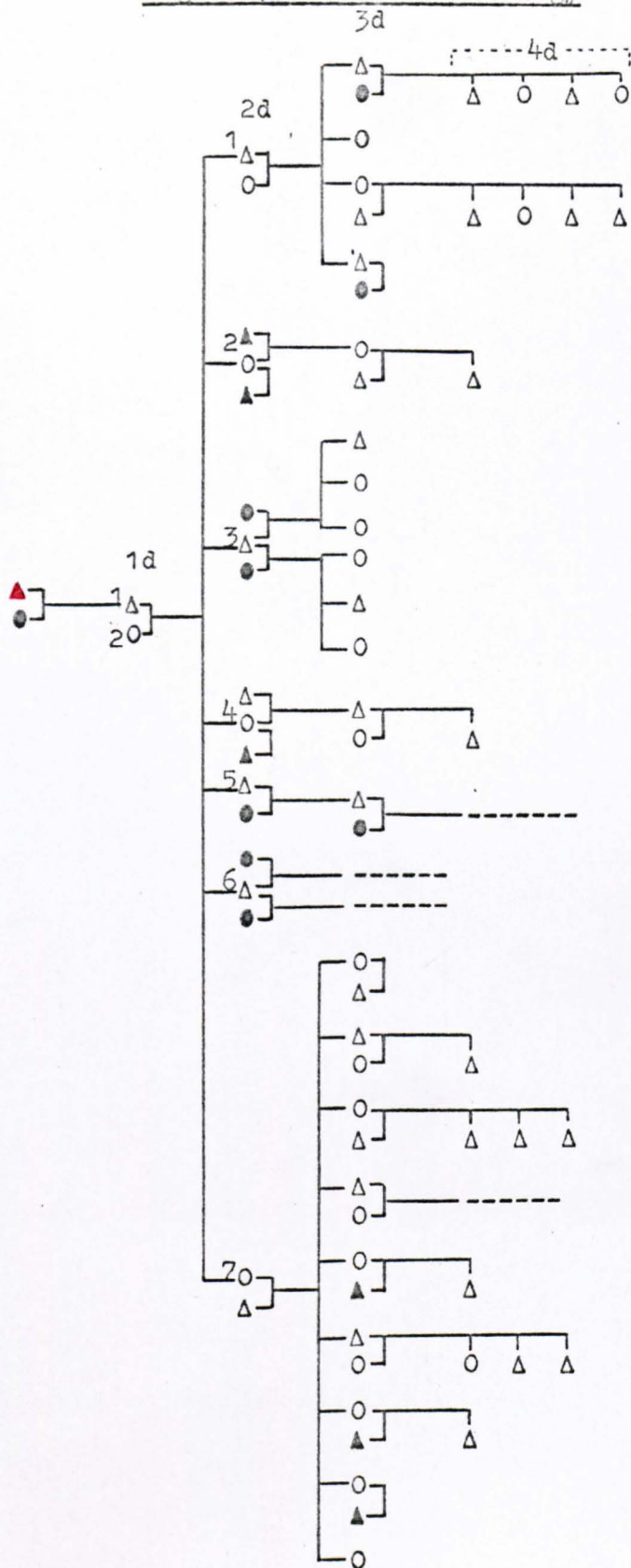




Figure 7: Butcher Genealogy

Key

Man            Δ

Woman        O

Pakeha       ▲

Maori        ▲

Mixed ancestry   Δ

Married    ]

Descended — — [

Butcher and his brother came to New Zealand from England. While his brother went to Wellington, John settled in or near Gisborne where he was concerned in several businesses as well as in farming ventures. During his visits to the East Coast in the mid sixties he either married or established a liaison with Hinehau, a Maori woman from Tolaga Bay. They had one child, William (1d/1). Whether or not the marriage was formalised, John showed some concern for his half-Maori son as he tried at one stage to remove him from the Maori community in which he was being brought up. This move was unsuccessful and, although the boy took his father's surname, he was brought up amongst the kinsfolk of his mother. John Butcher was subsequently married at different times to two Pakeha women and, although William was reared as a Maori amongst Maoris, his descendants have kept some contact with the descendants of his Pakeha half-siblings over three generations.

William Butcher established himself as a store-keeper in a Maori community near Gisborne and in about 1890 married Jane Hastings (1d/2). Jane was also the offspring of a mixed marriage and had been brought up as a Maori in a Maori environment. Her father was an English whaler who had married a Maori woman and settled down to farm the land of her father. William and Jane Butcher had seven children all of whom married individuals who were

culturally Maori and most of whom were of full Maori descent.

The oldest and youngest, Billy (2d/1) and Margaret (2d/7) married two children of Alfred Hicks who, cut off by his family in England because of his marriage to a "cannibal woman", had made his living farming the ancestral land of his wife. Billy, who is a stock agent in Gisborne has four children three of whom have married, in each case to a Maori or part Maori. One son, and the husband of one daughter are farmers on the Coast and their children all identify as Maoris. The other son has a responsible city job and lives in Wellington with his Maori wife who is also from the East Coast. They have four children who are all at school.

Margaret's husband is a farmer at Waipiro Bay on the Coast and their nine children have spread widely over the North Island in a variety of jobs - farmer, labourer, clerk, dental nurse, postmaster, etc. All but one have married and in each case to either a Maori or a part-Maori, usually one born on the Coast.

Esther Butcher (2d/2) has married twice and in each case her husband has been a Maori farmer, farming ancestral land on the Coast. Her only child, a daughter, married a local Maori farmer and they have one child.

Charles Butcher (2d/3) has been married twice, each time to a woman of full Maori ancestry. There are three children from each marriage. At one time he farmed the land of his first wife, but after his second marriage, he took work with the Public Works Dept. in Palmerston North. His second wife is from the King Country.

Hoerero (2d/4) was married first to Waka Tanga, the eldest son of one of the most famous leaders of the East Coast people. He died young leaving one son, Edward who is a doctor and who has married into one of the other leading Maori families of this region. He has one son who is a school teacher. Hoerero is prominent in activities of Maori women's organizations and with her second husband ran a Maori hostel in Auckland.

Of the remaining two children of William I know little except that both are married to Maoris and both are farmers on the East Coast, Alfred (2d/6) farming the land of his wife. Their children all identify as Maoris and those who have married, married Maoris or part-Maoris.

It is clear that without exception the descendants of John Butcher have identified as Maoris to such an extent that in nearly one hundred years not one has married a Pakeha, and a very large proportion have remained to work the land handed down from their Maori ancestors. Many of

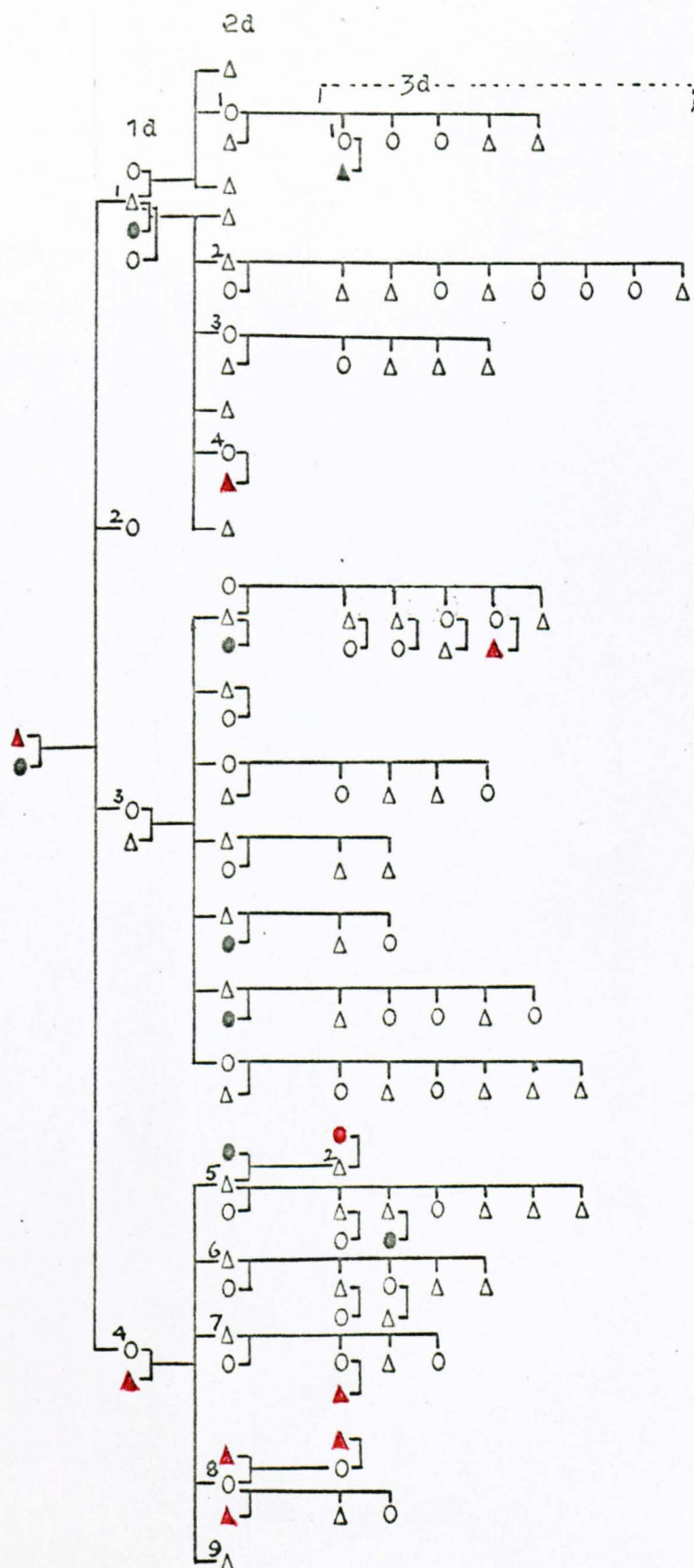
those who have left the land have succeeded in establishing themselves in professions, but in no case has this meant full acculturation to a Pakeha way of life.

Anderson:

Miles Foster-Anderson came from a well known military family in England and arrived in New Zealand as a farming cadet in about 1870. He subsequently took up land on the East Coast where he lived the life of a gentleman farmer. In about 1885 he married Maraea Maraka who belonged to one of the most important lineages in the local tribe. Between 1887 and 1894 they had four children, Maraea dying only a few years after the birth of the last. The second child, a girl died without marrying.

The eldest son, Richard (1d/1), has married three times, his first and third wives being part-Maori while his second was full Maori. However, of nine children born to him only four survived to marry. The youngest of these (2d/4) married a Pakeha, but except that they lived in Napier, nothing was known of this couple by my informants. The eldest, a girl (2d/1), married David Stewart who was about three-quarters Maori and a contractor on the East Coast. Two of their children have become teachers. They still seem to identify completely as Maoris and the eldest daughter (3d/1) has married a Maori. Richard's other







two children (2d/2 and 2d/3) are both farmers on the East Coast, living in a completely Maori environment.

The third child, Victoria (1d/3) married the son of her father's Pakeha farm manager and his Maori wife. She had been educated at Hukarere, a leading private Maori girls' boarding school, and had a family of seven, all of whom lived to marry. In all cases these children identified as Maoris and married either full or part-Maoris. Most of them still live on the Coast, some being farmers, and several tradesmen. Two have moved to the town, one to a labouring job and the other to a factory. Of their children only four have yet reached marrying age and, of these, three have married part-Maoris and one a Pakeha.

Miles Anderson's youngest child, Moana (1d/4) was also educated at Hukarere, but spent most of her life on her father's farm. At twenty she married William Johnson, a Pakeha clerk in the nearby town who was a close friend of her father's. He had no kin in New Zealand and Miles encouraged his daughter in the match. The eldest son (2d/5), named after his father, has been married twice, his first wife, who was a full Maori died shortly after the birth of her first child who was subsequently brought up by his mother's kin. This man (3d/2) is one of those I have classified as having dual cultural affiliation and

has married a Pakeha. The first three children of Mile's (2d/5) second marriage (to a part Maori and after he had shifted to Auckland) are all either at university or graduates of it. His youngest three children have returned with their mother to her home town of Stratford.

Moana's second child (2d/6) was adopted by a well known Maori lawyer and brought up as his son. It was intended that he should be married to a Maori girl who was a member of the other major lineage in the tribe but, following a romantic mix up, he married another girl who was half Maori and it was left to their daughter to draw the two lines together in marriage. All his children identify as Maoris although they are less than half Maori in ancestry.

The remaining members of Moana's family have identified much more as Pakehas. Thomas (2d/7) married a girl who had only a small fraction of Maori ancestry and his eldest daughter has married a Pakeha. Jean (2d/8) has married twice, each time to a Pakeha and her eldest daughter has also married a Pakeha. Philip (2d/9) the youngest has not married. He has a skilled position in a Hamilton factory and has the same dual cultural affiliation as the nephew (3d/2) mentioned above.

It can be seen from the above description that, although one of the four children of Miles Anderson married a Pakeha

there was still a tendency for his descendants to identify as Maoris. The marriage to a Pakeha in the first descending generation did not have the effect of developing a Pakeha branch to the family as occurred in the Fox family to be described below, but there was a greater tendency for this branch of the family to identify as Pakeha and to marry Pakehas. As with the Butcher family above, the high tribal standing of many of the members of this family, and the degree of cohesion shown by the tribe to which they belong have been largely instrumental in keeping so many members of the family orientated towards the Maori group.

#### Whitney:

Nothing is known to his descendants of an Englishman named Whitney except that in about 1874 he had a child by a Maori woman in Northland, and that that child took his surname. Beatrice Whitney (1d/1) was brought up as a Maori and in 1894 married Huirua Peha Rongo. They had eight children who survived to marry, and of these all but the eldest married Maoris or part-Maoris.

The oldest daughter (2d/1) married Martin Yakich, a Yugoslavian gum digger, and although they named their first child after his Maori grandfather they seem to have identified largely as Pakehas for all their children except one have married Pakehas, the exception being one son who married



his part-Maori cousin. However they do all mix freely with both races.

All the other children of Huirua Peha lived most of their lives in the small settlement of their birth and had their children there. However there has been little to support the rapidly growing population of this area and many of the next generation left their birth place for the town and at least one in almost every family has made a mixed marriage. For some the move to town meant no more than travelling the few miles to a small local business centre, while for others it has meant the longer journey to Auckland.

The local movement is illustrated by the family of Greta (2d/3) and her half-Maori husband Charlie Tamati. Their eldest child, Jim (3d/9) attended the local high school and then moved to Moerewa where work was available in the meat processing factory. He married a local Maori girl and they have continued to live in Moerewa. Pat (3d/10) became a truck driver and moved further afield to Whangarei, the largest town in Northland, and married a Pakeha girl whom he met there. Subsequently they have moved to Auckland. Piripi (3d/11) remained on his father's farm and married a Maori girl from a neighbouring settlement. Jean (3d/12) trained as a nurse in a small town in the north and while



there met her future husband who was a Maori male nurse. Her younger sister, April (3d/13) also took up nursing but returned home to marry a local Maori man employed as a truck driver.

Dick's (2d/2) children were given on the whole a better education than those of his younger brother and have spread wider in their search for work. His eldest son, Jack (3d/1), is a teacher who met and married a Maori girl while teaching in a local town. They are separated and Jack has moved to Auckland where his associates tend to be mostly Pakeha, Margaret (3d/2) took a factory job in Auckland and while there met and married a Maori boy from a neighbouring district and returned with him to work on a farm. Sam (3d/3) remained at home to look after the family farm and married a local Maori girl. By the time the next child, Celia (3d/4), was ready for secondary school the new Northland College had been opened, offering greater opportunities for the education of children from this area. Celia became a Post Mistress after leaving school and finally married a Pakeha and shifted with him to Wellington. May (3d/5) trained as a nurse after leaving Northland College but returned to her home settlement to marry a local farmer. Sherry (3d/7) did not finish her full course at the College, but took a factory job in Auckland where she married a Maori from her



home settlement who was employed as a labourer by the city council. Joe (3d/6) attended Otago University and became a doctor. He now lives in Wellington and has married a Pakeha who was a fellow student. Sally (3d/8) trained in Auckland as a teacher, has married a Pakeha - also a teacher. They live in Auckland. The two youngest children are still at school.

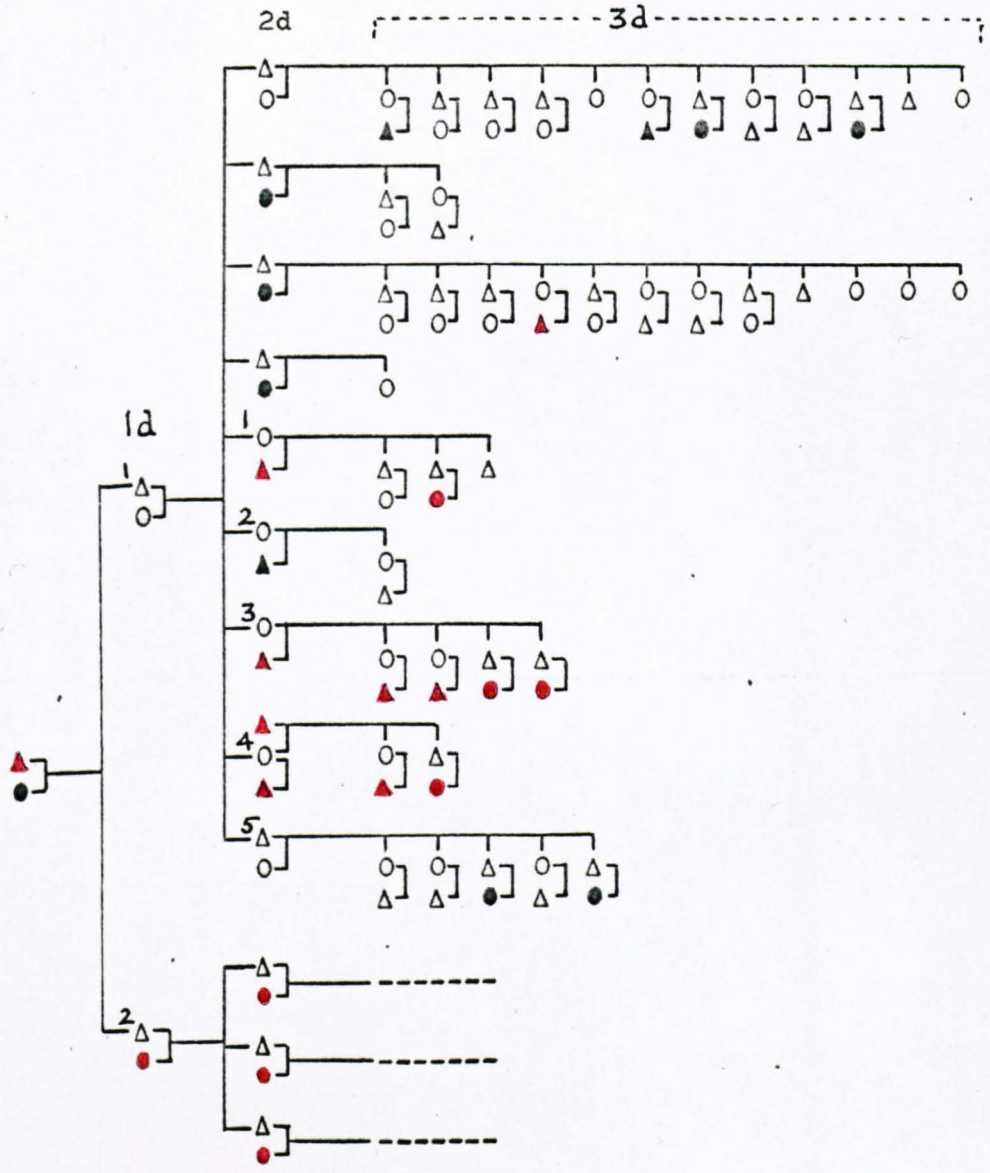
Although Whitney's descendants have had continuous contact with Pakehas, the economic differentiation between the two races in this part of the country has tended to minimise intermarriage in the past. However, with the movement to the towns intermarriage has become more general in the younger generation (3d).

#### Fox:

Little is known by his descendants of William Fox except that he had two children by his Maori wife. The contacts of these children were to a large extent with Pakehas, and so it appears likely that this was an established marriage and not just a passing liaison. William's wife, Ranga, is known to have been from a senior Arawa lineage and they lived all their married life in Rotorua.

The younger of their two sons, Emanuel (1d/2), married a Pakeha, but when the children were still quite young their

Figure 10: Fox Genealogy.



parents separated. The Pakeha mother took them to Auckland where they were reared as Pakehas and lost all contact with their Maori kin. The eldest of these children founded what is now a well known Auckland business. All three married Pakehas and their children, who have only one eighth Maori ancestry, are generally thought to be fully Pakeha.

The older son, named William (1d/1) after his father, owned a small business in Rotorua and, although he lived in most respects as a Pakeha, he mixed freely with both races. He married a half-Maori girl from Northland who was the daughter of a Pakeha government official. They had nine children, the majority of whom have identified as Maoris. The others have married Pakehas and live as such. The four eldest (all males) married Maoris and worked at contracting jobs on the land in parts of the Bay of Plenty where the population is largely Maori. By now nineteen of their children have married and in only one instance has the spouse been a Pakeha. The other son (2d/5) and one daughter (2d/2) have had similar histories.

The other three daughters married Pakehas but this has not meant a complete break of contact with the Maori kin. Muriel (2d/1) married an Englishman and they run a small business in Rotorua. Most of their contacts are with Pakehas and one of their two sons has married a Pakeha.

However their other son has married a part-Maori. Maraea (2d/3) married an Australian who died soon after the birth of their fourth child. She brought the children to Auckland and reared them in a Pakeha environment, but unlike her aunt, retained contact with her Maori kin by returning to Rotorua for holidays. All her children are culturally Pakehas and all have married Pakehas.

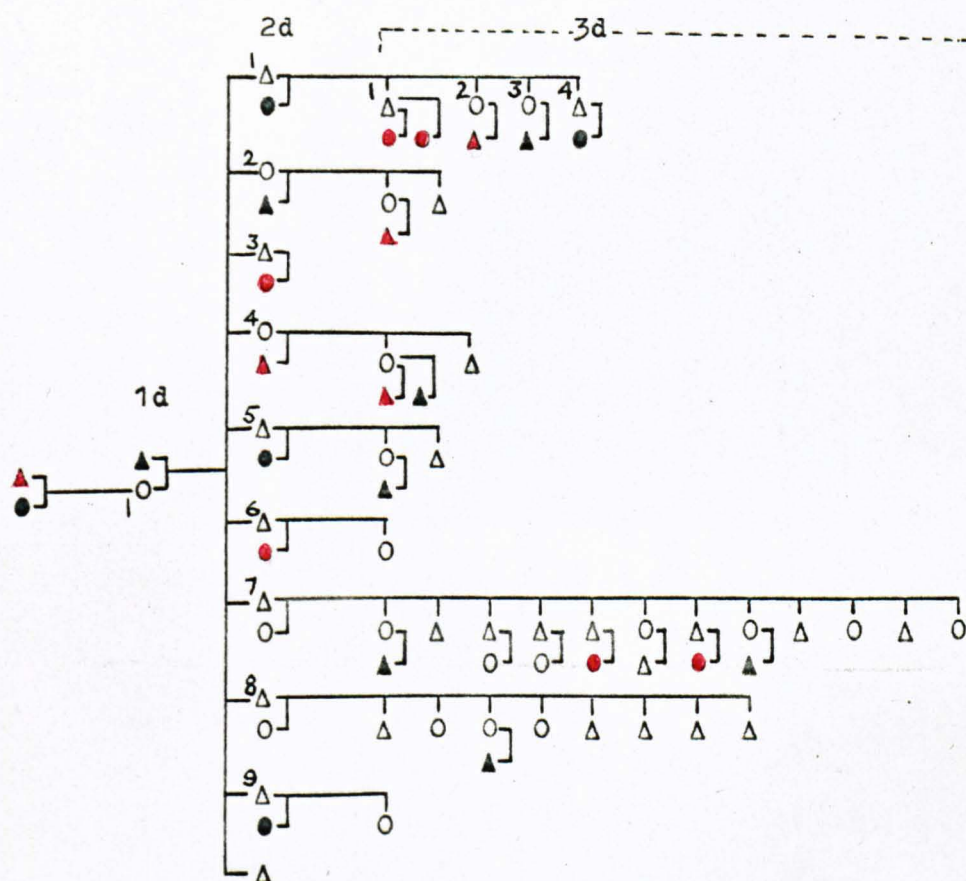
Wiki (2d/4) has married twice, each time to a Pakeha of high economic status. Although unmistakably Maori in appearance she is accepted completely and is fully at home in the higher levels of Pakeha "society" in the city. She has two children from her first marriage, both of whom have married Pakehas.

This case illustrates the way in which, by continuing marriages into the Pakeha group, families can become more and more Pakeha in cultural affiliation, but whether or not this means a break with the Maori section of the family depends on the circumstances of the marriages and the choices made by the individuals.

#### Hilton:

As in the case of the Whitney descendants, those of Hilton know little of the circumstances of their ancestor's relationship with his Maori "wife". Their daughter (1d/1)

Figure 11: Hilton Genealogy.





took the surname of her father but married Hurutai Duke, a full Maori who lived near Thames and farmed his ancestral land. The couple prospered economically and adopted some Pakeha standards, in, for example, their style of house which was a typical colonial farmhouse. However the organization of the family group and their general way of life left no doubt that they still identified as Maoris. Nevertheless their economic position was such that they did mix freely with local Pakehas - quite an acceptable practice in this part of the country. In both the generation of Hurutai's children (2d) and in that of his grandchildren (3d) there have been intermittent marriages with Pakehas, but this has not usually meant that the inter-marrying individual has changed his cultural affiliation or that a "Pakeha branch" has been started as in the previous case.

The two sons (2d/3,6) and one daughter (2d/4) of Hurutai who married Pakehas met them, not because they were moving in exclusively Pakeha circles in the city, but because they and their spouses were mixing in an integrated group in one of the small towns in the Bay of Plenty. Only one child from any of these three marriages has yet married and she has married twice - once to a Pakeha and once to a Maori.

Of the six children (2d/1,2,5,7,8,9) who married



Maoris (either full Maoris or individuals with only a very small fraction of Maori ancestry) only two have tended to mix exclusively with Maoris and in the two cases where children from such couples have married it was to full Maoris. The others have all mixed in integrated groups and a description of the place of the eldest son Te Keepa (2d/1), and his family will give an idea of what this has meant.

Te Keepa married Mary Stewart who was of full Maori ancestry and they spent some years working at different jobs in the Northern half of the island. Finally they settled down in Paeroa where Te Keepa built up a flourishing business selling farm machinery. Their children were brought up in this town with frequent contacts with both Maoris and Pakehas. The eldest child Percy (3d/1) was something of a playboy. He was divorced by his first wife, a Pakeha, but she and her two children continued to maintain contact with their Maori kin and one of the children regularly visits his Maori uncle for Christmas. When Percy was remarried it was to another Pakeha and they mix in a group which contains about equal numbers of Pakehas and Maoris. Ella (3d/2), Te Keepa's eldest daughter, married the boy next door who was a Pakeha. They subsequently moved to Auckland where they have established a small business. Doreen (3d/3) mixed with the same group as her older brother and married

a Maori member of it who works in the Post Office. Bill (3d/4) the youngest son, travelled widely working in saw-mills and eventually married a Maori girl in the King country.

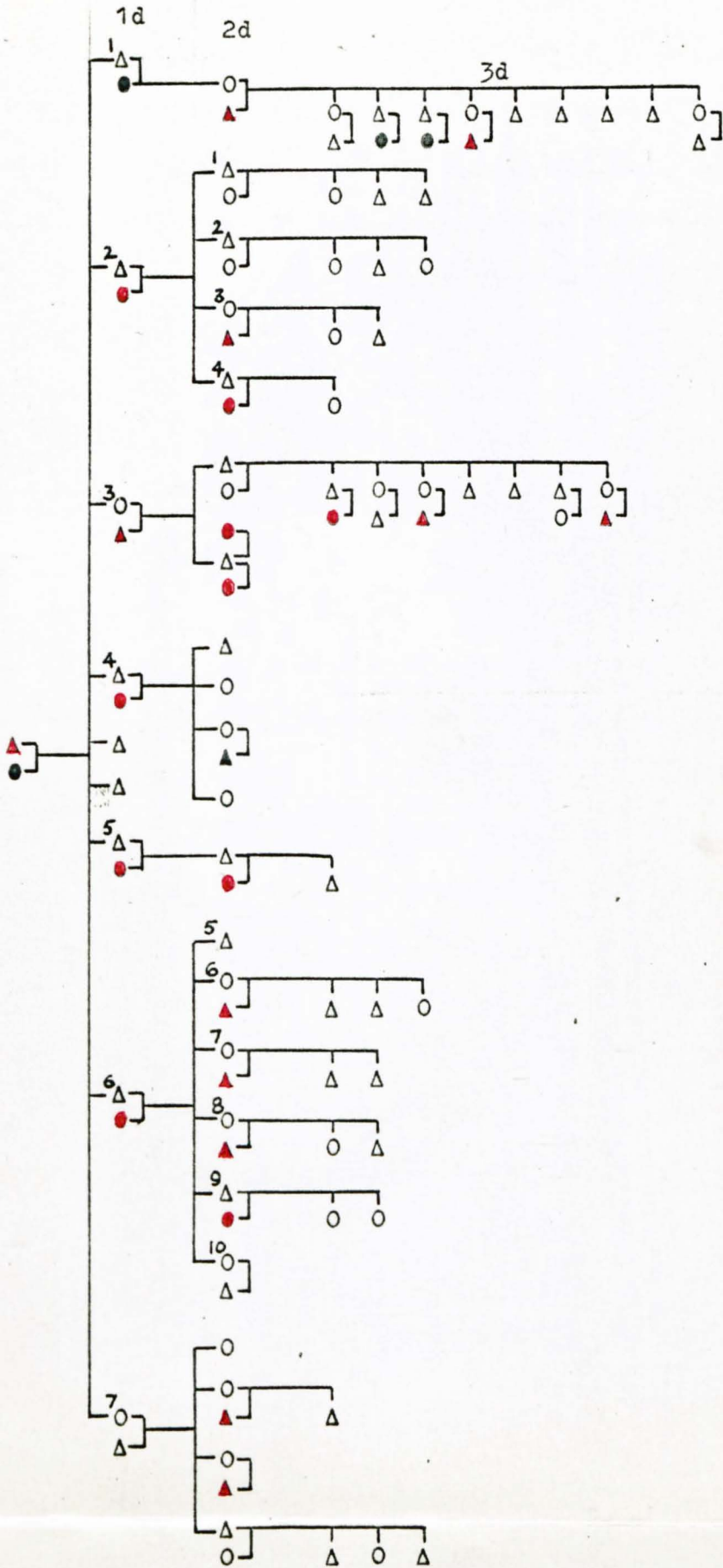
It is clear that although Hilton's descendants have identified as Maoris this has meant for them something quite different from what it has meant to the Whitney descendants discussed above. The reasons for this seem to lie in the nature of the contacts between Maoris and Pakehas in the local community concerned and the economic circumstances of the families.

#### Horton:

Arthur Horton who was a member of an English landed family came to New Zealand as a tourist in 1870, towards the end of the period of warfare between Maoris and settlers. He joined the Armed Constabulary, and shortly after being posted to Taupo was saved from drowning by a Maori girl. She became his wife. After his discharge from the army he worked for some years as a government official during which time he mixed mainly with Pakehas, but retained a great respect for the customs and values of his wife's people.

Arthur Horton educated his children in an English upper middle class tradition and it was probably due to his respect for both cultures that, while most of his descendants have become largely Pakehas in their cultural affiliation,

Figure 12: Horton Genealogy.



they have nearly all retained some contact with Maoris and quite a number have married back into the Maori race.

His eldest son John (1d/1) was the only one to marry a full Maori. He was also the only one who did not finish his schooling, and returned to his father's farm near Rotorua. William (1d/2), the next son, received a University Education and practised as an engineer in Auckland. During the First World War he was commissioned in the Maori Pioneers but for most of his life lived as a Pakeha. His Pakeha wife was the daughter of an Englishman who was being supported by his family in England. She had been educated in Europe. Mary (1d/3) married the son of a Pakeha businessman from Rotorua. Alfred (1d/4) had an outstanding career at a leading Auckland secondary school and was prominent in sport. He made a career in the Post Office, but later took up farming, and married a Pakeha girl who was the daughter of a pioneer farmer and had been brought up among Maoris.

The next two children died when young. Arthur, junior, (1d/5) who followed them, was the family favourite. Educated at one of the highest status boarding schools in the country he received a university education and dabbled in a number of activities. For much of his life he was supported by his mother and brothers. As in the case of his brothers he served in the Maori section of the army

during the First World War. He lived for a time in England where he separated from his wife. On his return to New Zealand and in his old age he began to identify more as a Maori and to become more interested in Maori things.

Charles (1d/6) was educated at one of the agricultural universities and subsequently managed the family farm.

Although he married a Pakeha, Charles was the only member of the family other than John who lived to any significant degree as a Maori. The youngest daughter, Emily (1d/7), was educated at a convent and then eloped with a man who was part-Maori and considered by her parents to be beneath them socially. Subsequently he established himself in a business. Emily and her husband always moved in Pakeha circles.

All of the children of the next generation were brought up as Pakehas but they did not lose Maori contacts. Twelve of the eighteen who have married, have married part-Maoris, and most are established in professional occupations as the following examples show.

William's eldest son (2d/1) received a university education and has made a successful career as a teacher. His professional contacts are mainly with Pakehas but his occupation has allowed him to follow up his keen interest in Maori culture. During the Second World War he served



with the Maori Battalion and his wife is almost full Maori in ancestry. The next son (2d/2) went into business and has always mixed in a Pakeha environment, but married a part-Maori girl whom he had met at school in Rotorua. They have left New Zealand and live in England. William's eldest daughter (2d/3) became a school teacher and later married an Englishman who is a marine engineer. They live in Wellington. The youngest son (2d/4) is an advertising executive who has married a Pakeha trained nurse.

Charles's eldest son (2d/5) received a university education and is a secondary school teacher. He has not yet married. His eldest daughter (2d/6) took an office job in Hamilton, and then returned to Rotorua to marry a Pakeha boy she had met at school; he is a driver. Her younger sister (2d/7) also worked at an office job in the city until she married a visiting Australian. She now lives in Australia. The next daughter (2d/8) trained as a nurse in the local Rotorua hospital where she met and married an English doctor. The next son (2d/9) works as a farm labourer and has married the daughter of a local Pakeha farmer, while the youngest daughter (2d/10) who became a teacher, married another teacher who is part-Maori.

The few marriages which have already occurred in the next generation (3d) indicate that the same process of continuing contact with both races is likely to carry on.

\* \* \* \* \*



The cases I have presented indicate that, included under what I have called "mixed marriages" in this context, are probably two quite different phenomena. In three of my cases nothing was known of the circumstances which surrounded such a "marriage" and the only thing that linked the two individuals was the presence of a single child and the fact that this child was given the surname of the Pakeha man concerned. In the case of Butcher, at least, this did not imply that the child was the result of a completely transient liaison for it appears that he tried hard to take the child with him when he shifted back to the town.

In the three cases where there was more than one child to the marriage and a considerable amount was known about the couple, it is probable that their's was a legal marriage or at least a marriage in the terms of my definition in Chapter I (see p.6 ).

In the cases where the relationship was probably a temporary one the child in each instance was reared by its Maori mother in her family or extended family unit and identified as a Maori. In the other cases the rearing of the children was subject to a more complex set of factors.

The way in which the descendants of the first type of union behaved was therefore closely related to the behaviour of the particular Maori group of which they were part. It seems likely that for these racially mixed

descendants the presence of European ancestry counted for little or nothing in determining their cultural affiliation or their choice of spouses. It is much more realistic to look on these people in the way they probably looked on themselves - as full Maoris. A discussion of their behaviour and marriage choices would be a discussion of those of the whole Maori group in each particular district. It is not my purpose in this chapter to provide this but I shall make a few suggestions as to the factors which have influenced the behaviour of the individuals in the three cases examined above. The three cases were purposely chosen as representing three quite different types of environment. The factors which seem important fall into the following categories: economic organization, social organization, demographic situation and race contact situation.

In the case of the Whitney descendants it was the poor economic situation of the individuals that forced them to move, and has resulted in a sprinkling of mixed marriages in the younger generation. Both the Hiltons and the Butchers were in a strong economic position, but while for the former this meant mixing on equal terms with the local Pakehas and consequently some intermarriage in all generations, for the latter it meant the possibility of greater cohesion in the tribal group and less dependence

on Pakeha centres of population for employment.

But it was more than economic activity which kept the Butchers and their kin together. It was this region that had spearheaded the Maori revival at the end of the nineteenth century (see Harré: 1963, p.8) and it is probable that the sense of unity and identity as Maoris was stronger here than in the other two regions. However, there was another feature of the social organization in all regions which made possible the original identification of the individuals as Maoris and gave them the chance of achieving status as Maoris. This was the ambilateral descent system (see Firth: 1959, p.112) which made it possible for an individual to reckon his descent through either the male or female line. Thus it was possible for many of these individuals to become leaders in their communities within the traditional framework of leadership.

Another factor which enabled the Maoris of the East Coast to maintain a cohesive group was the isolation of the area. Remote from any very large Pakeha centres of population, even today this region lacks an efficient communication system with the rest of the country. Thames was a centre of Pakeha farming activities and close to many towns, while Northland was both close to Auckland and connected by a direct rail link.

Finally, the relationships between the Pakehas and the Maoris in the various districts must be considered. To a large extent these were a product of the factors already discussed. Thus for the family from Thames, the high standard of living which they maintained, added to the degree of proximity to Pakehas, meant that contacts were frequent, there was little status differentiation, and so, while the Maoris were able to retain their cultural identity they could also mix freely with the Pakehas. In Northland on the other hand, while the Maoris were mostly economically depressed, the majority of the Pakeha farmers were better off and there was a much greater status differential. On the East Coast there were few Pakehas.

Of the three cases where the children of the initial mixed marriage were reared in a home with a Pakeha father, the one which shows the most Maori influence is that of the Andersons. The fact that they lived in a remote country area where the proportion of Maoris was high, as well as the fact that the Pakeha father was a farmer, probably influenced this. Also of importance was the strong sense of identity of the particular tribal group concerned.

In the other two cases the family lived in a town, and, even though this was a town with a relatively high Maori population the involvement of the Pakeha men in business or government service in each case meant that

they were moving in a predominantly Pakeha group. Coupled with this, most of the children in the first descending generation were educated in Pakeha schools. This was particularly so in the case of the Hortons. In the case of the Andersons those children who were given a special education were sent to schools catering for Maoris, these being considered the best schools - Maori or Pakeha - in the locality.

Thus, in the first descending generation, while the children of Anderson were established on the land, and so became tied even more strongly to the Maori community, those of Horton were mostly trained in a profession or married into a business family, and this meant that their ties with the Pakeha section of the community became emphasised. Following this, while only one of the children of Anderson married a Pakeha - and he an individual who had become closely associated with the local community, five out of the seven of Horton married Pakehas.

Although in each of these three cases at least one of the individuals in the first descending generation married a Pakeha, it was only in the case of Emanuel Fox that this created an exclusive branch of the family, identifying as Pakehas, and having no contact with their Maori kin. This was a special case because the couple separated and the Pakeha wife returned with her children to Auckland. In

other cases the breakdown of a marriage by death or divorce did not necessarily cause this type of split, either because the wife was the Maori and she kept contact with her own kin, or because the Pakeha spouse had established herself and her children in their role in the wider Maori kin group in such a way that this continued in spite of the separation.

It can be said, however, that in all cases where a part Maori has made a marriage to a Pakeha this has meant that his descendants have been more likely to identify as Pakehas and to marry Pakehas in their turn, than have their cousins. It is probable that a combination of factors such as appearance, education, occupation, residence and attitude of parents towards the two races operate in determining the actual choices of these individuals.

The foregoing examination of the behaviour of the descendants of some historically early mixed marriages indicates some of the effects interracial marriage has had on the racial and cultural make-up of the population of New Zealand.

Firstly, it is probable that nearly all the individuals who claim to be Maoris actually have some Pakeha ancestry. This means that the official statistics on the numbers of full Maoris are very inaccurate, for many of these individuals state in their census returns that they are full Maori. It also seems likely that a number of individuals on the Maori electoral roll have less than half Maori ancestry (see Harré:



1963, pp.7 & 8). This situation is allowed to come about partly by the fact that there is a tradition in New Zealand of not questioning an individual's claim to a certain racial origin.

Secondly, there is also a small proportion of the Pakeha population which has some Maori ancestry. It is unusual for this to be consciously concealed, although in most cases it is not thought necessary to publicise the fact. When a Pakeha does claim to having a small fraction of "Maori blood" it is usually seen as a touch of the exotic and does not bring about his identity with the Maori group in the eyes of his fellows.

Thirdly, there is a larger category of individuals of mixed ancestry who sometimes identify culturally as Maoris, but more often, because of their economic position, as Pakehas. Whatever their cultural identity these individuals always own to the presence of their Maori ancestry, usually keep contact with kin who are culturally Maori, and often have a strong allegiance to the Maori race even when they could quite easily pass as Pakehas.

#### CHAPTER XIV: CONCLUSION

This study of interracial marriage, was undertaken primarily to throw some light on the relations between the two main races in New Zealand. What are the most significant features of Maori-Pakeha intermarriage and how do they relate to the general race contact situation?

The differential status position of the two races, the prejudice of some Pakehas, and a few cultural differences all act to restrict the chances of young people forming relationships which may lead to marriage, but these are counterbalanced by certain unifying influences. The most important of these are associated with kin and friendship networks, with educational institutions and to a lesser extent with recreational activities such as sport and dancing.

The formation of relationships is accelerated when the cultural differences are minimised but are not dependent on this. When the common culture is a Pakeha one, this implies the acculturation of Maoris, which for males tends to be associated with an improvement in occupational status and for females with a larger degree of Pakeha ancestry. When the common culture is Maori, implying the acculturation of Pakehas, it is associated almost entirely with Pakeha

men who are of low status and often have some deviant aspects in their behaviour or background. One of the main problems in considering this category in an urban environment is that of differentiating between what I have called "Maori culture" and that which is merely characteristic of lower status individuals in general.

There are fewer Pakeha women in their late twenties or thirties who marry Maori men, largely because at such an age women are more concerned with economic status and the general attitude of the community. Younger Pakeha women are more concerned with prestige amongst their age mates and with pastimes such as dancing and sport than with economic status, and it was in these institutions that mixing was seen to be most apt to take place.

The initial reaction by a Pakeha to the possibility of a close relation with a Maori is often associated with the unfavourable stereotype which many have. This reaction is strongest in situations where the social distance is least. Thus in community relationships the main prejudices are associated with residence and in the parental reaction to associations between their children and members of the other race it is often only when dating becomes regular and the possibility of marriage arises that resistance begins.

One of the most significant features of race relations in New Zealand is the rapidity and frequency with which the stereotype is normally broken down when events force a close association. This is possibly because the stereotype has not been built up as a reaction to competition for jobs, prestige or women. What prejudice there is against Maoris is more a reaction to their over-all position of low socio-economic status than a device for maintaining this position. Another important feature of the stereotype held by Pakehas is that it is seldom translated into action in the form of discrimination. This is one reason why the expectation of adverse reactions from parents is greater than the experienced reactions. If a lot of account is taken of "pub talk", as for instance appears to have been the case with Ausubel in his study (Ausubel: 1960) the problem of race relations appears more acute and less capable of a solution than I believe it is in practice.

There was no tendency for the formation of a special group of mixed race. The fact that most individuals could find a position in either an integrated group or what I have called "outrigger groups" is partly explained by Pakeha reactions as I have described them, but also by the attitude of Maoris towards the mixing of the races.

Both Maoris and Pakehas tend to agree that a small

amount of Maori ancestry makes a Maori (in racial terms), but whereas for the Pakeha this tends to act as an excluding device, for the Maori its effect is including. It is, in part, because of this that when opposition to a mixed marriage does occur amongst Maoris it is usually expressed in a positive form ("We would prefer you to marry a Maori.") rather than in a negative form ("We don't want you to marry a Pakeha.")

What are the implications of my findings for the future of race relations and interracial marriage in New Zealand? This is a very difficult question but I think that there are sufficient significant features present in the situation to attempt to make a prediction. If the present government policies of Maori advancement in terms of education, housing and vocational placement are effectively continued, it is probable that, with the increased contact occurring through urbanisation and intermarriage, the Pakeha stereotype of the Maori will break down, and the range of crosscutting social situations will increase to such an extent that interracial friction will be minimised.

If the socio-economic status of the Maoris who are entering the city in increasing numbers is such that they make no widespread contact with Pakehas in relationships of social equality, not only will there be less opportunity for the stereotype to be broken down, but it will become confirmed

in its present form.

The amount to which Maoris retain features of their traditional culture or social organization is seen to be largely irrelevant in the context of race relations unless this acts to inhibit the process of upward mobility in terms of economic status.

It is likely that the rate of intermarriage will increase and this will be most marked in marriages between Maori men and Pakeha women, both in the category where both spouses are culturally Pakeha and that of fully mixed marriages. Marriages between Pakeha men and Maori women in the category where they were both at least partially Maori in their cultural affiliations will probably become proportionately less significant as Maori women rise in economic status. However this process will probably be slower than that associated with Maori men.

With the present revival of interest in traditional Maori culture it is probable that the category where the Maori men are of dual cultural affiliation will become of increasing importance. The concept of "Maori" is even now a difficult one in both racial and cultural terms. From a racial point of view it will probably become increasingly meaningless. Its importance as a cultural category will depend largely on the skill with which traditional Maori culture can be adapted to a European economic system.



APPENDIX I: VALIDATION OF STATISTICAL MATERIAL

In order to establish the proportion of Maoris who have at least one Maori name I undertook counts in several sets of records with the following results:

1. Interviewed couples: 63.5% of the Maori spouses in mixed marriages where I interviewed one or both of the spouses had at least one Maori name.
2. Total mixed marriages known: Of the 227 Maoris married to Pakehas about whom I have some information, 60% have at least one Maori name.
3. Descendants of early mixed marriages: 53% of the descendants of early mixed marriages of whom I know at least one Christian name and the surname have at least one Maori name.

All these counts are likely to be low as in most cases I do not know the second Christian name of the individuals concerned. The third set of records gives an expectedly lower result than the other two as it contains fewer individuals of full, or nearly full Maori ancestry.

Even making the conservative estimate that 60% of all Maoris do have at least one Maori name the likelihood of locating a Maori when we are given a group of three individuals

(spouse, father and mother) is 93.6%.<sup>(1)</sup>

This can be checked by reckoning back from known mixed marriages. Of the 84 mixed couples interviewed closely 63, or 75% would have been recognised as mixed by the information given on their marriage notices; 2, or 2.4% would not. The Maori spouses in the remaining 19, or 22.6% of marriages do not themselves have Maori names and I do not have the full names of their parents. On the evidence above it seems not unreasonable to predict that at least 13 of these would have a second Maori name themselves or have a parent with at least one Maori name. This means that I should have been able to recognise at least 76 or 90% of those marriages as mixed.

Although it is an occasional practice for a Pakeha to be given a Maori Christian name the incidence is very

1. This is arrived at by the following calculation:

$100[1 - (\frac{2}{5} \times \frac{2}{5} \times \frac{2}{5})]$ . This is valid only if there is no correlation between Maori names of spouses and their children. Apart from the obvious correlation between surnames of fathers and their children, what information I have would suggest little consistency in this. It is not at all unusual to find families where parents with European Christian names have given several of their children Maori names and others where parents with Maori names have given European names to some of their children. Another factor which would upset my predictions would be a patterning of spouse selection based on names. What information I have suggests that spouses are chosen without reference to the origin of their names.

small. None of my Pakeha informants had a Maori name, except the name Ngaire which has been taken over into general usage and which I have not classed as Maori for these purposes.

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO TEACHERS' COLLEGE STUDENTS. (1)

Where there is a dotted line fill in the appropriate answer.

Where alternatives are given tick through the correct one.

PART A.

Section .... Age .... Sex: Male/Female Race: Pakeha/Maori/  
Part Maori  
Other.

Highest Educational qualification .....

Town of usual residence .....

School last attended .....

Father's occupation .....

Where do you live while at college? Hostel/Flat/Boarding/Home.

Marital status: Engaged to be married/Married/Widowed/  
Divorced/Single.

PART B.

Father Mother

Does your father or mother -----

- |   |        |        |
|---|--------|--------|
| 1. Work with any Maoris?  | Yes/No | Yes/No |
| 2. Know any Maoris personally?                                      | Yes/No | Yes/No |
| 3. Belong to any clubs, societies or committees with Maori members? | Yes/No | Yes/No |

Do they ever -----

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 4. Entertain Maori friends in their Home? | Yes/No |
|---|--------|

- 
1. The questionnaire given here is that for a Pakeha. That for a Maori was the same except that for Maori it read Pakeha and vice versa.

- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| 5. Visit Maori friends for meals?        | Yes/No |
| 6. Attend parties in a Maori home?       | Yes/No |
| 7. Have Maori friends to stay?           | Yes/No |
| 8. Stay with Maori friends?              | Yes/No |
| 9. Attend a church where Maoris worship? | Yes/No |

PART C.

Before coming to college -----

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. Had you been to school with any Maoris?  | Yes/No |
| 2. Did you know any Maoris personally?      | Yes/No |
| 3. Had you ever gone out with a Maori?      | Yes/No |
| 4. Had you ever had a Maori to stay?        | Yes/No |
| 5. Had you ever stayed with a Maori family? | Yes/No |

PART D.

Since coming to college -----

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Have you got to know any Maoris?                                   | Yes/No             |
| 2. Have you worked on a committee with any Maoris?                    | Yes/No             |
| 3. Have you played in sporting teams with any Maoris?                 | Yes/No             |
| 4. Have you taken a Maori friend home for a meal?                     | Yes/No/Male/Female |
| 5. Have you had a Maori friend home to stay?                          | Yes/No/Male/Female |
| 6. Have you gone out with a Maori? Once/Several times/Regularly/Never |                    |

PART E.

To be answered if you have gone out with a Maori.

1. Does your mother: Not know about it/Encourage the relationship/Accept it as normal/Mildly disapprove/Object/Forbid you to continue?
2. Does your father: Not know/Encourage the relationship/Accept it as normal/Mildly disapprove/Object/Forbid you to continue?
3. Do your brothers and sisters: Not know about it/Accept it as normal/Approve/Disapprove?
4. Do your friends: Approve/Disapprove/Accept it as normal?

PART F.

To be answered if you have not gone out with a Maori, or if you have but your parents don't know.

1. What do you think their reaction would be if they knew you were going out with a Maori?

Encourage the relationship/Accept it as normal/Mildly disapprove/Object/Forbid you to continue?

PART G.

1. If you wished to marry a Maori would you expect your parents to:

Approve wholeheartedly/Approve reluctantly/Disapprove/Object/Forbid you?

2. Do you approve of marriages between Maoris and Pakehas? Yes/No
3. Do you approve of interracial marriage in general? Yes/No
4. Do you think Pakehas should make a point of getting to know Maoris? Yes/No



5. What problems, if any, do you think a married couple would have to face if one were a Maori and the other a Pakeha?

None/Parental disapproval/Social disapproval/Difference in living standards/Different tastes in food/Different aims in life/Different customs/Lower social position for their children/Any others.....?

6. Would you expect Maori parents to approve of their son or daughter marrying a Pakeha?

Yes/No

#### PART H.

1. Is there any further comment you would like to make on this topic?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

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