Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

Griffith UNIVERSITY

Māori in Australia

Ngā Māori i Te Ao Moemoeā

ISBN 0-478-26098-9 June 2007

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MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA: NGĀ MĀORI I TE AO MOEMOEĀ

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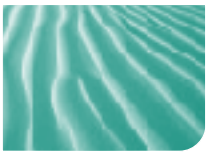


FOREWORD: HON PAREKURA HOROMIA

MINISTER OF MĀORI AFFAIRS, ASSOCIATE MINISTER OF STATE SERVICES, ASSOCIATE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ASSOCIATE MINISTER OF FISHERIES, ASSOCIATE MINISTER FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT.

Pursue excellence – should you stumble, let it be to a lofty mountain

In 2006, one of my officials from Te Puni Kōkiri – Paul Hamer – spent nine months as a visiting fellow in the Department of Politics and Public Policy at Griffith University in Brisbane. During this time he began researching and writing this report on Māori in Australia.

The report, which runs to 230 pages in 20 chapters, is now complete, and has assembled some fascinating information.

As the proverb that begins this foreword indicates, Māori have never been afraid to challenge themselves. Our history shows our ancestors' epic journeys, starting in Asia thousands of years ago, moving down through the Pacific to Aotearoa and - even in my time - from places like Ruatoria and Te Kaha to places like Stokes Valley and Wainuiomata.

In this report we see that for a number of reasons Māori have also been moving across the Tasman Sea to Australia for almost as long as we have known that it was there. In the early days of the penal colony in New South Wales Māori visited to see what was there and what might be of value to us back here.

Latterly they've gone there to work, for adventure, to start a new life and to link up with family who've gone before. Interestingly, while so many of them have gone to enjoy the fruits that Australia has to offer, few have taken up citizenship and most still regard Aotearoa as a home to which they will return some day.

While Paul Hamer began this work as a visiting fellow at Griffith University, the result is not just a collection of facts by one individual, but rather the most complete study yet of why Māori have gone 'across the ditch', where they are, how they see themselves compared to their whanaunga still at home and how Māori culture is being practised in Australia.

The work makes interesting reading and will raise questions about several ongoing issues.

Tēnā tātou katoa

Whāia te iti kahurangi - Ki te tuohu koe, me he maunga teitei

I te tau 2006, e iwa marama te roa o tētahi o aku kaimahi o Te Puni Kōkiri – a Paul Hamer – he kairangahau manuhiri i te Tari Tōrangapū me ngā Kaupapa Here Tūmatanui, i te Whare Wānanga o Griffith, ki Brisbane. I taua wā, i tīmatahia e ia te rangahau me te tuhituhi i tētahi pūrongo mō ngāi Māori ki Ahitereiria.

Kua oti tēnei pūrongo ināianei, e āhua 230 ngā whārangi kei roto i ngā ūpoko e 20, me ētahi pārongo whakaohooho pai kei roto.

Pērā e tohua ana e te whakatauki kei te tīmatanga o ēnei kupu whakataki, kahore rawa atu te Māori e mataku ana ki te wero i a rātou ake. E whakaatu ana e a tātou hitori, ngā haerenga hautoa o a tātou tipuna, i neke whakararo i runga i te Moananui-ā-Kiwa ki Aotearoa, me – i roto i tōku nei wā – mai i ngā tāone pērā i Ruatoria me Te Kaha, atu ki ngā tāone pērā i Kōraunui me Wainuiomata.

I roto i tēnei pūrongo, e kitea ana e tātou, a ngai Māori e whakawhiti ana i te Moana Tāpokopoko a Tāwhaki, ki Ahitereiria, tata ana mō te roanga o te wā e mōhio ana tātou i reira tērā whenua, me ngā take maha i te haere atu ai rātou. I ngā rā moata ki muri o te whenua whiu ki New South Wales, i haere toro atu a ngai Māori ki te mātaki he aha kei reira, me ngā mea ka whai uara mō tātou kei konei.

Inātata nei, i te haere rātou ki reira ki te mahi, mō ngā mahi mātātoa, ki te tīmata oranga hou, me te hono atu ki a rātou whānau kua haere atu i mua. Me te mea pai ki te whakarongo, ahakoa te maha o rātou i haere ki te whakawhiwhi i ngā painga e tukuna ana e Ahitereiria, iti noaiho kua whakamau i te whakaritenga kainoho, engari kei te whakaaro tonu ko Aotearoa te kāinga tuturu ka hoki mai rātou a tōna wā.

Ahakoa i tīmatatia e Paul Hamer tēnei mahi i a ia he kairangahau manuhiri ki te Whare Wānanga o Griffith, ēhara noaiho ngā hua i tētahi kohinga meka a tētahi tangata ngātahi, engari koia nei tonu te rangahau tino whakatutuki ki tēnei

wā, o ngā take he aha ai a ngai Māori i haere 'whakawhiti i te awakeri', kei whea rātou i reira, kei te mātaki pēwhea rātou i a rātou ki te taha o a rātou whanaunga kei te kāinga tonu nei, kei te pēwhea hoki ngā mahinga tikanga ki Ahitereira.

He hanga pānui pai tonu ana ngā mahinga, ā, ka hanga pātai anō mō ētahi ake take e haere tonu ana.

Tēnā tātou katoa.

Hon Parekura Horomia
Minister of Māori Affairs

FOREWORD: LEITH COMER

Ko Ruawāhia te maunga, ko Tarawera te awa, ko Ngāti Rangitihi te iwi, ko Mokonuiārangi te tangata

I, like many Māori, have family living in Australia. I have a son there; he's married to an Australian and they have a young family. He knows who he is, and – in time – his children will grow up to know their whakapapa and their turangawaewae here in Aotearoa. So the contents of this report are near and dear to my heart, as they will also be to many thousands of Māori.

That's a personal observation. But from a public policy point of view, it is very important for Te Puni Kōkiri to know where Māori are and what their aspirations are; and this report shows us that not only are Māori living in their rohe or in this country's cities, but that they are also international citizens.

The report gives us the most accurate indication of just how many Māori there are in Australia, why they went there, how they're faring and also the very interesting fact that, while they live and work in another country, they still consider themselves to be Māori and call this country 'home'.

There is much in this report that will help Te Puni Kōkiri and other government organisations form future policy. I'm also expecting that iwi leaders and managers will find things in the report that will help them plan their future dealings with their whanaunga.

The report may also prove useful to Australian authorities. Māori have always enjoyed easy entry into Australia and haven't placed any special demands on their hosts. Through this report, the Australians, and ourselves, will now have a better picture of the Māori presence in Australia and how to deal with that.

Kia ora, nāku noa, nā

He maha ngā Māori, e rite ana ki ahau nei, e whai whānau e noho ana ki Ahitereiria. He tama tāku kei reira, kua mārena ia ki tētahi wahine o Ahitereiria, me tā rāua whānau taiohi. Kei te mōhio taku tama ko wai ia – hei te wā – ka pakeke āna tamariki kia mōhio ki a rātou whakapapa, me tā rātou Tūrangawaewae kei Aotearoa. I runga i tēnei, kei te piritata tonu, kei te whai aroha tonu ngā kōrero kei roto i tēnei pūrongo, ki taku whatumanawa, pērā atu anō ki ngā mano tini Māori.

He tirohanga taha tangata tērā. Engari i runga i te tirohanga kaupapa here tūmatanui, he take whakahirahira tēnei mō Te Puni Kōkiri, kia mōhio kei whea ngā Māori i reira, he aha anō a rātou tūmanako; me te whakaatu a tēnei pūrongo ki a mātou, kāhore anake ngā whānau e noho ana i a rātou rohe, i roto rānei i nga taone o taua whenua, engari anō hei kainoho o te ao whānui rātou.

Ka whakamōhio anō te pūrongo ki a mātou, ngā tohu tino tika, mō te maha o ngā Māori e noho ana ki Ahitereiria, ngā take i haere ratou ki reira, e pēwhea ana rātou, me tētahi meka pai ki te whakarongo, ahakoa kei tētahi whenua kē rātou e noho ana, e mahi ana, kei te pūmau tonu he Māori rātou, ki a rātou ko taua whenua tonu ko te 'kāinga'.

He kōrero maha kei roto i tēnei pūrongo hei whaipānga atu mā ngā kaimahi a Te Puni Kōkiri, me ētahi ake kaimahi kāwanatanga, hei āwhina i a mātou mō ngā mahi hanga kaupapa here kei mua. Ko taku whakaaro anō, ka kitea e ngā kaiārahi me ngā kaiwhakahaere iwi, he pārongo ki roto i te pūrongo hei āwhina i a rātou honohononga atu ki ngā whanaunga kei reira.

Tērā anō ka whaihua te pūrongo ki ngā mana whakahaere o Ahitereiria. He mea harikoa, ngāwari tonu mō te Māori, te urunga atu ki Ahitereiria, ā, kāhore anō kia utaina he tono motuhake atu ki a rātou kaimanaaki. Mā roto i tēnei pūrongo ka mārama ake mō rātou o Ahitereiria, me mātou hoki, ngā mōhiotanga mō ngā āhuatanga noho a te Māori ki Ahitereiria, me pēwhea hoki te mahi atu ki ēra tikanga.

Kia ora, nāku noa, nā

Leith Comer
Chief Executive
Te Puni Kōkiri

EDITORIAL NOTE

Māori terms are used throughout the report and are translated at the first mention. Thereafter, no translation is repeated and readers are able to refer to the glossary, if necessary.

Macrons have been used, as appropriate, on Māori vowels. However, they have not been inserted where original sources did not use them (such as survey respondents' comments) or where the context would make it inappropriate to do so (such as the title of nineteenth-century plays).

The original spelling, syntax and grammar of survey respondents' comments have been retained unless the intended meaning was obscured, whereby minor changes were made (indicated by square brackets [ ]).

People of Pacific origin are usually referred to in the report as 'Pacific Islanders'. While many prefer to be referred to as 'Pacific peoples', using this term to distinguish them from Māori in an Australian context is problematic, since Māori are frequently viewed in Australia as a 'Pacific people'. Furthermore, a survey question asked Māori in Australia about their commonalities with 'other Pacific peoples', and therefore referring to 'Pacific peoples' generally would contradict the approach adopted in the survey.

'Not stated' responses have not been included in any survey result percentages. Where multiple answers were possible, however, non-responses could not be excluded and percentages are of the total number of survey respondents (and may sum to more than 100%). Other columns will not always add to exactly 100% due to rounding.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report attempts to demonstrate that Māori have become a transnational people. Using data from a survey completed by 1205 Māori across Australia in 2006, along with interviews or meetings with over 400 individuals, the report concludes that the trans-Tasman flow (in both directions) of people, money, ideas and language means that Māori development should no longer be seen simply in terms of the New Zealand nation-state. Māori economic success in Australia is a potential impetus for Māori development in New Zealand, just as the Māori cultural revival in New Zealand can offer much-needed sustenance to Māori in Australia.

MĀORI PRESENCE IN AUSTRALIA

The Māori connection with Australia is not new. Some Māori believe that their tīpuna (ancestors) had pre-European contact with Aborigines, while, in the decades following British settlement in Australia, hundreds of Māori made their way to Sydney to trade, acquire skills and learn new ideas. Australians have always been relatively welcoming: Māori were exempt from the legislative enforcement of the 'White Australia' policy and many Māori in Australia today believe that they are well accepted by their hosts. The longstanding presence of a small Māori population in Australia is demonstrated by the fact that, in 1986, there were more than three times as many Australian-born Māori than New Zealand-born in the 65-plus age bracket.

NUMBERS OF MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

From the 1960s, after urbanisation in New Zealand and in an era of increasing globalisation, Māori – like other New Zealanders – began to move to Australia in large numbers. The 1986 Australian census introduced an ancestry question and revealed there to be approximately 27,000 Māori in Australia, although the precise figure cannot be known due to various aspects of census practice (such as coding 'Cook Island Māori' and 'New Zealand Māori' together, and not counting more than two nominated ancestries for any individual census respondent). The census did show the very recent nature of the influx, however, with more than half of all Māori in Australia being migrants who had lived there for less than 10 years.

The ancestry question was dropped from the 1991 and 1996 Australian censuses, but reinstated in 2001. The official number of Māori revealed by that census was nearly 73,000, but this again excluded those who did not write 'Māori' first or second in their (unranked) list of ancestries. (A 2003 study revealed there to have been around 17,500 others who described themselves as having Māori ancestry but who were not counted as such.) The results from the 2006 survey also show that many Māori would only describe themselves as 'New Zealander' or 'Australian' in the census, and not enter 'Māori' (despite having a strong Māori identity). This suggests – disregarding the number of Māori who did not participate in the census – there were probably around 100,000 Māori in Australia in 2001, which is likely to translate into a figure today of between 115,000 and 125,000.

Given the best estimate of 4000 Māori in Australia in 1966, we can see a rise in the proportion of all Māori living in Australia from 1:50 in 1966, to 1:16 in 1986, to 1:6 or 1:7 today. Almost all Māori now have whānau (family) in Australia, although the survey results indicate that some iwi (tribes) may be present in Australia in higher proportions than others.

WHY MĀORI MOVE TO AUSTRALIA

Research demonstrates that Māori move to Australia for a variety of reasons, which can be grouped into several categories:

- First, they are enticed by a number of 'pull' factors, which include:
  - the 'lifestyle', the climate and the multiculturalism of cities like Sydney and Melbourne
  - the desire to join whānau already in Australia
  - economic opportunities, higher wages and a lower cost of living.
- On the other hand, many leave to escape negative experiences in New Zealand, such as:
  - the impact of gangs, drugs and crime
  - domestic violence and abuse
  - perceived prejudice from Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and mainstream negativity about Māori issues
  - negative attitudes towards success within people's own whānau.

Economic opportunities the main factor

Despite the range of factors that doubtless give rise to every decision to leave, it is fair to conclude that economic opportunities are the key determinant. States where the Māori population has grown most rapidly over the last 20 years are the booming 'resource states' of Queensland and Western Australia, which some Māori describe as a 'blue collar paradise'.

Common vocations for Māori in Australia include construction, mining, security, driving, community services and various trades. Many report starting their own businesses after never feeling confident to do so in New Zealand.

Māori in Australia do not tend to send remittances back to New Zealand, but many do encourage their struggling whanaunga (relations) at home to capitalise on the opportunities Australia offers and come and stay until they get jobs.

CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CHALLENGES

An overwhelming number of adult Māori in Australia were born in New Zealand. They do not become Australian citizens, as a rule, and therefore cannot vote in Australia. They usually plan to return to New Zealand to live, although that intention will often change with the arrival of Australian-born mokopuna (grandchildren). Many either see themselves as ineligible for Australian government services (and look instead to New Zealand) or are determined to make their way in Australia without any assistance. In this regard, many take pride in 'making it' in a country where no-one can detract from their success. They (like Pacific Islanders who emigrate to Australia from New Zealand) are somewhat unique in that they arrive unannounced in Australia and are not subject to the Australian Government's policies for settling 'ethnic' migrants. They do fit in more readily than many other groups (due to their ability to speak English and the general similarities of life in New Zealand and Australia), but they have unique cultural needs that are not always catered for in Australia.

Culturally, therefore, living in Australia has some challenges for Māori, particularly since many believe that moving to Australia has heightened their sense of Māori identity and desire to embrace Māori culture. The facts are that the use and knowledge of te reo Māori (the Māori language) are in decline and there are few kaumātua (elders) who can impart traditional knowledge. Attempts to build community centres or marae (meeting places) have not borne fruit, with many ventures hampered by the problematic nature of pan-tribal or local community-based representation and governance. The time of bereavement, in particular, presents many difficulties in terms of maintaining Māori cultural practices. Many younger Māori also seem to feel some uncertainty about their identity, not feeling particularly Australian but also reporting a degree of rejection by Māori in New Zealand.

LIFE IN AUSTRALIA A POSTIVE EXPERIENCE FOR MOST

Overall, however, the experience of living in Australia seems to have been positive for most. Many say leaving New Zealand has made them feel free – of daily negative news stories about Māori, of whānau obligations and of the limiting expectations either they or others had of themselves that stopped them striving for success. In Australia, they are aggregated with Pākehā New Zealanders as 'Kiwis', which is a positive rather than a negative, by and large. Research shows that many Māori

consider that their relations with Pākehā are better in Australia than in New Zealand. Most feel that, on balance, the material gain in Australia outweighs the cultural deficit.

WHAT THIS MEANS FOR POLICY MAKERS

The report concludes by recommending that Te Puni Kōkiri views Māori in Australia as part of the bigger picture of Māori realising their potential. It suggests that a policy of engagement with Māori in Australia, through the moderate extension of cultural benefits and support to them, could potentially reap an ongoing economic benefit to Māori in New Zealand. This is in keeping with the way many governments around the world – both rich and poor – engage with their diasporas because they see them as invaluable sources of development money, facilitators for home businesses entering the global market and vital contributors to the national image around the world. Aside from suggesting options for engaging more with Māori in Australia, the report also recommends that further research be undertaken on certain matters that could not be covered on this occasion in the necessary depth, such as the health of the Māori language in Australia, the extent of Māori return migration, and the nature and extent of Māori remittances to New Zealand from Australia.

Māori society clearly has, to a growing extent, an Australian future. While the public policy implications of this are yet to be fully considered, this report could be seen as an important starting point. It is hoped, therefore, that the report will be of use to government planners and strategists – as well as to Māori themselves – on both sides of the Tasman.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter summary

- Māori in Australia are relatively underresearched, and this report attempts to plug that gap, identify areas for further research and provide an information base for future policy initiatives.
- The opportunity for this study arose from a visiting fellowship at Griffith University in Brisbane in 2006.
- The report is based on survey responses from 1205 Māori across Australia, as well as meetings or interviews with over 400 people.

TE PUNI KŌKIRI'S MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY

The Polynesian tīpuna (ancestors) of the Māori made epic voyages of discovery across the Pacific in search of new lands. In early colonial New Zealand, musket warfare saw the large-scale displacement of people and the redrawing of the tribal map. After World War II, Māori moved from their rural homelands to urban areas at an astonishing rate. These periods of great migration have been joined, in recent times, by a new movement, with a rapidly growing proportion of the Māori population now living in Australia.

While the emergence of a substantial Māori population in Australia has been quick – from about one in 16 of all Māori in 1986 to perhaps one in seven today[1] – the policy response on both sides of the Tasman has been relatively slow. In addition, while some academic studies of this migration have been undertaken, Māori in Australia remain somewhat underresearched. Some of the aims of this report, therefore, are to help to plug that gap, to provoke questions for further research and to provide an information base for future policy initiatives.

One of the scholars who have made an important contribution is Jeremy Lowe, who wrote a report for the New Zealand Planning Council in 1990 entitled *The Australian Maori Population: Nga Maori ki Ahiterēria.*[2] This was a demographic analysis of 1986 Australian census data purchased with the assistance of the former Department of Māori Affairs. It remained the most significant piece of work on Māori in Australia until the completion, in 1998, of Father Paul Bergin's doctoral thesis in anthropology entitled *Māori Migration and Cultural Identity: The Australian experience.*[3] Bergin published two articles[4] from this thesis before his death in February 2004. Richard Bedford at the Migration Research Group at Waikato University has also, with various colleagues, been active in researching the movement of Māori to Australia.[5]

1 See chapters 3, 4 and 5.

2 Jeremy Lowe, *The Australian Maori Population: Nga Maori ki Ahiterēria: A demographic analysis based on 1986 Australian and New Zealand census data*, New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, May 1990.

3 Paul Bergin, *Māori Migration and Cultural Identity: The Australian experience,* D Phil, University of Oxford, 1998. Bergin's thesis proved difficult to obtain. Griffith University library staff were unable to interloan a copy, and I eventually received a microfilm copy on loan from the British Library after my return to New Zealand. Fortunately, however, I was able to borrow a hard copy from the Marist Archives of the Society of Mary in Wellington, for which I express my gratitude.

4 'The Australian Māori population: Welcoming the return of the ethnic ancestry question', *New Zealand Population Review,* 27(1&2), 2001, pp 37–47; 'Maori sport and cultural identity in Australia', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 13(3), 2002, pp 257–269.

5 See, for example, Richard Bedford, Robert Didham, Elsie Ho and Graeme Hugo, 'Maori internal and international migration at the turn of the century: An Australasian perspective', *New Zealand Population Review,* 30(1&2), 2004, pp 131–142.

This current study grew out of an offer made to me in May 2005 by the Department of Politics and Public Policy at Griffith University in Brisbane of a visiting fellowship during 2006. The fellowship offer obviously created the opportunity for Te Puni Kōkiri to learn a considerable amount more about the Māori population living in Australia. The relevance of such a study to the ministry's work seemed clear from the definition of 'Māori succeeding as Māori' used by Minister of Māori Affairs Hon Parekura Horomia and Chief Executive Leith Comer in announcing the following new strategic direction in early 2004:

> 'Māori succeeding as Māori' ... incorporates Māori participating in Te Ao Māori/the Māori World, as well as participating and succeeding as Māori in New Zealand and in the wider world in whatever pursuit they choose.[6]

I therefore asked to be permitted to take up the fellowship on the basis that:

- Māori in Australia are a rapidly growing proportion of the total Māori population
- Te Puni Kōkiri's organisational role is to 'realise Māori potential' and assist Māori to 'succeed as Māori', but – notwithstanding the reference to this including Māori participating beyond New Zealand's shores in 'whatever pursuit they choose' – just how Māori migration to Australia related to these objectives had not been actively considered
- Through their kinship links, Māori in Australia remain connected to New Zealand (and thus the focus of Te Puni Kōkiri's work), regardless of where they live or were born.

I suggested that a number of questions arose:

- How do Māori in New Zealand and Australia connect?
- How can Māori in New Zealand leverage off the success of whānau (family) in Australia?
- How can Māori in Australia be assisted to maintain their cultural connections and succeed 'as Māori' in another country?

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Te Puni Kōkiri's Deputy Secretary for Policy allowed me to take up the visiting fellowship and identified the key deliverable as a research report about Māori in Australia. My project plan, which was approved by Te Puni Kōkiri's Chief Executive in November 2005, also included the following activities or outputs:

- research in web-based or other primary and secondary sources
- an historical overview of Māori contact with Australia
- a research questionnaire (see below)
- a letter to iwi chairpersons or chief executives across New Zealand asking them for information about how they connect with their members in Australia
- kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) meetings with as many Māori groups and individuals in Australia as possible, both in the larger cities and in more remote areas where the challenge of 'succeeding as Māori' would be greater
- attendance at Māori community festivals, sports tournaments and other events
- establishment of contact with counterparts in Australian government departments.

Before I left for Australia, I was assisted by the ministry's purchase of 2001 Australian census data showing the numbers of Māori living within each census statistical division as well as within all statistical subdivisions of the five largest cities. I sought this information (which is set out in appendix 3) not only to learn more about the spatial distribution of Māori in Australia but also to inform my plans about which regions to visit or where to invest efforts in raising awareness about the survey.

While I was largely given scope to set my own research agenda and to structure this report as I saw fit, the Chief Executive defined the key objective of my study as a profile of the Australian-resident Māori community that described:

- the reasons they are in Australia
- any problems of identity they face
- the factors in their success
- their ability to live in Australia as Māori.[7]

Te Puni Kōkiri supported the project by paying my salary and providing me with a budget to cover the costs of meeting Māori across the country. I was in Australia from 2 January 2006 until 29 September 2006.

HOW THE RESEARCH WAS CARRIED OUT

Survey

From early October 2005, I began making contact with Māori across Australia (whose details I had found on websites such as www.poihakenapost.com and www.maori-in-oz.com) with a view to visiting and/or interviewing them in 2006. Reasoning that there would be many people I would not be able to meet (owing

6 Joint foreword of Hon Parekura Horomia and Leith Comer in Te Puni Kōkiri, *Strategic Direction: Māori succeeding as Māori,* Wellington, February 2004, p 3, www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/docs/strat_dir04.pdf (accessed 5 July 2005).

7 This wording was placed on the front page of the survey described later in this introduction.

to time and budget constraints), however, I decided that some sort of research questionnaire would be an appropriate way to extract the views of as many people as possible. After developing a range of questions[8] with my colleagues at Te Puni Kōkiri, I then sent the draft questionnaire to eight Māori community groups or individuals in Melbourne, Sydney, the Gold Coast, Brisbane and Townsville, asking them whether the questions:

- covered the relevant issues in an appropriate way
- were written in a user-friendly form that would encourage people to complete the survey.

The responses received from Māori in Australia to the draft questions were of great value in shaping the eventual survey.

To make the survey available to as many people as possible, Te Puni Kōkiri agreed to post it on its website and to produce a paper version. The ministry contracted a professional survey designer in late October 2005 to assist in the design, wording and presentation of the survey. She tested an advanced draft in person with a group of Māori in Sydney in December 2005 and refined the questions.[9] The survey eventually went 'live' on the website on 4 February 2006, and I distributed the 2500 hard-copy survey booklets[10] by post and during my travels around Australia (a copy of the printed version is attached to this report as appendix 1). Griffith University supplied reply-paid envelopes so the surveys could be returned to me.

I had originally proposed to run the survey for around six months and spend the final two months or more of my fellowship analysing and writing up the results. However, both ongoing interest in the survey and approval from Wellington to continue working on my report after I returned from Australia made it worth running the survey for an extended period. The survey was thus taken off the website in early October 2006, and the last posted responses were received just before the end of the year, giving a final tally of 874 online and 331 posted survey responses, or 1205 in total.

Consideration was given at the outset to ways of ensuring that the survey would not be filled in more than once by the same person or by those ineligible to do so (non-Māori, those under 15 or residents of countries other than Australia). Possibilities included: a validation process, involving the submission of a bona fide email address; a registration requirement, involving the provision in confidence of name, address and other details; the setting of a cookie to disallow a second survey being sent from the same computer; and the restriction of survey responses to one per randomly assigned IP address. It was concluded, however, that none of these methods could actually deter an individual determined to corrupt the survey results, and that the actual chance of this happening was very slim. Moreover, we thought that any kind of registration requirement could seriously decrease the number of survey responses received.

As it happened, both the online and hard-copy versions of the survey had two validation questions (relating to residence in Australia and being aged over 15) that had to be answered in the affirmative for the survey to be completed (contrary answers online did not allow would-be respondents to proceed). While there were several instances of the survey being submitted more than once by the same person, this occurred because of confusion over whether or not the completed online form had been submitted, and any duplicates were easily detected. On one other occasion, a respondent noted that they thought they might have already filled in the survey several months earlier; after this was checked, their second submission was disregarded.

There was no validation question about being Māori. In my view, the survey cover page and question content made this unnecessary, while the absence of such a question also avoided the need to define 'Māori' (which, as demographer Ian Pool has written, can be problematic, given the varying legal, statistical and popular usages[11]). The lack of such a question probably also suited the self-selecting nature of the respondents. Surveys were thus accepted from two individuals who were 'Māori' in the sense of either identity or descent only (a Pacific Island woman who was raised in a Māori community where her father had been a whāngai (foster-child), but who very much felt herself to be a member of her iwi and was immersed in Māori culture, and an Australian man who described himself as 1/32 Māori with 'virtually no connection' with Māori or New Zealand but who was attempting to 'get to know more about the Maori part of me'). Aside from these examples,

8 The questions were designed to probe issues around values and identity and not to ascertain matters that could be readily established from census data, such as rates of computer access, home ownership and so on.

9 The survey was tested with nine individuals. Each was taken through the survey separately to test for the ease of comprehension, clarity, logic and user-friendliness of the questions. Amendments were made after a set of three individuals' tests and the subsequent version was put to the following three participants. The functionality of the online version was tested by Te Puni Kōkiri information technology staff in Wellington.

10 The hard-copy version was essentially the same as the online one, although with minor exceptions such as the absence of a list of iwi affiliations to select from.

11 See chapter 2 ('When is a Maori a "Maori"?') in Pool's book *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand population past, present & projected,* Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1991, pp 11–25.

however, the vast majority of respondents were clearly – from their responses – 'Māori' in the sense of both whakapapa (genealogy) and outlook.[12]

The Australian census, for its part, asks people to name their 'ancestry' (and, in 2006, census respondents were instructed to enter no more than two ancestries), while the New Zealand census records both Māori ethnic group and descent totals. These distinctions should be borne in mind when census results are being referred to.

Who responded to the survey

Of the 1205 people who completed the survey, 1144 (94.9%) were born in New Zealand, 56 (4.6%) were born in Australia and five (0.4%) were born in other countries. The almost total domination of survey responses by those born in New Zealand is unsurprising, although it does not reflect their actual proportion of the Australian-resident Māori population – at the 2001 census, the proportion born in New Zealand was in fact around 69.5% of those stating a country of birth, a similar figure to 1986. However, the Australian-born Māori population is heavily weighted towards younger people, with two-thirds in 2001 being aged under 15 (up from 61% in 1986).[13] This is likely to be similar today, and the requirement for survey respondents to be aged 15 or more thus ruled out the majority of Australian-born Māori from participating. By contrast, the proportion of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia aged under 15 is only approximately one in seven. Roughly 85% of potential respondents were New Zealand-born, therefore, which in fact shows that survey responses for country of birth are relatively representative.[14] Thus, while references in this report to 'Māori in Australia' are not intended to refer to those of New Zealand birth only, for the most part, such people are the typical demographic.

The birth regions of the 1144 New Zealand-born survey respondents are set out in appendix 4. Respondents were not asked where they were living when they left New Zealand for Australia.

Female respondents outnumbered males by a ratio of nearly 2:1 (797 to 402, with six respondents not providing an answer). Unsurprisingly, the survey also tended to be filled in disproportionately by older Māori. The age distribution of survey respondents (compared to the actual age distribution of Māori in the 2001 Australian census) is shown in table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS COMPARED WITH AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MĀORI IN 2001 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS

Age range	Survey respondents		Māori census respondents aged 15+[15]
	No.	%	%
15–24	137	11.4	25.3
25–34	331	27.5	28.7
35–44	340	28.2	24.1
45–54	230	19.1	14.3
55–64	125	10.4	5.5
65+	41	3.4	2.1

Table 1.2 shows the distribution of survey respondents across Australia.

TABLE 1.2: DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS ACROSS AUSTRALIA

State/ territory	Māori census population[16]	Online survey respondents	Hard-copy survey respondents	Total survey respondents	
	%	No.	No.	No.	%
NSW	35.5	382	88	470	39.1
Queensland	29.7	205	77	279	23.2
Victoria	14.9	253	100	253	21.1
WA	14.0	104	32	136	11.3
SA	2.9	15	12	27	2.2
NT	1.3	10	10	20	1.7
Tasmania	1.0	2	11	13	1.1
ACT	0.8	3	-	3	0.2
Not stated	-	3	1	4	-
Total	100	874	331	1,205	100

12 I was sometimes asked by New Zealanders – both Māori and Pākehā – in Australia whether the survey was for any New Zealanders to fill in, to which I explained that Te Puni Kōkiri's purpose and mandate only extended to examining the experiences of Māori.

13 See Bedford et al (2004), p 134 and Lowe (1990), pp 22–24, 53.

14 In any event, it is probable that those more actively participating in the Māori community, and thus more likely to have heard of the survey and been inclined to answer it, would be first-generation migrants. It is also fair to say that many of the questions were – appropriately – drafted with first-generation migrants in mind.

15 Census data purchased by Te Puni Kōkiri for Fact Sheet 20: 'Ngā Māori ki Ahitereiria: Māori in Australia', May 2004, www.tpk.govt.nz/maori/population/fs_maori_aus.pdf (accessed 8 June 2005).

16 These figures are also taken from the 2001 Australian census results – see chapter 4.

Predictably, the response was dominated by Sydney residents, where the sheer size of the Māori population makes it easier to hear news of Māori community events. That said, the survey response was uneven across Sydney, with few responses received from some areas with a significant Māori population, such as Mount Druitt. Indeed, the overall response rate within Sydney was not significantly different to many other centres. At a state level, however, and even in terms of most cities, the survey response was a relatively good match with the actual spread of the Māori population, as can be seen in table 1.2 (with the exceptions of a notable underrepresentation from Queensland and a similar overrepresentation from Victoria).

The highest survey tallies by individual urban areas and postcodes are both set out in appendix 4. In the case of the latter, the postcode areas with the highest number of Māori inhabitants (as per the 2001 Australian census) did not always yield many survey respondents. Aside from Mount Druitt, the response rates in Nerang, Springwood and Campbelltown were also disappointing. The much higher rate of response in some of the areas, by contrast, reflects the efforts of particular individuals in the Māori community, particularly in Melbourne, to encourage others to fill the survey in.

The sampling scheme for the survey was not a scientific exercise; respondents were self-selecting and probably included many people who were active participants in Māori cultural or community events in Australia. While respondents were by no means all in this category – over half (660 people) stated at survey question 39 that they were involved in no 'Māori cultural activities' in Australia – all respondents were nevertheless sufficiently motivated about their taha Māori (Māori identity) to fill the survey in. Others, though, will either not have heard of the survey or not have been interested in it. I do not claim, therefore, that the results are generalisable for the overall Māori population in Australia, although I do consider the 1205 responses to be a sizeable enough sample from which to draw a number of conclusions. In any case, an online survey was, despite various disadvantages such as the lack of a sample frame, the most realistic means open to me of surveying the views of Australian-resident Māori.

How the survey was publicised

Publicity for the survey was achieved in a variety of ways. Probably most importantly, Christel Broederlow, the administrator of the www.maori-in-oz.com website, carried a pānui (notice) about the survey on her homepage for the survey's duration. This doubtless led to a significant number of online responses. A story about the survey that appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* (including on the *Herald*'s website) in March 2006 also boosted the responses. Two advertisements were placed in the *New Zealander* newspaper (a Fairfax publication compiled in New Zealand and printed in Australia) in May 2006. I was also interviewed about the survey on Māori radio shows in Brisbane, Sydney, Perth, Alice Springs and Mackay, as well as on an Aboriginal radio programme in Darwin.

In addition, news of the survey was spread by word of mouth or through extensive Māori email networks. I also held stalls at Māori community festivals in Brisbane and Sydney, and met several hundred Māori on my travels throughout Australia, individually, in small groups and at larger meetings of 5–25 people in nine centres.[17] I also made many calls to people around Australia whose contact details I had been given. In Victoria, the South Pacific Foundation assisted by mailing copies of the survey (and the reply-paid envelopes) to around 250 people whose names were clearly identifiable as Māori in the Victorian section of the online white pages (www.whitepages.com.au).

Meetings and interviews

A schedule of my meetings and interviews with Māori in Australia is set out as appendix 5. When conducting interviews, I explained that I was writing a report for Te Puni Kōkiri about Māori in Australia. I asked if I could take notes for this purpose and explained that I would use people's comments anonymously. Likewise, the front cover of the survey form contained the following undertaking:

> Your information will be kept confidential. You are not asked for your name, and your individual answers will only be seen by those who are processing the survey. No information will be released in a form that would allow anyone to identify you or your answers.

17 I met with Māori in Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Mackay, Bowen, Townsville, Cairns, South West Rocks, Newcastle, the Central Coast, Sydney, Wollongong, Canberra, Armidale, Melbourne, Ararat, Adelaide, Perth, Bunbury, Albany, Esperance, Kalgoorlie, Alice Springs, Darwin and Hobart. People were sometimes surprised that Te Puni Kōkiri was interested in the Māori community in Australia but most were very positive. People appreciated being approached and many felt it was 'high time' such a study was undertaken. Only in rare instances did I encounter negative reactions.

I did not have a set of critieria for identifying interviewees other than a preference to speak with Māori living in a mixture of urban and rural areas across Australia. Inevitably, those I spoke to in more depth will often have been active in their local (Māori) communities, simply because such people were both easier to find and more willing to be interviewed. I did not talk in detail with many younger or Australian-born Māori, although I did talk briefly with many at festivals and other gatherings that had not been convened for the purposes of my research. When speaking on radio or making arrangements to visit Māori in a particular town, I always said that I was keen to speak with any Māori who wanted to share their experiences of living in Australia.

Other sources of information

The report that follows is based partly on the results of the survey and partly on my own fieldwork and other research, including extensive web-searching, collation of freely available data on the Australian Bureau of Statistics' website, use of news databases such as Factiva, and reading copies of now-discontinued New Zealand community newspapers in Australia (such as the *Kiwi Cooee*, held by the National Library in Wellington). By making connections, I also gained access to some research not otherwise publicly available. For example, the staff of Multicultural Affairs Queensland gave me access to an unreleased 2003 profile of Māori and other Pacific peoples in the Ipswich area of Brisbane (referred to in this report as 'the 2002 Ipswich research').[18] The Chief Executive of Kea also provided me with the full dataset of the 2006 'Every One Counts' survey (see chapters 6 and 18), which included responses from 1435 Māori in 57 countries. Unfortunately, I did not have the time to incorporate any analysis of that material into this report.

STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

The structure of this report was largely determined by the themes thrown up by the research. Aside from several chapters that I planned from the outset, the rest was determined when I ordered my interview notes and identified the key themes a number of months into my fellowship.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the history of Māori contact with Australia from 1792, dwelling in particular on the early colonial encounter between Māori and Europeans in Sydney. Chapter 3 moves forward to examine the key features of the 1986 Australian census results for Māori. This census was the first to include an ethnic ancestry question. The chapter relies heavily on Lowe's 1990 report. The chapter concludes with a comment on the removal of the ancestry question from the 1991 and 1996 censuses and the corresponding lack of hard data on the Australian-resident Māori population over that time.

Chapter 4 focuses on the results of the 2001 census, in which the ancestry question was reinstated. This census revealed a significant leap in the Māori population in Australia, although the decision to not count all entered ancestries (without instructing respondents to prioritise their answers) repeated a key deficiency in the 1986 census practice. This chapter then discusses the form of the 2006 census ancestry question. The census was held on 8 August 2006 and the ancestry results were to be available by the middle of 2007.

Chapter 5 examines the results of the survey question about how respondents would answer the census ancestry question and arrives at a new population estimate for Māori in Australia. It also looks at the iwi affiliations of survey respondents and contrasts these with the 2006 New Zealand census results. Finally, it gives iwi-by-iwi results for certain survey questions where there seemed some merit in drawing comparisons between different iwi.

Chapter 6 is a key chapter that analyses the reasons why Māori have moved to Australia. It begins by noting the year of arrival of New Zealand-born survey respondents and comparing these results with the known migration patterns between Australia and New Zealand. It then summarises the reasons why survey respondents left New Zealand for Australia, compares them with the 2006 Kea survey and groups the reasons into four categories: economic opportunities; lifestyle factors; family reunions; and getting away from negative experiences or pressures in New Zealand.

Chapter 7 looks at themes relating to Māori employment in Australia. It gives the results of responses to survey questions about employment and summarises common perceptions of higher wages, a greater availability of work for older people and so on. It also examines the fading

18 Susan Shehata, *Pacific Islanders: 'Creating an identity': A community research project undertaken by and for Pacific Island communities in the Inala to Ipswich Corridor,* Pacific Island Community Council of Queensland with the Ipswich City Council, Multicultural Affairs Queensland and other agencies, Brisbane, March 2003. The report was the result of a participatory action research project undertaken by the Pacific Island Community Council of Queensland (which comprised members of the Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island communities), the Ipswich City Council, Education Queensland, Queensland Health, two university academics and Multicultural Affairs Queensland, which funded the project.

Australian views of Māori as 'dole bludgers' and 'job thieves'. The chapter then discusses Māori involvement in the high-profile occupations of entertainment, shearing, construction, security and mining.

Chapter 8 addresses New Zealanders' rights to Australian permanent residence and citizenship, and notes the significant lack of take-up of Australian citizenship by Māori. The chapter discusses the reasons for this situation, drawing on the survey results for the relevant question. It comments briefly on the nature of national and ethnic identity of Māori in Australia, particularly among the second generation, and concludes by discussing Māori participation in the Australian census and in voting in both Australia and New Zealand.

Chapter 9 describes the tendency of many Māori in Australia to continue to look to New Zealand for sources of community funding and to see themselves not as ethnic settlers in Australia but as long-term visitors. It then examines exactly what kinds of multicultural funding are available in Australia, and concludes by touching on the issue of Māori remittances from Australia to New Zealand.

Chapter 10 examines why, despite numerous attempts, there are no community centres or marae in Australia that are owned by Māori communities. It also discusses the range of community facilities Māori use instead. Chapter 11 leads on from this to discuss the use of private homes for tangihanga (funerals and mourning). It discusses other matters related to the process of bereavement, such as sending tūpāpaku (the deceased) back to New Zealand, the rise of cremations, tangihanga insurance schemes and Māori relations with the coroner's office.

Chapter 12 looks at the retention of te reo Māori in Australia. It summarises results from the survey and the 2001 census, describes the formal options for learning te reo in Australia (from kōhanga reo, or 'language nests', to adults' evening classes) and comments on the key factors contributing to language loss in Australia. Chapter 13 looks at the general loss of knowledge of traditional Māori culture in Australia. It describes the way in which the practice of Māori culture is adapting to Australian circumstances, and notes the key role of kapa haka rōpū (performance groups) for people wishing to maintain their cultural traditions. The chapter also presents the survey results for respondents' definitions of 'whānau' in the Australian context, where many are removed from their extended kin networks.

Chapter 14 deals with the nature and extent of Māori 'community' in Australia. It describes the range of Māori community organisations, the festivals that Māori attend, the many Māori radio shows and other community news services, and Māori church participation. The chapter concludes by discussing the level of community cohesion in Australia, noting that much of the social and cultural discipline that orders Māori society in New Zealand is absent across the Tasman.

Chapter 15 examines Māori participation in sport in Australia. It looks at some long-running Māori sporting tournaments and the issue of national sporting allegiance for second-generation Australian-resident Māori.

Chapter 16 considers Māori relations with other Australians, including white Australians, Aborigines, other Pacific peoples and the many different groups that make up contemporary multicultural Australia. The chapter also looks at the extent to which Māori believe they are able to 'fit in' in Australia.

Chapter 17 considers the ways in which Māori in Australia see themselves as different from Māori in New Zealand. It also discusses their perceptions of how Māori in New Zealand regard them for having left their homeland.

Chapter 18 looks at the downsides to life in Australia for some Māori, including involvement in crime (particularly among young people) and the lack of targeted support services. The chapter concludes with an analysis of survey results about respondents' intentions to return to New Zealand (including a comparison, again, with the 2006 Kea survey).

Chapter 19 is a case study of the experiences of one whānau that moved from Ngāruawāhia to Brisbane in 1998 and 1999. The chapter looks at the factors that led to the move, their initial impressions of the new country, the opportunities Australia has provided and the ongoing attractions of home.

Chapter 20 attempts to draw the key themes of the report together and make some conclusions about Māori in Australia. It also contains broad proposals for policy initiatives and future research.

As noted, appended to the report are a copy of the survey itself, the survey results, some statistics from the 2001 Australian census showing the geographic distribution of Māori in Australia, some tables profiling the survey respondents, and a schedule of my interviews and meetings with Māori around Australia.

Please note that I rely throughout the report on the 2001 Australian census results. Undertaking this study just before the results of the latest (2006) five-yearly census become known was unavoidable. It will, of course, be of great interest to examine what changes have occurred since the 2001 census when the results of the 2006 census become available.

CHAPTER 2: THE MĀORI PRESENCE IN AUSTRALIA – AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW TO 1986

Chapter summary

- Up to 1000 Māori had travelled to Sydney by 1840 to trade, acquire new technology, learn new ideas and return to New Zealand with enhanced mana (prestige, authority).
- Māori were exempted from the legislative enforcement of the 'White Australia' policy and suffered less racial discrimination in pre-1960s Australia than other 'coloured' peoples.
- While small numbers of Māori remained in Australia throughout the late-nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries, significant movement of Māori across the Tasman began in the 1960s as thousands sought out the bright lights of Sydney and the working opportunities across the Australian continent.

EARLY POLYNESIAN VOYAGING

Some 5000–6000 years ago, a people we now call the Austronesians set out across the Pacific on voyages of colonisation from the Bismarck Archipelago north-east of the island of New Guinea. Within the next several thousand years, these people (known today as 'Polynesians' – literally, 'people of many islands') had spread across the Pacific, from Easter Island in the east, to Hawaii in the north and, around 1000 years ago, to New Zealand in the south-west. Explorers in these apparently deliberate voyages even reached South America, where they acquired the sweet potato but do not appear to have settled.[1]

The range and skill of these navigators was quite extraordinary. As Michael King has written:

> These voyages, ranging around more than half the globe at a time when Europeans had not yet ventured beyond the Mediterranean or the coast of their continent, were analogous in daring and accomplishment to the later exploration of space.[2]

For some reason, by the sixteenth century or so, these widespread journeys appear to have ceased. As James Belich puts it, 'The rise and fall of long-range voyaging and colonisation remains a major mystery of Polynesian history'.[3] King speculates that the period of exploration may have stopped because of either a climatic change bringing colder, rougher seas or perhaps a shift in cultural priorities.[4] In any event, the cessation of voyaging represented a remarkable shift away from the enduring 'ethos of expansion'[5], under which Polynesians had felt assured for centuries of new lands beyond the horizon. This change in mindset may have been a reason the Polynesians never managed to arc back nearly full circle and discover the coast of the Australian continent. The fact is, as Gordon Carmichael wrote in 1993, the 'Australian Aborigine and the New Zealand Maori were oblivious to each other's existence'.[6]

1 The alternative is that South Americans brought the kūmara (sweet potato) to Polynesia, but commentators deem this an unlikely scenario (Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand,* Penguin, Auckland, 2003, p 33).

2 Ibid, p 31.

3 James Belich, *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, Penguin, Auckland, 1996a, p 19.

4 King (2003), p 37.

5 Belich quoted ibid, p 35. King refers to the likelihood of a 'strong, even irresistible' urge 'to discover new lands' (p 35).

6 Gordon A Carmichael, 'History of trans-Tasman population movement', in Carmichael (ed), *Trans-Tasman Migration: Trends, causes and consequences,* Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1993, p 29.

Many Māori assert, however, that their tīpuna travelled to Australia before European contact. For example, Central Coast kaumātua Ron Peita commented in 2004 'If we look back in history there have been Māori coming here to trade with the tangata whenua [indigenous people] here before Pākehā came'.[7] Paul Bergin considered this phenomenon and concluded that 'it is interesting to note the possible emergence of a new mythology concerning the relationship between the Australian Māori and the Aboriginal people, perhaps reflecting a Māori desire to establish much closer links with the Aboriginal people and even the possibility of establishing tūrangawaewae (a right to stand) in Australia'.[8]

It is possible, of course, that Polynesian voyagers reached Australia but left no trace, either genetically or otherwise. As Belich has observed, 'Failed migrations told no tales'.[9] We do know with certainty, however, that the Polynesians reached Norfolk Island, with carbon dating and fragments of obsidian linking New Zealand with the island in around 1350.[10] To that extent, therefore, the Polynesians did make it as far as Australian soil, although the Norfolk Island settlement was probably abandoned when the long-range voyaging ceased and regular contact was thereby lost with other food and population sources.[11]

MĀORI CONTACT WITH AUSTRALIA BEFORE 1840

It took the establishment of a British convict colony in Australia for the New Zealand Polynesians – the Māori – to at last step foot on the continent. But, as it happened, the first Māori presence in Australia took place back on Norfolk Island. In 1788, a penal settlement was established there under Lieutenant Philip Gidley King. The island's main exports back to Britain were to be timber and flax, although King soon realised that no-one on the island knew how to prepare the latter. King remembered that Cook's botanist, Joseph Banks, had told him that Māori were skilled in making linen garments from flax, so decided that a Māori would teach the convicts how to work it. In 1792, British sailors managed to kidnap – in the words of Robert Hughes – 'two wildly struggling and resentful tribesmen from the Bay of Islands'.[12] The pair were Tuki and Ngahuruhuru, who unfortunately for King had little idea how to prepare flax, as such work was the role of women. King, who called them 'Tooke' and 'Woodoo', observed on Norfolk Island that 'almost every evening at the close of day [they] lament their separation by crying or singing a song expressive of their grief, which is at times very affecting'.[13] King treated them kindly enough and, after six months, returned them, with gifts, to their homes in New Zealand.

Tuki and Ngahuruhuru were followed in the coming years by hundreds of Māori visitors to the Australian settlements, especially Sydney. Many undoubtedly arrived as crew on whaling and trading ships – indeed, one unfortunate Māori crew member was killed by lightning strike on the *Atlantic* in Sydney Harbour in 1806.[14] A significant number of Māori entering Australia may have been mōkai (slaves) in the Bay of Islands who were fleeing a life of captivity, mirroring the way escaped Australian convicts often made for New Zealand.[15]

The most significant Māori visitor to Sydney in these early years was the Bay of Islands chief Te Pahi. In 1804, Te Pahi had sent his son Maatara to visit Sydney to observe the British at their settlement. Maatara arrived in 1805 and was well looked-after by King, who had by now become Governor of New South Wales. King sent Maatara home in July 1805 with tools and other gifts for his father. Te Pahi grew determined to thank King in person, and so boarded a ship with four of his sons in September of that year.[16]

Te Pahi arrived in November 1805, explaining to King that his visit had been 'much against the wishes of his dependants, but that objection was much outweighed by the probable advantages that would derive from his visit'. Conscious of the need to build good relations with such an important chief, given the large number of British ships anchoring in the Bay

7 'Uncle Ron Peita: A kōrero with our kaumātua, Uncle Ron', *Poihākena Post*, issue 1, November 2004, p 8, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

8 Bergin (1998), p 299.

9 Quoted in King (2003), p 35.

10 King (2003), p 36.

11 Ibid, p 37.

12 Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, Pan, London, 1988, p 101.

13 Quoted ibid. Lieutenant King wrote 'Woodoo is like a true Patriot [and] thinks there is no country People or Customs equal to his own, which makes him less curious in what he sees about him, than his companion Tooke' (see Hughes 1988, p 619, endnote 45).

14 Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773–1815*, Penguin, Auckland, 1997, p 326.

15 Salmond (1997), p 355, and Belich (1996a), p 132. Belich notes that 10% of the 30,000 convicts transported to Australia escaped, and that New Zealand was the prime destination for many.

16 Salmond (1997), pp 329–330.

of Islands, King proved a generous host, and Te Pahi and his sons lived at Government House for three months. In Sydney, they gathered seeds and learnt European carpentry, gardening, weaving and spinning. Te Pahi met the Reverend Samuel Marsden at Parramatta, and from this encounter Marsden decided to establish a mission in New Zealand. When Te Pahi left for home in February 1806, King gifted him the framework and bricks for a European-style house, which was erected for him in the Bay of Islands upon his return.[17]

The significance of Te Pahi's Australian sojourn has been stressed by historians. Angela Ballara comments that Te Pahi was 'keenly interested in a cultural and technological exchange'[18], while Dame Anne Salmond has written 'Te Pahi's visit to Port Jackson was no idle journey. He had come to see King, but also to investigate Governor King's society'. Salmond concludes that Te Pahi liked what he saw in Sydney – particularly European manufacturing and agricultural technology – and became committed to mastering it.[19] Te Pahi was killed in 1810 but fellow Ngāpuhi chief Ruatara soon followed in his footsteps. He visited Sydney that year and stayed with Marsden at Parramatta for eight months, studying agriculture. He then convinced Marsden to establish his mission at Ruatara's own settlement in the Bay of Islands, thus securing, in Belich's words, 'a monopoly over the first permanent European settlement in New Zealand'.[20] Chiefs like Ruatara saw the advantages that would come from having Pākehā settle among them, and looked to Sydney as the primary source of such newcomers.

Māori visitors did not like all that they saw in Sydney. Te Pahi was alarmed by the harsh British justice meted out to convicts and attempted to stop the sentencing to death of three men for stealing pork. He also found some European customs and manners unsophisticated. Nor was he impressed by Aboriginal customs, abhorring their nakedness and their 'want of ingenuity or inclination to procure food and make themselves comfortable'.[21] We also know that, despite Governor King's kindness, some Māori were ill-treated in early colonial Australia. Some unscrupulous whaling captains took Māori on as crew in the Bay of Islands and abandoned them in Sydney or even the islands of Bass Strait, prompting King in 1805 to issue an order in the *Sydney Gazette* that Māori and Pacific Islanders be well treated in the colony until they could return to their homelands.[22] The same journal complained in 1829 that, on several occasions, 'peaceable' Māori had been 'most wantonly assailed in the streets, with stones and other missiles'.[23]

Māori were a well-established presence in Australia by 1840. Belich notes that they made up a third of the oarsmen in a Hobart regatta in 1838 and all of the Sydney harbourmaster's crew in 1840[24], and Hazel Petrie comments that their presence had become so commonplace that an 1828 edition of the *Sydney Gazette* announced the arrival of the *Adventure* from New Zealand 'with a cargo of potatoes, pork, pigs and New Zealanders'.[25] They certainly had a prominent role as seafarers in early colonial Australia, but presumably also found employment in other areas. In 1829, officers in Van Diemen's Land even suggested importing Māori labour to catch the local Aborigines, since – according to a 1973 history – their 'greater intelligence, their crafty methods of working in the bush, their warlike bearings and their use of weapons ... made the plan acceptable to many' (although not to Van Diemen's Land Governor Colonel George Arthur, who feared the Māori would take matters too far and massacre his Aboriginal subjects[26]).

For Māori, Australia was the principal source of new ideas, technology and vices, including guns. Belich estimates that, by 1840, perhaps 1000 Māori had travelled overseas, with most going to Sydney. They came back with mana, European goods and western knowledge.[27] Judith Binney concludes that, by the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840:

17 Ibid, pp 349–351, 355.

18 Angela Ballara, 'Te Pahi ?–1810', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Volume one: 1769–1869,* Allen & Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, p 475.

19 Salmond (1997), pp 351, 367.

20 Belich (1996a), pp 142–143.

21 Governor King quoted in Salmond (1997), p 351.

22 See Philippa Merchant, *The Maoris in Australia,* 1980, and Salmond (1997), p 326.

23 *Sydney Gazette*, 3 December 1829, quoted in Merchant (1980).

24 Belich (1996a), p 144.

25 Quoted in Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry: Māori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand,* Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006, p 38.

26 D Davies, *The Last of the Tasmanians*, p 135 (quoted in Merchant 1980). In a similar vein, some settlers advocated the use of convicts to round up the Aborigines (see Hughes 1988, pp 417–418).

27 Belich (1996a), pp 144–145.

> The many travellers to Poihakena had been entertained, and wined, and dined, and fed sweet cakes. They had entered contracts, both knowingly and unknowingly. They had brought back new images of power and justice. They were not innocent travellers, but they could not know the extent to which their world was being altered.[28]

MĀORI IN COLONIAL AUSTRALIA, 1840–1900

From 1840 to 1860 – an era Belich calls 'the heyday of New Zealand race relations'[29] – Māori continued to have contact with Australia, principally through trade in produce. Māori still retained the bulk of their lands during this time and traded potatoes, pigs, wheat, maize, kūmara, fish, fruit and other products with Pākehā New Zealand and beyond. Most produce was brought on coastal vessels to Auckland and shipped overseas from there, but some tribes owned substantial schooners capable of venturing beyond New Zealand waters.[30] Such was the extent of Māori enterprise at the time that the *New Zealander* remarked in 1848 that 'the Maoris are our largest purveyors of foodstuffs; so large indeed as nearly to monopolise the market and exclude Europeans from competition'.[31] From Australia, much of the demand for produce was driven by the influx of miners into Victoria in the 1850s. Māori also took part in the Victorian goldrush. A later account of the operations at the Eaglehawk field mentions that a New Zealander called Throckmorton 'had more than 15 Maoris working for him, most of whom had been sailors upon whaling vessels'.[32]

In 1846, however, several Māori ended up in Australia not for work or to trade but for punishment. With dubious legality, Sir George Grey, Governor-in-chief of New Zealand, had five Māori who had been captured after fighting in the Hutt Valley that year tried under court martial as rebels, and upon their conviction they were sentenced to be 'transported as Felons for the Term of their Natural lives'. Grey believed that the men should be 'kept to hard labour' and allowed to correspond with their countrymen so that 'many of the turbulent chiefs would ascertain … the nature of the punishment of transportation'.[33] Five Whanganui men were thus taken to Van Diemen's Land in late 1846, where they ended up in the probation station on Maria Island off the northern coast. In July 1847, one of their number, Te Umuroa, died of tuberculosis and was buried in the public cemetery on the island. His death prompted Australian officials to query the legality of the court martial and transportation, and the four remaining prisoners were set free and returned to New Zealand in early 1848.[34]

In 1860, with the outbreak of war in Taranaki, New Zealand's 'remarkable symbiosis collapsed into bitter conflict', as Belich puts it.[35] British troops stationed in Australia fought in the wars, and some 2500 Australians joined the Waikato Militia Regiments (about 20 of whom were killed in the fighting, becoming probably the first Australians to die in a foreign war).[36]

After the wars, the documentary record about Māori in Australia becomes comparatively sparse. Māori were undoubtedly present in Australia in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but they do not appear to feature much in the historical record. Perhaps the novelty of their presence had worn off, or possibly their numbers in Australia were much fewer after the turmoil in their homeland. Historians have certainly neglected the post-1840 Māori presence in Australia. Any account of their ongoing presence, therefore, is rendered somewhat fragmentary. Philippa Merchant, who in 1980 researched and compiled historical accounts of Māori in Australia, wrote in frustration that, after the reference to Māori on the Victorian goldfields, she could find little more.[37]

28 Judith Binney, 'Tuki's universe', in Keith Sinclair (ed), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788–1988,* Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1987, p 31.

29 James Belich, 'The Governors and the Māori (1840–72)' in Keith Sinclair (ed), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* (2ed), Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1996b, p 86.

30 See Hazel Petrie, *Colonisation and the Involution of the Maori Economy,* a paper for Session 24, XIII World Congress of Economic History, Buenos Aires, July 2002, p 5, http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:EaOF78d784oJ:www.eh.net/XIIICongress/cd/papers/24Petrie75.pdf+%22maori+trade%22+%22sydney%22&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1 (accessed 9 February 2006), and Petrie (2006), passim.

31 Quoted in Belich (1996b), p 78.

32 WE Adcock, *The Gold Rushes of the Fifties,* EW Cole, 1912, p 88, quoted in Merchant (1980).

33 Grey to the Officer administering the Government of Van Diemen's Land, 31 October 1846, reproduced in Merchant (1980). Just as captives in both countries tried to flee in opposite directions across the Tasman, Grey's idea of the threat of transportation to Australia being impressed upon Māori mirrored the suggestion of Arthur Phillip, the first Governor of New South Wales, that convicts guilty of murder and sodomy should be delivered 'to the natives of New Zealand' who would be allowed to eat them (see Belich 1996a, p 129).

34 After much negotiation between the New Zealand and Australian Governments, Te Umuroa's remains were repatriated and buried at Jerusalem by the Whanganui River in 1988 (Ruth Wilkie, 'Te Umuroa, Hohepa ?–1847', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Volume one: 1769–1869,* Allen & Unwin and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, pp 513–514).

35 Belich (1996b), p 87.

36 Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts, 'Australians in New Zealand and Maoris in Australia', www.peoplesvoice.gov.au/stories/tas/mariaisland/maria_w_auzea.htm (accessed 16 September 2005) and Australian War Memorial, 'The colonial period 1788–1901', www.awm.gov.au/atwar/colonial.htm (accessed 9 February 2006).

37 Merchant (1980), section entitled 'The Maoris in Australia – An overview of their known history', p 2.

Merchant did, however, locate the odd reference to a Māori presence in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. For example, the 1856 New South Wales census stated that, 'As the Natives of New Zealand did not exceed 40–50 souls', they were included under the general heading of 'Australasia and New Zealand'. Subsequent New South Wales census returns listed the number of people who had been born in New Zealand but did not mention Māori.

In an odd aside, in 1862, a Dr McGauran established a troupe of 'Maori Warrior Chiefs' who performed plays with titles such as *The Pakeha Maori* and *The Maori Queen* to audiences in Melbourne.[38] The troupe apparently soon disbanded due to financial difficulties and the Māori performers moved to Rosebud on the Mornington Peninsula, where they worked for two years as fishermen before being sent the money from home to enable them to return. Until 1896, at nearby Beaumaris, there appears to have been about 20 Māori men, women and children earning a living by selling shellfish, but this group is not believed to be the same as McGauran's players. Indeed, it seems Māori were living along the Mornington Peninsula shoreline in fishing camps throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of whom, according to one account, were probably shipwrecked or abandoned seafarers.[39] Bergin also noted 1995 research on the presence of a community of Māori pearl divers in the islands of Torres Strait in the late nineteenth century.[40]

'WHITE AUSTRALIA'

From the 1880s, immigration restrictions in the Australian colonies created what became known as the 'White Australia' policy. This was carried over after Federation in the form of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 and other pieces of legislation, such as the Pacific Island Labourers Acts of 1901 and 1906, the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948, the War-Time Refugees Removal Act 1949 and the Migration Act 1958.[41] The term 'White Australia' was never used in these enactments but the legislation was certainly designed to ensure this outcome. The Immigration Restriction Act allowed for a dictation test, whereby an official at the port of arrival could administer a test of 50 words in 'an European language' (that is, any European language). The official justification for the test was partly to protect local labour from foreign workers who were prepared to work for low wages, but politicians were quite open about what they saw as the need to keep Australia white. The test was removed by the Migration Act 1958, and was actually used in fewer than 2000 cases, but the threat of its use was highly effective in deterring 'coloured' people from trying to settle in Australia (shipping companies were penalised if they issued tickets to those likely to fail the test). From 1958, the test instead became one of fractions of blood, on the argument that to bring into Australia anyone who looked different would undermine social harmony in such a homogenous British society. The policy was modified as it became more of an embarrassment to the Australian Government during the 1960s, and was finally laid to rest in one of the first acts of the Whitlam Government in 1972.[42]

The White Australia policy obviously had the potential to conflict with New Zealanders' tradition of free movement to Australia. In the nineteenth century, Māori were probably the only non-whites to always be freely admitted to the Australian colonies. This continued after Federation: the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901 excluded Pacific Islanders from entering Australia but specifically exempted Māori. An incident in 1903, however, showed that the general policy might begin to be applied to Māori. In May that year, customs officers denied entry to three Māori arriving with a circus from New Zealand. They were eventually allowed to enter, but only on the assurance of the circus owner that they would leave Australia within three months. In 1905, however, after discussions with the New Zealand authorities, the Australian Government decided to admit Māori on the same basis as European New Zealanders.[43]

The Australian Commonwealth Yearbook recorded the numbers of Māori 'admitted without the dictation test' from 1902 to 1929, as shown in figure 2.1.

38 See the *Argus*, 17 September 1862 (a copy is included in Merchant's documents), and *Annotated Calendar of Plays Premiered in Australia 1850–1869: File 2: Plays*, compiled by Veronica Kelly, School of English, Media Studies and Art History, University of Queensland, no date (2004?), pp 138, 139, http://eprint.uq.edu.au/archive/00001412/02/vk (accessed 10 January 2007). Merchant (1980) refers to McGauran as 'McGanran', while Bergin (1998, p 323) calls him 'McClaurin'.

39 Massola Aldo, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, Rigby, 1969 (cited in Merchant 1980, who gives no page number).

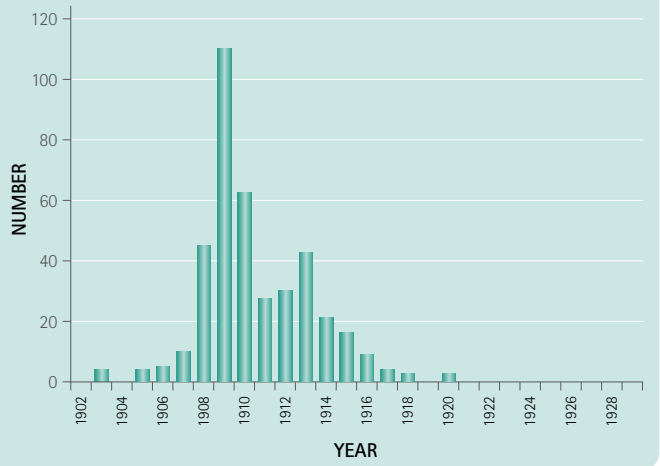
40 Bergin (1998), pp 327–328.

41 AC Palfreeman, *The Administration of the White Australia Policy*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p 79.

42 James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The story of Australian immigration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, pp 8–10.

43 Palfreeman (1967), p 46.

FIGURE 2.1: MĀORI ADMITTED TO AUSTRALIA WITHOUT THE DICTATION TEST, 1902–1929



As can be seen, from 1921 to 1929, no Māori were recorded as being admitted without the dictation test, and from 1930 the 'Maori' category was removed. Merchant[44], who cited these figures, did not provide any explanation for the bulge in the tallies for 1908–1913. It might be explained by further research.

In 1948, a Tongan woman was deported from Australia under the White Australia policy. Shortly after, a question arose about the entry to Australia of the Māori husband of an Australian woman. Drawing a connection between the two cases, the Australian Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, told the House 'Within the meaning of the Immigration Act, they are regarded as the same people, and under existing law and practice, such people will not be entitled to settle permanently in Australia'.[45] This statement caused a diplomatic incident, with New Zealand Prime Minister Peter Fraser apparently saying that the exclusion of Māori would be an 'unforgivable insult'.[46] After Australia acknowledged the mistake, the traditional practice of allowing Māori entry was resumed.

Perhaps in keeping with their exemption from most racist immigration restrictions, Māori in Australia do not appear to have been subjected to the racism directed by white Australians at groups such as the Chinese. During the serious anti-Chinese miners riots at Lambing Flat in New South Wales between November 1860 and September 1861, Māori and black Americans working on the fields were not molested. This contrasting treatment has been put down by one historian to the more 'alien' lifestyle and beliefs of the Chinese, as well as – perhaps more significantly – their greater numbers.[47] In any event, there certainly was a pattern of Māori workers being treated better than their Chinese counterparts. In the 1890s, the Amalgamated Shearers Union, like other unions, had a ban on 'undesirable aliens' such as the Chinese, but specifically exempted Aborigines, Māori and black Americans. Such a rule was found in the constitution of the new Australian Workers Union in 1894, and was also applied by the Australian Workers Association at the time of the Queensland cane cutters strike in 1911.[48]

THE AUSTRALIAN MĀORI POPULATION, 1900–1986

Historically, therefore, Māori have held something of a unique status among 'coloured' peoples in terms of their access to and acceptance in Australia. Despite their exemption from the White Australia policy, however, the Māori population in Australia remained very small for much of the twentieth century. In Jeremy Lowe's 1990 report about Māori in Australia, he noted that Australian censuses collected a range of data on 'race' until 1966.[49] These data tended to group Māori together within a broader 'Pacific Islander' category, but Lowe did identify some census tabulations that specifically distinguished Māori. These gave the Australian Māori population figures as 197 in 1933, 247 in 1947, 257 in 1954, 449 in 1961, and 862 in 1966. These figures, however, only included those categorised as 'full blood' or 'half castes'; those more than 'half European' were counted in the European population.[50]

Lowe deduced from the proportion of the non-Māori population reporting some Māori ancestry in the 1966 New Zealand census that the actual Australian Māori population figure in 1966

44 Merchant (1980).

45 Palfreeman, pp 46–47.

46 K Rivett (ed), *Australia and the Non White Migrant*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1975, p 45. One historian remarked in 1970 on the hypocrisy of New Zealand's indignation, given what he argued to be New Zealand's equally restrictive 'white New Zealand' policy (see HI London, *Non-White Immigration and the 'White Australia' Policy*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1970, p 202).

47 CN Connolly, 'Miners' rights: Explaining the "Lambing Flat" riots of 1860–61', in Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus (eds), *Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the working class in Australia,* Hale and Iremonger in association with the Australian Society of Labour History, Neutral Bay, 1978, pp 43–44.

48 Ray Markey, 'Populist politics: Racism and labor in New South Wales 1880–1900' in Curthoys and Markus (eds), p 72; Kay Saunders, 'Masters and servants: The Queensland Sugar Workers' strike 1911' in Curthoys and Markus (eds), p 105; and Andrew Markus, 'Talka longa mouth: Aborigines and the labour movement 1890–1970' in Curthoys and Markus (eds), p 140.

49 After that, in 1971 and 1976, the data collected was modified to the extent that no figures for the Māori population are obtainable, and in 1981 the only information gathered was to distinguish indigenous Australians from the rest of the population. In 1986, this all changed with the introduction of the ethnic ancestry question, the results of which Lowe analysed in great detail, as discussed in chapter 3.

50 Lowe (1990), p 4.

would have been around 25% larger if all people stating Māori ancestry had been counted. Lowe also noted that the 1966 figure of 862 was contradicted by the 1986 census, which showed that there were no fewer than 2154 Māori in Australia who had been born there before 1966. Furthermore, the 1986 New Zealand census showed there were 1473 Māori born in Australia but now living in New Zealand, some of whom were presumably in Australia in 1966. Lowe concluded that 'the actual Australian Maori population in 1966 may have been as much as three times or more the figure in the 1966 Census'.[51]

Lowe's overall assessment of the Australian Māori census figures to 1966 was:

> The totals are so small, both in an absolute sense and in relation to the New Zealand-resident Maori population, that the utility of the figures lies mostly in simply establishing that Australian-resident New Zealand Maori were not very numerous as recently as twenty years ago [Lowe was writing in 1990], even when it is taken into account that the 1986 Census data indicate that the understatement in 1966 was substantial.[52]

While the figures are small, the near doubling of the Australian Māori population between 1961 and 1966 is the first sign of a significant trans-Tasman movement.[53] By that time, of course, Māori had been migrating out of their home areas in large numbers to New Zealand's cities and towns for two decades. In this short space of time, Māori society changed from an essentially rural to a predominantly urban one. What motivated Māori to move was their burgeoning population, which could no longer be supported on the remaining land base, and the readily available work in the cities in the manufacturing and service industries. It was hardly surprising that many Māori left the land in the circumstances.[54] It would seem logical that migration to Australia was the inevitable extension of this, particularly in the increasing globalisation of the 1970s. The figures tend to indicate, however, that the major movement to Australia occurred after large-scale movement to the cities and towns within New Zealand: as Richard Bedford and Ian Pool state, the 'Maori diaspora ... followed urbanization, and was not in tandem with it'.[55] In other words, the mass Māori migration to Australia occurred after the jobs became fewer in urban New Zealand and the economy declined in the 1970s and 1980s. It thus matched the post-war exodus from rural New Zealand in terms of the migrants' motivations.

By the mid-1980s, the Australian Māori population was growing rapidly.[56] Affordable international travel, the lack of travel restrictions, the availability of the dole on arrival, and the relatively high unemployment and economic restructuring in New Zealand saw the second major migration of Māori since World War II. Chapter 3 looks at what was revealed by the 1986 Australian census, which for the first time allowed for the profiling of the burgeoning Māori population.

51 Ibid, pp 4, 23, 24. Lowe attributed the undercount to the missing Māori having recorded themselves as more than half European, and suggests a greater degree of intermarriage among Australian-resident Māori than Māori in New Zealand. He did not speculate that some Māori may not have been captured by the census. See p 23.

52 Ibid, p 5.

53 From 1960 to 1970, 13,783 Māori travelled overseas, with 2549 more leaving than returning (see Bergin 1998, p 337).

54 For comment on this, see Manuhuia Barcham, 'The politics of Maori mobility' in John Taylor and Martin Bell (eds), *Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia and North America,* Routledge, London, 2004, p 165.

55 Richard Bedford and Ian Pool, 'Flirting with Zelinsky in Aotearoa/New Zealand: A Maori mobility transition' in Taylor and Bell (eds), p 62.

56 The net Māori population loss from New Zealand from 1981 to 1986 was 8100 people, the equivalent of 25–35% of natural increase. The bulk of this movement was to Australia (see Pool 1991, p 179).

CHAPTER 3: THE 1986 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS AND THE SUBSEQUENT LACK OF DATA

Chapter summary

- The 1986 Australian census included an ethnic ancestry question for the first time, and revealed there to be approximately 27,000 Māori in Australia.
- The Māori population was dominated by recent migrants from New Zealand, but data from both countries also revealed a high rate of return migration.
- The ancestry question was dropped from the 1991 and 1996 censuses, leading to a lack of hard data on the Māori population living in Australia and many inflated estimates of its size.

1986 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS

Size of the Māori population

The 1986 Australian census endeavoured for the first time to capture the ethnic or national ancestry of all Australian residents. The aim was to identify how the backgrounds of the Australian population had changed since the removal of any ethnic criteria from the Immigration Act in 1973. Thus, the 1986 census results provided the first opportunity to more accurately gauge the size of the Australian-resident Māori population.

1986 census question

What is this person's ancestry?

- For example, Greek, English, Indian, Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese etc.

Space was provided for three ancestries to be entered on the form. Below this were two coding boxes. An accompanying guide explained that 'ancestry' meant the ethnic or national group from which a person was descended. Respondents were invited to nominate 'Australian', if they so chose.[1] This identification by descent (for Māori) was conceptually close to the 1986 New Zealand census question on ethnic origin. Both definitions differed markedly from the narrower definitions previously used in Australia and New Zealand.[2]

The 1986 census returns revealed a total of 26,035 persons identifying Māori ancestry. As noted in chapter 2, demographer Jeremy Lowe wrote a detailed report in 1990 analysing this result. He explained the motivation for his report, as follows:

> A substantial Maori population is resident in Australia. It is timely to assess the size and characteristics of the Australian Maori population, and to reassess the significance of movement between New Zealand and Australia for the future of the New Zealand-resident Maori population. New Zealand Maori are concerned about cultural ties with Australian Maori, and are interested in the contribution that Maori in Australia could make to iwi development in New Zealand.[3]

1 Chris Kunz and Liz Costello, *2001 Census: Ancestry – detailed paper* (Census Paper no. 03/01b), Population Census Evaluation, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, June 2003, p 8.

2 In New Zealand, the 1981 census still asked about degrees of descent, although Māori themselves have clearly, in the past, interpreted such questions more liberally than literally (see Lowe 1990, p 5).

3 Ibid, p 3.

Lowe's report dwelt on some of the problems with the 1986 Australian census figures. First and foremost was the fact that, for anyone who reported three ancestries, only the first two were coded and included in the official count. Respondents were not made aware of this so that they could prioritise their responses accordingly.[4] The chances are, therefore, that a significant number of people who recorded Māori as their third ancestry were missing from the official tally. While only 12.6% of all respondents and 17.6% of all New Zealand-born respondents gave more than one ancestry, half of the 26,035 who were recorded as Māori stated at least one other ancestry. This showed a propensity, perhaps, for Māori to state multiple ancestries, although Lowe was probably correct when he said that it would be unlikely for very many Māori to have written their Māori ancestry down last out of three choices.[5] Of the 17,306 New Zealand-born identifying as Māori in 1986, 13,228 gave Māori as their first choice and 3798 as their second.[6]

The second problem is that the 26,035 Māori total included several hundred people born in the Cook Islands and 1189 people whose father was born in the Cook Islands. Indeed, Lowe was told by the Australian Bureau of Statistics that Cook Islanders and Māori were included in the one code. While Lowe noted that this advice was contradicted by birthplace and birthplace-of-parents statistics, which showed that probably three times as many Cook Islanders were classified as of 'other ancestry' as of Māori ancestry, it nevertheless indicated a flaw in the Māori population tally. Lowe therefore concluded that the 26,035 figure was 'a statistical mixture. It is neither the figure for New Zealand Maori (which it exceeds), nor the sum of the figures for New Zealand Maori and Cook Island Maori (which it understates)'.[7]

The third problem with the total was that it included 538 persons who were usually living overseas.

Bearing all these issues in mind, Lowe took the 26,035 figure and subtracted all those who were born in the Cook Islands or both of whose parents were born there.[8] He further subtracted those usually living overseas, and thus came to a group of 24,449 New Zealand Māori usually living in Australia who were present on census night in June 1986. It was this group that the Department of Māori Affairs purchased statistics about from the Australian Bureau of Statistics for Lowe's study. Lowe then estimated the number of New Zealand Māori who wrote their Māori ancestry last in the census, as well as the number who missed the census altogether through being temporarily overseas or simply not answering it, and came up with a total figure of around 26,000.[9] This was, he explained (for the foregoing reasons), 'much the same total as the original census figure but a different 26,000 persons'.[10]

The Australian-resident proportion of the total Māori population of both Australia and New Zealand was thus, in 1986, a little under 6%.[11] While Lowe acknowledged that 6% did not seem a large share, he pointed out that the Australian-resident Māori population had smaller proportions of children and elderly and a higher concentration in the young adult age group, which he noted was a 'universal characteristic of populations containing many recent migrants'. The effect of this, he observed, was that the 'continuation of only a modest level of net migration of Maori to Australia' would see 'the Australian-resident Maori population ... grow much more rapidly than the New Zealand-resident Maori population'.[12]

Use of te reo

The 1986 census asked a question about the use of languages other than English at home. There was no guide as to the frequency or quality of the other language(s) spoken. A total of 3979 people responded that they spoke Māori at home, although, again, this figure included some Cook Islanders and

4 Lowe observed that the computer-literate could have worked this out from there being only two coding boxes on the census form (Lowe, 'Maori in Australia. A statistical summary', in Grant McCall and John Connell (eds), *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA* (Pacific Studies Monograph No. 6), Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1993, p 61).

5 Lowe (1990), p 7.

6 Gordon A Carmichael (ed), *Trans-Tasman Migration: Trends, causes and consequences*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1993, p 379.

7 Lowe (1990), p 7.

8 Lowe decided not to exclude those who had only one parent born in the Cook Islands because there was a chance that, through intermarriage, some New Zealand Māori would have fallen into this category. In other words, his sample group will inevitably have included some Cook Islanders (ibid, p 8).

9 In an appendix, Lowe noted that there were likely 500 (at the national average for undercounting) to 1000 (in an extreme scenario) Māori living in Australia who evaded the census in 1986. Lowe weighed the arguments for and against Māori being undercounted to a greater-than-average degree and concluded that there was no reliable basis for concluding that the undercounting of Māori was very different to the Australian population as a whole (ibid, p 31).

10 Ibid, p 8.

11 The New Zealand census night total was 404,778, which was adjusted up to 413,500 to take account of those temporarily overseas (ibid).

12 Ibid, pp 8, 9.

some Māori visiting temporarily from overseas. On an age breakdown, Lowe estimated that 20–25% of Māori aged over 35 spoke Māori to some degree at home, although this reduced to 5–7% for those aged under 15. There was no chance of comparison here with the 1986 New Zealand census, however, as it did not ask such a question. Lowe concluded that moving to Australia was not in itself the cause of language loss among younger Māori, as the pattern of language loss and retention was similar in New Zealand. But he did observe that, 'if steps now being taken to increase the use of Maori are not paralleled in Australia, then migration to Australia will tend to become a factor in language loss'.[13]

Labour force participation

Different questioning in the 1986 Australian and New Zealand censuses made comparison difficult, but generally the Māori labour force participation rate was higher in Australia due to the age structure of the population. However, unemployment rates were also higher for Māori in Australia (19.3% as opposed to 14.9% in New Zealand), reflecting the generally higher rates of unemployment across Australia in 1986 compared to New Zealand. Lowe pondered why Māori (and other New Zealanders) moved to Australia in such circumstances and concluded that it was probably because the bigger Australian labour market nevertheless still had 'a much larger number and range of opportunities available for a prospective migrant'. Auckland followed a similar pattern within the New Zealand labour market, he observed.[14]

It was also difficult to compare employment information from the Australian and New Zealand censuses. However, Māori living in Australia were predominantly wage and salary earners, as in New Zealand, with a smaller proportion self-employed. Relatively few were in managerial and professional occupations (only one-third of the Australian national average, in fact), with most Māori employed as labourers, 'operators', clerks, salespeople and tradespersons. Most people had no formal educational qualifications, but a 'sizeable minority' had trade certificates or similar.[15]

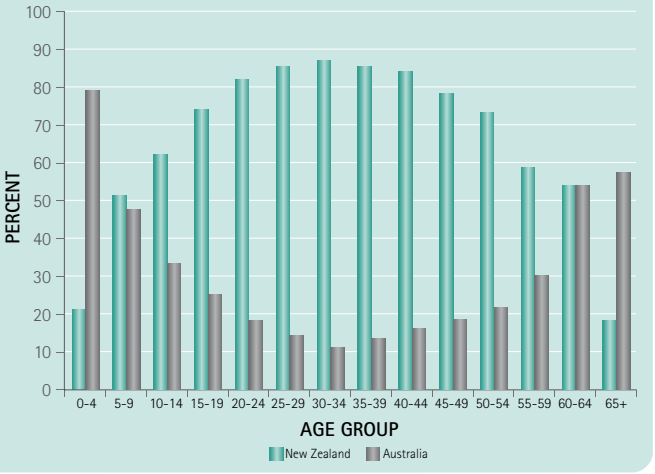
Trans-Tasman migration

Lowe was able to create a good picture of the degree of trans-Tasman mobility within the Māori population by:

- using the Australian census data to show duration of residence in Australia
- combining this with the New Zealand census results showing place of residence five years previously
- further cross-referencing with the New Zealand arrival and departure card statistics, which, until October 1986, asked people to declare their ethnic origin.

From all this, Lowe reported that about two-thirds of all Australian-resident Māori had been born in New Zealand and 29% had been born in Australia. There was a marked difference across age groups, with four out of every five pre-schoolers born in Australia. The great majority of those over 65 were also born in Australia, again indicating the long-established nature of the Australian Māori community and highlighting the recent nature of the mass migration of young-adult Māori to Australia – from the ages of 15–59, the population was overwhelmingly New Zealand-born. When graphed, the age-range population curves for Māori born in Australia and New Zealand were thus neat inverses of each other (see figure 3.1).[16]

FIGURE 3.1: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA, BY BIRTHPLACE AND AGE, 1986[17]



13 Ibid, p 17.

14 Ibid, pp 17–18. The other thing to bear in mind is that many will have moved to Australia for working holidays without arranging their employment in advance (see Christabel Young, 'Are there any differences between New Zealand immigrants and the Australian-born population? Socioeconomic and demographic issues' in Carmichael (ed) 1993, p 210).

15 Lowe (1990), pp 21–22.

16 Ibid, pp 23–24.

17 Reproduced from ibid, p 24.

It should be added that the 1986 New Zealand census revealed 1473 Australian-born Māori living in New Zealand. In other words, one in six Australian-born Māori lived in New Zealand, thus indicating, according to Lowe, 'a significant return migration of Maori to New Zealand'. Indeed, Lowe reported that the 1986 New Zealand census revealed there to be just over 4000 Māori who gave their usual place of residence five years previously as Australia. Overall, Lowe concluded from a range of sources that the net Māori migration to Australia from April 1981 to March 1986 was around 4000 persons, with roughly two Māori migrating to New Zealand from Australia for every three who moved in the other direction. There was fluctuation between years, with net migration gains to New Zealand in 1982–83 and 1983–84 and a large 3500 net loss in 1985–86[18], which presumably had much to do with the rapid economic reforms of the day.

Lowe's research also confirmed the very recent nature of the influx. One-quarter of all Māori usually living in Australia in 1986 were migrants who had lived there for less than five years, and one-half were migrants who had been there for less than 10 years. Using his figure of 4000 Māori in Australia in 1966, Lowe noted that the Australian Māori population had grown sixfold from 1966 to 1986 at a time when the Māori population living in New Zealand had risen by only two-thirds.[19]

Where Māori were living in Australia

The 1986 Australian census revealed there to be 9759 (39.2% of Lowe's sample of 24,449) Māori in New South Wales, 6103 (25.0%) in Queensland, 4040 (16.5%) in Victoria, 2639 (10.8%) in Western Australia and smaller populations (each under 900 people) in South Australia, the Northern Territory, Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory.[20] Lowe observed that the numbers were much smaller than those 'quoted in the media at times', referring to media reports of large numbers of Māori in Perth and attributing them to the rapidity of growth there rather than the population's total size. Using the figures for those Māori who had been in Australia less than five years, Lowe noted that Victoria and Western Australia had had the most rapid recent population growth.[21]

Tasmania's population distribution across age and gender groups was closest to that of Māori living in New Zealand. Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia, by contrast, had many more males than females in certain age groups, and overall there were 105 Māori males for every 100 females in Australia. Western Australia was the extreme in this case, presenting the image of a frontier environment, with:

- 113 Māori men for every 100 Māori women
- nearly 40% of its Māori population aged 24–44 and only 5.5% aged 65 and over (New Zealand-resident Māori having about 25% and 10.4% in these two age groups, respectively)
- only 23.7% of its Māori population born in Australia, as opposed to the much more settled Tasmanian Māori population, where 51.5% were born in Australia.[22]

Lowe's population estimates – looking forward from 1986

Lowe concluded that there was a need for 'better co-ordination and collaboration between the New Zealand and Australian censuses'. He felt that a third of the work necessary to produce his report would have been unnecessary if 'a feasible degree of standardisation and co-ordination had already been achieved'. He lamented the dropping of the ethnic origin question on New Zealand arrival and departure cards and expressed concern that the ancestry question might be about to be dropped from the Australian census. He recommended changes to the Australian census to better distinguish between New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori.[23]

Lowe finished his report by analysing the potential growth of the Australian-resident Māori population to 2011 under a matrix of nine scenarios, combining high, medium and low birth rates (in both Australia and New Zealand) and net migration gains by Australia of either 500 or 1000 Māori per year or no migration at all to or from either country. His highest prediction (under the scenario of high birth rates and a net migration of 1000 Māori per year to Australia) was that, by 2011, the Australian-resident Māori population would have reached 74,700, or 11% of the combined New Zealand and Australian totals.[24] I return to these figures in chapter 4.

18 Ibid, pp 24–27.

19 Ibid, pp 24–25. Perhaps reflecting the recent influx, Māori comprised only 8.2% of the New Zealand-born in Australia in 1986 (17,306 out of 211,670), which was significantly lower than their share of the population in New Zealand (12.4%). But they were much larger proportions of those who had been in Australia for shorter periods (11.2% in the 0–4-years bracket and 10.1% in the 5–9-years range) (see Young in Carmichael (ed) 1993, p 185, and table in appendix to Carmichael (ed) 1993, p 379). Young's figures for the total New Zealand-born (199,956) and the Māori proportion (16,981) are lower than those provided in the appended table. I have used the latter.

20 By way of comparison, Lowe noted that half of all Cook Islanders lived in New South Wales, with many more in Victoria than in Queensland and very few in Western Australia or elsewhere (Lowe 1990, p 28).

21 Ibid, pp 27–28.

22 Ibid, pp 28–29, 39.

23 Ibid, pp 30, 34–35.

24 Ibid, pp 36–38.

Lowe subsequently increased his estimate of the total number of Māori living in Australia in 1986 by 1000 persons to 27,000, after the Australian post-census enumeration survey revealed that there had been above-average undercounting of the New Zealand-born population.[25]

THE LACK OF HARD DATA ON POPULATION SIZE, 1986–2001

Subsequent evaluation of the ancestry question in the 1986 Australian census by the Australian Bureau of Statistics showed 'there was a high level of subjectivity and confusion about what the question meant'. Since '[v]ery little use' was made of the data, the ancestry question was dropped from the 1991 census. In 1993, an ancestry question was tested for the 1996 census, but it was found that the data quality would be substandard and the results difficult to interpret. Therefore, the 1996 census also did not include any question on ancestry.[26]

The lack of reliable data from 1986 onward led to considerable conjecture about the actual size of the growing Australian-resident Māori population. Lowe (writing in 1992, in a follow-up comment to his main report) referred to recent media reports that the size of the population was as high as 80,000. He said there was no substantive justification for this figure except post-1986 migration, and he found it rather unlikely that Māori could have made up the required proportion of the migration from New Zealand to Australia during this period. Alternatively, if his 1986 estimate of 27,000 Australian-resident Māori had been 'seriously astray', then there would be 'matters of both New Zealand and Australian census practice, and international migration statistics, [requiring] urgent remedial action'. Furthermore, if the figure of 27,000 was much too low, it 'would imply that social pressures on Maori in New Zealand over the last 20–25 years, as reflected in emigration "push factors", were much more severe than has been previously supposed'.[27]

Lowe suggested that the 1991 New Zealand census could be used to update the return migration statistics in his 1990 report. He also said that 1986 and 1991 census returns, along with New Zealand births and deaths data, could be used to establish the net international migration of Māori from 1986 to 1991 (although with 'quite severe complications arising from differences in definition between the data series'). Doing so would set an upper limit on the net migration gain to the 1986 Australian-resident Māori population from New Zealand (with the difference being those Māori who emigrated to or arrived from elsewhere). Lowe unsuccessfully applied to the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology for funding to undertake this research.[28]

Writing in 2001, Paul Bergin welcomed the decision by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to reintroduce the ethnic ancestry question to the Australian census, although he noted that it might not put an end to the debate over the size of the national, state-wide and regional Māori populations in Australia. Bergin had been given population estimates from countless members of the Māori community that were greatly at odds with what might reasonably be expected on the basis of the 1986 census figures, and he set out these estimates and various media reports, in part, to illustrate how conjecture could run wild in the absence of hard data.[29]

Bearing in mind the 1986 Australian census figures (including state populations) cited above, Bergin noted that:

- in 1984, the *National Times* estimated that there were 'about 10,000 Maoris' in Bondi alone
- in 1985, the Reverend Kingi Ihaka, the Māori Anglican priest in Sydney, was quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that there were 'at least 16,000 Maoris in Sydney'
- in 1985, the Australian Māori Catholic chaplain wrote there were 60,000 Māori in Australia
- in 1991, a *Sydney Morning Herald* article said there were 80,000 Māori in Australia
- in 1992, a New Zealand television documentary also confidently said there were 80,000 Māori in Australia (presumably, these were the figures referred to by Lowe)
- in 1994, the new Anglican Māori minister in Sydney, Ngarahu Katene, was reported as saying he thought there were 23,000 Māori in Sydney
- in 1996, the Sydney branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League reported to its parent body in Wellington that there were 40,000 Māori in Sydney
- the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted an estimate by Māori leaders of 45,000 Māori in Sydney in 1995
- in Perth, in 1995, a community leader claimed there were 35,000 Māori in Western Australia

25 Lowe, '"Maori in Australia": A comment on further research', *Population Review*, 18(1&2), 1992, p 97.

26 Kunz and Costello (2003), pp 1–2.

27 Lowe (1992), p 98.

28 Ibid, pp 99–100.

29 Bergin (2001), pp 37–47.

- in 1995 and 1996, Māori community leaders in Queensland claimed there were 30,000 Māori across the state
- in 2001, *Mana* magazine claimed there were 19,000 Māori in Brisbane
- around the same time, a Māori community leader in Melbourne claimed there were 12,000 Māori in Melbourne, and another in the Northern Territory claimed 8000 Māori in the Northern Territory, including 4000 in Darwin and 800 in Alice Springs
- in 1994, *Te Maori News* referred to 'Australia's Maori population of 100,000'
- most extravagantly, on Waitangi Day in 1995, the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote 'it is estimated that at least 200,000 Maoris live in Australia'. [30]

Bergin added the highest state-wide estimates he had been given by Māori community leaders in 1995–96 and came to a figure of 135,000 Māori living in Australia. Were Lowe's figure of 27,000 in 1986 essentially accurate, such a total would have represented a massive 500% increase. Bergin doubted very much that either Australian-resident Māori women had been so fertile or Māori had so dominated New Zealand's net migration to Australia during the period. [31]

On reflection, Bergin suggested that 'political considerations' were behind the inflated estimates. As he explained:

> It is relevant that certain Australian Māori groups have been lobbying for a share of government ethnic funding and land for the Māori community to establish marae or cultural centres. The size of the Māori population is clearly an important factor in any application for government assistance.[32]

In the absence of an ethnic ancestry question in the Australian census, Bergin, like Lowe, stressed the limitations of the other available data (language use, birthplace and birthplace of parents) for tracing the size of the Māori population in Australia.[33] For example, he noted that 447 of the 1643 persons aged over five who said they spoke Māori in the 1991 Australian census were born in the Cook Islands.[34] Bergin also remarked on the 1986 curtailment of the ethnic origin question on the New Zealand arrival and departure cards. It is not immediately clear why this question was removed, although Te Tai Tokerau leader Sir Graham Latimer told the *New Zealand Herald* in 1985 that he felt 'humiliated' having to fill in this aspect of the card: 'In one breath they are saying we are all New Zealanders and then we are asked on the aeroplane if we are half or a quarter Maori'.[35] On the other hand, some Māori leaders regretted the lack of differentiation. Areta Koopu, the president of the Māori Women's Welfare League, told the *Press* in 1994 that it was wrong to 'lump' Māori in as New Zealanders in this way and allow them to 'disappear' in the statistics.[36]

In any event, it seems reasonably certain that Māori did leave New Zealand for Australia in large numbers in the years after 1986. We know that instinctively from Māori job losses at the time in the primary production and manufacturing sectors[37], anecdotally from many people's personal accounts, through statistics on duration of residence from the 2001 Australian census, as well as from the fact that there was a net outflow of people from New Zealand from 1986 to 1991 of 70,250.[38]

30 Ibid, pp 40–42.

31 Ibid, p 42. Bergin was unaware of the total New Zealand net migration to Australia from 1986 to 1996.

32 Ibid, p 45.

33 A motivation for the 2002 Ipswich research (which was planned before the reintroduction of the census ancestry question in 2001) had been the concern that Māori and Pacific Islanders of New Zealand birth were effectively 'invisible in terms of statistics' in Australia (Shehata 2003, p ix).

34 Bergin (2001), p 43.

35 Quoted ibid. The restriction of those declaring themselves to be Māori to be at least 'half-caste' was in fact done away with in 1982 (see Lowe 1990, p 25).

36 Quoted in Bergin (2001), p 43.

37 Between 1951 and 1981, the labour force participation rate of Māori men was over 80%, but by 1991, it had fallen to 67% (see Barcham 2004, p 171).

38 This changed into a net inflow of 68,400 migrants from 1991 to 1996, as the economy picked up but reversed back to a net migration loss from 1996 to 2001 (see James Newell, 'Internal and international migration in New Zealand's regions, 1986–1996', in Gordon A Carmichael with A Dharmalingam (eds), joint special issue of *Journal of Population Research* and *New Zealand Population Review*, September 2002, p 5; and Statistics New Zealand, 'Population change and structure', www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/dem-trends-02/demo-trends-2002-pop-change-structure.htm – accessed 30 March 2006).

CHAPTER 4: THE 2001 AND 2006 AUSTRALIAN CENSUSES

Chapter summary

- The 2001 census reinstated the ancestry question and recorded a total of 72,956 Māori, although this omitted an estimated 17,525 people who had written 'Māori' but not entered it as one of their first two (unranked) ancestry choices.
- The Māori population continued to be heavily dominated by people born in New Zealand, with most Australian-born Māori aged under 15.
- The 2006 Australian census rectified a key deficiency in previous census practice, and should provide a more accurate total for Māori in Australia when its results are released in mid-2007. However, a number of Māori will still not be counted: some Māori claim they do not bother with the census and many others misinterpret it as a nationality question or simply feel their primary identification overseas is not as Māori but as New Zealanders.

2001 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS

Ancestry question is restored

As outlined in chapter 3, the ancestry question was restored in the 2001 Australian census. Unlike with the unsuccessful testing of an ancestry question in 1993, in the lead-up to the 2001 census, the Australian Bureau of Statistics felt that they could acceptably identify ancestral groups with the combination of an ancestry question, a birthplace question and a question about whether a respondent's parents were born in Australia or overseas.[1]

2001 census question

What is this person's ancestry?

- For example: Vietnamese, Hmong, Dutch, Kurdish, Australian South Sea Islander, Maori, Lebanese.
- Provide more than one ancestry if necessary.
- See page 7 of the Census Guide for more information.

To the immediate right of the question was the box for entering results. It provided, vertically, mark boxes for what were anticipated (presumably) to be the seven most common responses. These were, in order, English, Irish, Italian, German, Greek, Chinese and Australian. The final mark box was called 'other' and below that were spaces for up to three ancestries to be written.[2] Page seven of the guide advised people to 'Count your ancestry back as far as three generations. For example, consider your parents, grandparents and great grandparents'. Written-in responses were counted using pre-coded response categories and intelligent character recognition (ICR) technology.[3]

The 2001 census counted 72,956 Māori living in Australia.[4] As with the 'official' 1986 figure, however, this number needs a fair amount of deconstruction.

1 Kunz and Costello (2003), p 1.

2 These were three lines of nine spaces each. The general census instruction was to use one space per letter and to span a response over two lines, if necessary.

3 Kunz and Costello (2003), pp 2, 6–7.

4 Bedford et al cite this figure, but also refer to 72,970 Māori in Australia in 2006. The Te Puni Kōkiri fact sheet states 72,954. I understand the discrepancies are due to the random adjustment of figures by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to prevent the release of confidential information. As Bedford et al point out, the differences 'are not statistically significant' (see Bedford et al 2004, p 142).

Problems with the official figure

As in 1986, only the first two ancestries entered were coded, although once again this was not explained to respondents on the form. Moreover, the existence of the initial mark-box selection range created an inevitable bias towards these ancestries, since selections from these ancestries were the first counted. Thus, if one ticked English and Irish and then wrote Māori in the 'other' category (an entirely likely occurrence for many people), only English and Irish were counted. The decision to code only the first two responses had been taken 'to limit processing costs and time'. But whereas this decision was consistent with 1986, the serious flaw came with the repeated lack of any mention of it on the census form or the guide that might have allowed individuals to prioritise their responses (and, indeed, the encouragement to respondents to trace their ancestry back three generations). Chris Kunz and Liz Costello, who carried out a detailed evaluation of the 2001 ancestry question for the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 2003, observed:

> Respondents may have been encouraged into multiple responses by the presence of the mark boxes. By the time they had reached the Write-In Boxes, some respondents, unknowingly, were already over the undisclosed limit of two ancestries.[5]

Using a data quality investigation sample of 366,667 census responses, Kunz and Costello estimated that, overall, 1.3 million Australians had entered three or more ancestries, and thus nearly 1.9 million ancestries were lost nationwide. Slightly more than half of these lost ancestries were ones written on the form rather than ticked in the mark boxes. On the basis of the sampling, Kunz and Costello offered new estimated totals for every ancestral group (noting, of course, that English and Irish – by virtue of their positioning at the top of the mark boxes – were always counted). Thus, it was estimated that 17,525 responses of 'Maori' had been lost, which raises the estimated Māori total to 90,481. In similar fashion, it was estimated that 38,047 responses of 'New Zealander' had been lost, bringing the estimated total for that category to 161,361.[6] The non-response rate for this question among people born in New Zealand was 3.6%, which was low in relative terms (seventy-third in the list of countries),[7] although still a figure that could give some cause to slightly raise the estimated number of Māori in Australia.

Other matters to note were that the New Zealand-born, like those from other traditional immigrant nations, had a high multiple-ancestry response rate (28.5%, compared to 1.1% for people born in South Korea). Some 32,653 Māori (44.6% of the 72,956 figure) gave multiple responses, as did 51.8% of those who recorded 'New Zealander' as an ancestry. Just over 10% of Māori said they were also Australians, while the same applied to 21.7% of 'New Zealanders'.[8] There would obviously be a fair amount of cross-over between the Māori and New Zealander ancestry groups, but to my knowledge no-one has yet investigated the extent of this in the 2001 census figures. A few people who wrote 'New Zealand Māori' will possibly have been coded as both 'Māori' and 'New Zealander'.[9]

Kunz and Costello recommended that, while the 2001 results were an improvement over those of 1986 (with better response rates, more comprehensive coding classification and more individuals identifying multiple ancestries), several changes should be made in future censuses. Their key suggestions were that:

- the number of ancestries coded should be increased to four
- this limit should be clearly spelled out on the census form and census guide
- 'Australian' should be the only mark-box option
- a supplementary list of dual ancestries should be created and used in coding (such as 'Irish-Australian' and 'Italo-Australian')[10]
- the actual birthplace of each parent should be recorded, rather than just whether they were born in Australia or overseas.[11]

5 Kunz and Costello (2003), p 22.

6 Ibid, pp 23, 24, 26, 57. By way of comparison, revised estimates for other Pacific peoples in Australia were 30,338 Samoans, 18,767 Fijians (Fijian Indians were coded as Indians), 15,987 Tongans, 8803 Cook Islanders and 1850 Niueans (see ibid, pp 55–58).

7 Ibid, p 29.

8 Ibid, pp 33–35. A considerably higher number of Māori (12,214) also stating Australian ancestry in 2001 was cited by Siew-Ean Khoo and David Lucas in their report *Australians' Ancestries: 2001* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 2004, p 22).

9 Kunz and Costello noted (pp 13–14) that dual ancestry responses in 2001 (such as 'Irish Australian' and 'Italian Australian') were coded to independent elements. However, in other cases – such as 'Franco Mauritian', where 'what the respondents wanted to state was just "Mauritian"' – they were coded to one ancestry only. This practice will have been followed where the computers (or manual coder) identified a respondent's intention to record 'New Zealand Māori' and not 'New Zealand' and 'Māori', although this may not always have been clear. Ancestry entries of 'New Zealand' were coded as 'New Zealander' (see Dennis Trewin, *Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups,* Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, October 2000, p 118).

10 This raises the possibility that, in the future, Māori in Australia will be able to state 'Māori Australian' in the ancestry question.

11 Kunz and Costello (2003), pp 46–48.

The 72,956 figure should this time, however, have largely excluded Cook Island Māori, since the *2000 Australian Standard Classfication of Cultural and Ethnic Groups* places 'Cook Islander' and 'Cook Island Māori' within the same code.[12] Inclusion of Cook Island Māori in the 'Māori' census figure will have persisted, however, where any Cook Islanders simply entered 'Māori' at the ancestry question.[13] In any event, the problem will have remained of New Zealand Māori and Cook Islanders both entering 'Māori' at census question 15 about languages spoken 'at home'.

The 72,956 figure would also need some adjustment for underenumeration and people who were temporarily overseas. Bearing in mind these factors (and the inclusion of 'Cook Island Māori', which they assumed had continued) and the new Australian Bureau of Statistics estimate, Richard Bedford, Robert Didham, Elsie Ho and Graeme Hugo proposed in 2004 that the Māori population living in Australia in 2001 was 'at least 90,000'. In combination with the 526,281 Māori in New Zealand on census night in 2001[14] (which Bedford et al noted should be rounded up to 586,000 to allow for post-census adjustments for undercounting and temporary absence overseas[15]), this made those living in Australia 13.3% of the Māori population of the two countries. This represented a very significant rise, from the 6% calculated by Lowe for 1986 (and the 2% who would have been in Australia in 1966, on the basis of Lowe's estimate of 4000 Māori in Australia at that time). Bedford et al estimated there were as many as 15,000 Māori living in all other countries and therefore suggested a total Māori diaspora of as much as 16%.[16]

Evidently, Lowe's upper projected figure of 74,700 Māori living in Australia by 2011 (on the basis of high Māori birth rates in both countries and net annual migration to Australia at the higher end of the rates that had applied from 1981 to 1986) has already fallen far short of the current numbers. While this matter would benefit from proper demographic analysis, it seems that both birth rates and levels of net migration from New Zealand must have been higher than the upper limits used by Lowe in his predictions.

The fact that some 20% of all responses of 'Māori' were lost in the 2001 Australian census gives some cause to revisit Lowe's estimate of 27,000 Māori in Australia in 1986. Lowe included only 500 persons (or 2%) with a lost Māori ancestry response in his total[17], which he justified on the basis – outlined above – that few would be likely to state 'Māori' as their third-choice ancestry. His caution was probably justified, particularly in view of the mark boxes in the 2001 census form doubtless being a major contributor to the lost Māori ancestries that year. But, on reflection, his figure may have been a little conservative. I return to the issue of estimating the total Māori population in Australia in 1986 and 2001 in chapter 5, when I discuss the results of the Te Puni Kōkiri survey.

Key features of the 2001 census results

While we lack a comprehensive study of the 2001 Australian census results for Māori along the lines of Lowe's analysis of the 1986 return, Bedford et al did record some of the salient features, as follows:

- 49,241 of the 72,956 Māori living in Australia were born in New Zealand, while 20,595 were born in Australia, 2110 did not state a birthplace and 1023 were born in other countries. As a proportion of the total New Zealand-born population in Australia of 355,765, Māori were 13.8% – a significant increase from the 8.5% of 1986 and closer to the Māori (ethnic group) proportion of the total New Zealand population in 2001 of 14.7% (526,281 out of 3,586,731).
- By contrast, 4932 Māori living in New Zealand were born in Australia, representing just under 1% of the total.
- Two-thirds of the 20,596 Australian-born Māori living in Australia were under 15.
- Over 400 of this group, however, were aged 60 and over, thus demonstrating again the long-established nature of the Māori community in Australia.
- Māori males still outnumbered females, but only very slightly – there were 36,858 males to 36,112 females, with even a small excess (197) of women in the 20–49 age bracket. By contrast, there were 12,927 more Māori

12 Trewin (2000), p 48.

13 Indeed, 654 individuals among the Māori population total in the 2001 Australian census were born in the Cook Islands. See Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, *The People of Australia: Statistics from the 2001 census*, [no place of publication], 2003, p 65.

14 This figure is for people identifying with the Māori ethnic group. The total of those stating they were of Māori descent was 604,110.

15 Bedford et al (2004), p 133.

16 Ibid, pp 133–134.

17 Lowe (1990), p 33.

(ethnic group) women than men in the same age range in New Zealand.[18]

- The major difference in the age structure of the Māori populations in Australia and New Zealand was in the 15–44 age range, with this group making up 54% of the population in Australia compared to 46% in New Zealand. In particular, Māori aged 25–29 were 10.2% of the population in Australia as opposed to 7.6% of the New Zealand total.
- Māori in Australia were more likely than Māori in New Zealand to live in the larger centres, with 72.6% living in the eight major metropolitan areas as opposed to 63.7% of Māori in New Zealand living in the 15 major urban areas. Sydney had 30% of the Australian-resident Māori population, compared to 22% of Māori in New Zealand living in Auckland. Nevertheless, Bedford et al observed that Māori were well dispersed across Australia – 'their distribution in both countries reflects their willingness to work in a wide range of semi-skilled and labouring jobs in rural as well as urban areas'.[19]

Te Puni Kōkiri also produced a fact sheet in 2004 summarising some key statistics from the 2001 Australian census.[20] This noted, for example, that 'approximately 6% of Māori living in Australia spoke te reo Māori in the home'. The sheet also recorded that the overwhelming majority of Māori in Australia lived in a family household, which was consistent with Lowe's findings about Māori in Australia in 1986.[21] For employment status, 9% of Māori in Australia aged 15 and over were unemployed compared with 11% of Māori in New Zealand. Similarly, 65% of Māori aged 15 and over in Australia were employed, as opposed to 54% in New Zealand. Table 4.1 shows the spread of occupations among Māori in Australia in 1986 and 2001.[22]

It can be seen that Māori men had a small rise in the proportion employed in professional and associate professional roles, with a much more significant rise in these roles for Māori women. Overall, the proportion of labourers decreased markedly for both men and women, while the proportion of men working as drivers and machine operators rose by nearly 50%.

TABLE 4.1: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA, BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, 1986 AND 2001

Occupational class	Māori men		Māori women	
	2001	1986	2001	1986
	%	%	%	%
Managers and administrators	*4.1*	*4.7*	*3.1*	*3.5*
Professionals	*5.6*	*4.1*	*10.7*	*4.7*
Para-professionals	*7.4*	*3.4*	*10.6*	*6.0*
Tradespersons and related workers	*20.4*	*23.8*	*3.7*	*5.2*
Clerical and sales[23]	*13.4*	*8.7*	*48.0*	*46.0*
Plant and machine operators and drivers[24]	*29.6*	*20.7*	*6.9*	*7.5*
Labourers and related workers	*19.5*	*30.6*	*17.0*	*25.0*

With respect to the distribution of the population across the states, New South Wales remained the most populous state for Māori in Australia, with 25,906 people (35.5% of the population). This represented a drop from 39.2% in 1986. Queensland was second with 21,643 (29.7%), up significantly from 25% in 1986. Victoria had 10,874 people (14.9%), which was a slight drop in proportionate terms from 1986. Western Australia, by contrast, had leapt – with 10,180 people – from a bit over 10% to nearly 14%. The other states and mainland territories all dropped in relative terms between 1% and 0.3%, even though their populations all basically doubled: South Australia went from 880 to 2124 people, the Northern Territory from 567 to 951, Tasmania from 359 to 706 and the Australian Capital Territory from 282 to 567. None of these figures, of course, have been adjusted upward to account for the lost ancestries in the 2001 census or the incidence of Māori

18 The 2006 New Zealand census showed that the difference of men over women for this age bracket had increased to 15,822 (an increase in both numbers and percentage terms). It remains unclear from these statistics where the missing Māori men aged 20–49 are to be found (see also Bedford et al 2004, p 35). It is possible that many of them are in Australia, and that the Australian Bureau of Statistics' estimate of its census undercounting of this population group is too low. Also see the discussion in chapter 8 on participation in the Australian census.

19 Bedford et al (2004), pp 134–138.

20 Te Puni Kōkiri, Fact Sheet 20.

21 See Lowe (1990), pp 13, 42.

22 This information is taken from Australian Bureau of Statistics data purchased by Te Puni Kōkiri for the fact sheet and Lowe's (1990) table 5.VIII at pp 49–50.

23 The 1986 and 2001 census results are difficult (without further investigation) to compare in this area: the 1986 census results had two categories ('clerks' and 'sales and personal service workers'), while the 2001 census results had three categories ('elementary clerical, sales and service workers', 'intermediate clerical, sales and service workers' and 'advanced clerical and service workers'). The categories must be combined to make the comparison.

24 This is the term used in the 1986 census. The 2001 census results refer to this category as 'intermediate production and transport workers'.

recording their ancestry as 'New Zealander' (or 'Australian') rather than 'Māori' (see chapter 5). They could therefore each be rounded up by 20–30% to accommodate this.

On a more localised basis, it may be of interest to note the Australian postcode areas with the highest numbers of Māori, as well as the highest proportions of Māori in the overall population. From my research on the Australian Bureau of Statistics' website, it appears that the highest number of Māori in any one zone were the 781 in Brisbane postcode 4114 (Woodridge), which equated to 2.6% of the total population of 30,329. The highest proportion seems to have been in Western Australian postcode 6442 (the small mining town of Kambalda West), where Māori were 5.6% of the population (159 out of 2846 people).

TABLE 4.2: AUSTRALIA POSTCODES WITH THE HIGHEST MĀORI POPULATIONS

Postcode	Location	Total population	Māori population	
		No.	No.	%
4114	Woodridge	*30,239*	*781*	*2.6*
2770	Mount Druitt	*57,169*	*592*	*1.0*
4211	Nerang	*39,945*	*534*	*1.3*
2148	Blacktown	*53,382*	*466*	*0.9*
4127	Springwood	*21,647*	*435*	*2.0*
2560	Campbelltown	*69,640*	*435*	*0.6*
2170	Liverpool	*81,787*	*420*	*0.5*
2160	Merrylands	*28,248*	*384*	*1.4*
2207	Bexley	*26,533*	*377*	*1.4*
4118	Regents Park	*25,003*	*366*	*1.5*
2216	Rockdale	*23,209*	*348*	*1.5*
6112	Armadale	*34,566*	*335*	*1.0*
4300	Goodna	*24,783*	*316*	*1.3*
4132	Marsden	*17,341*	*312*	*1.8*
2220	Hurstville	*23,003*	*312*	*1.4*
3175	Dandenong	*45,258*	*311*	*0.7*
6430	Kalgoorlie[25]	*19,421*	*300*	*1.5*

To put these figures in some kind of perspective, we could contrast them with substantial ethnic enclaves such as the 11,381 Vietnamese out of a total population of 48,321 in postcode 2166 (Cabramatta), or the 3437 Italians out of 11,907 people in postcode 4850 (Ingham). For the record, postcode 2026 (Bondi) had 265 Māori out of 30,503 people (equating to 0.9%).[26]

The distribution of Māori in 2001 within statistical divisions across each state and territory and within statistical subdivisions in the five main Australian cities is set out in table A3.1 in appendix 3.

Highly mobile population

Bedford et al's 2004 study focused on the Māori population's movements within New Zealand and within Australia and between the two countries. They used the 2001 New Zealand and Australian census results to determine where Māori had been living five years previously and thus to detect the extent of residential movement. The motivation for their study was that there had 'never been a comprehensive assessment of Maori migration in an Australasian context before' and this was now critical – given the size of the Māori population in Australia – if we wished to 'understand contemporary Maori population dynamics'.[27]

Indeed, Massey University academic Manuhuia Barcham argued in 2005 that successful Polynesian development was now taking place on a transnational level and that we needed to 'think beyond the nation-state as the unit of analysis for development'. According to Barcham, the flow of migration, money, languages, ideas and values was multi-directional, not just one way. 'What we are seeing', he wrote, 'is the creation of "post-national" orders by diasporic communities which are part of a new developmental dynamic'.[28] Likewise, Bedford et al commented:

> New Zealand's Maori population in the twenty-first century will become more 'international' in its distribution and, in common with the situation relating to other 'small' populations, it will be necessary to examine their characteristics in an international as well as a national context. There are significant challenges to the official statistical agencies in this regard, especially in ensuring greater consistency in data bases so that transnational, as well as national populations can be defined and analysed.[29]

25 To this could be added the adjoining postcode 6432 (Boulder, now part of Kalgoorlie city), which had 247 Māori out of 9219 people, at the high proportion of 2.7%.

26 While Māori did once congregate at Bondi, many of them were driven from the area by rising rents in the early 1980s (see 'Bondi Youth Project', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(2), February 1990, p 18). According to Paul Bergin, a 1994 Waverley Municipal Council estimate was that 80–90% of the Māori community had left Bondi over the previous 10–15 years, and a 1984 Australian newspaper carried the headline 'Upwardly mobile Bondi bids its Maoris farewell' (see Bergin 1998, pp 53–54).

27 Bedford et al (2004), p 131.

28 Manuhuia Barcham, 'Post-national development: The case of the "new Polynesian triangle"', *CIGAD Briefing Notes*, 1/2005, Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 1–3.

29 Bedford et al (2004), pp 141–142.

Bedford et al found that the Māori populations in both Australia and New Zealand were highly mobile. In New Zealand, only 38% of Māori were at the same residential address in 1996 and 2001, as opposed to the national average of 50%. In Australia, the mobility was even greater, with only 26% not moving to a new address between 1996 and 2001 (of the 28,744 movers, 25,063 moved within a state and only 3681 between states). Unsurprisingly, there was a big difference between the two countries in terms of the numbers who had been living overseas in 1996: only 1.5% of Māori living in New Zealand but 23% of Māori living in Australia. Of the 8105 Māori in New Zealand in 2001 who had been overseas in 1996, 5342 had been in Australia. It is not known where the 16,767 Māori living in Australia in 2001 who had been overseas in 1996 had come from[30], but it is reasonable to conclude that most had come from New Zealand. While it is not explored by Bedford et al, it seems that the extent of Māori return migration identified by Lowe in the 1980s may have lessened by the 1990s from two people moving from Australia to New Zealand for every three in the other direction to a ratio of 1:3.[31]

University of New South Wales demographer Ian Burnley made the important point in 2001 that there has been a longstanding tradition of New Zealanders migrating across the Tasman, 'which fluctuates very much in relation to economic conditions in Australia'. In many ways, said Burnley, New Zealand migration to Australia resembled internal Australian migration, since there has been open movement of permanent residents between the two countries since the 1920s and a passport has only been required for the trans-Tasman journey since the mid-1980s.[32] The open movement was codified in the Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement signed by both countries in 1973.

Residential patterns in Sydney

Burnley identified an 'occupational status bipolarity' among the New Zealand-born in Sydney, which he said was reflected also in residential patterns: New Zealand-born were overrepresented in both professional-managerial and unskilled manual work categories, and spread around the city's high- and low-income housing areas (with the largest suburban number in lower socio-economic Blacktown in the outer west).[33] Given what we know from the 2001 census about the ongoing Māori concentration in working-class jobs, it seems logical to assume that the bipolarity Burnley identified partly reflected the fact that New Zealanders moving to Australia have been a mixture of lower- and middle-income earning Māori and comparatively better-qualified and thus higher-earning Pākehā.[34]

In 2004, Michael Poulsen, Ron Johnson and James Forrest used 2001 census data to undertake a more detailed study of residential patterns in Sydney for Māori (and other ethnic groups). Poulsen et al strongly refuted recent claims that Sydney was rapidly becoming a city divided along ethnic lines and instead proclaimed it 'an exemplar of ethnic mix'. They grouped neighbourhoods (census collection districts, with an average of 561 people) into six categories, ranging from ghettos (or 'extreme polarised enclaves') to isolated host communities (or 'white citadels'), and were able to show that there were in fact no ghettos in Sydney and that most recently arrived ethnic groups lived in 'mixed minority enclaves', 'associated assimilation-pluralism enclaves' and 'non-isolated host communities'.[35] Māori were shown to live 0.1% in polarised enclaves, 28.3% in mixed enclaves, 6.7% in associated assimilation-pluralism enclaves, 51.1% in non-isolated host communities and 13.9% in white citadels.[36]

30 Ibid, pp 138–139.

31 Lowe's focus was on 1981–1986. This was a period that was preceded, in 1979, by the highest-ever net out-migration of New Zealand citizens (with a corresponding peak for Māori occurring in the year to March 1981, just prior to Lowe's five-year period). His ratio of 2:3 may be an aberration, therefore, because 1983 still represents the only year since 1980 in which there has been a net inflow of permanent and long-term migrants (whether New Zealand citizens or not) from Australia. Likewise, New Zealand had net gains of international Māori migrants in the years ending March 1983 and March 1984. Many would have been those returning from Australia after the exodus of 1979 and 1980. See, for example, www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/tourism-migration-2000/default.htm (accessed 12 June 2006).

32 Ian H Burnley, *The Impact of Immigration on Australia: A demographic approach*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2001, p 286.

33 Ibid, p 288. See also Jock Collins, 'The other Sydney: Cultural and social diversity in western Sydney' in Jock Collins and Scott Poynting (eds), *The Other Sydney: Communities, identities and inequalities in western Sydney*, Common Ground Publishing, Melbourne, 2000, pp 38–39.

34 Indeed, the movement of New Zealanders to Australia was referred to in a 2001 Treasury report into New Zealand's supposed 'brain drain' as being more akin to a 'same drain', that is, representative of New Zealand's population overall. The Treasury report concluded that, in the case of Australia, the effect of the common labour market had been to allow 'the migration of a broad mix of New Zealanders who might otherwise have been screened out of Australia. The current Australian immigration criteria would exclude many of the lower-skilled workers, and also those more-skilled workers who are older or who do not fit within the approved occupational list.' (see Peter Bushnell and Wai Kin Choy, *'Go West, Young Man, Go West!'?*: Treasury working paper 01/07, pp 10–11, www.treasury.govt.nz/workingpapers/2001/twp01-7.pdf – accessed 10 March 2006).

35 Their definition of a ghetto was an area where the dominant group had twice the number of all other ethnic groups combined and 30% of its entire population in the city living in the enclave; a 'polarised enclave' was the same as a ghetto except without the requirement for 30% of the group total in the city; a 'mixed-minority enclave' was an area where minority groups formed a substantial minority but no one ethnic group was more than twice the size of all the other groups; an 'associated assimilation-pluralism enclave' was an area where the host society (whites) were a substantial minority and ethnic minorities were 50–70% of the population; a 'non-isolated host community' was one where the white host society had 50–80% of the population; and a 'white citadel' was over 80% white. Michael Poulsen, Ron Johnson and James Forrest, 'Is Sydney a divided city ethnically?', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 42(3), November 2004, pp 356–357, 364.

36 Ibid, p 374.

To put this into some kind of context, Māori had a much higher likelihood of living in white citadels than almost any other 'coloured' or southern/eastern European ethnic group (some comparative examples in this category are Vietnamese at 0.9%, Lebanese 2.1%, Chinese 3.1%, Indian 4.4%, 'other Oceania' 5.7%, Greek 6.7% and Italian 11%). They were also much less likely to live in mixed enclaves than Vietnamese (75%), Lebanese (51.6%), Chinese (42.5%), 'other Oceania' (40%), Indian (38.7%) and Greek (35.6%). Italians were the same at 28.3%. In other words, Māori residential patterns conformed much more closely to the white 'host' society's than most other ethnic minority groups, probably reflecting their English-speaking background and – like other New Zealanders – their common Australasian customs and outlook, if not quite their shared colonial experience.

Paul Bergin, in refuting the notion that Māori had formed enduring ethnic enclaves in places like Bondi, noted that he had met Māori from over 140 different Sydney suburbs.[37] He noted though that, with respect to the 496 Sydney suburbs ranked in terms of social standing in a 1996 study, few of the Māori he met lived in the top 50 suburbs but many lived in the lowest-ranked 150 suburbs, which were largely in the west and south-west of the city.[38]

2006 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS

In November 2005, the Australian Bureau of Statistics released a paper outlining the nature and content of the 2006 Australian census (which was held on Tuesday 8 August 2006). Among other things, it was explained that an Ancestry Consultative Committee had been formed in June 2003 (evidently just after the release of the Kunz and Costello report), which had recommended that the questions on ancestry and parents' birth country be asked in a similar format to 2001. The upshot of this was that, in 2006, the ancestry question was exactly the same as in 2001, except that 'Australian' was to be moved to the bottom of the list of mark boxes 'to encourage people to consider other ancestries they may have', while Scottish would replace Greek among the seven options provided and there were to be four lines for entering additional ancestries instead of three. Similarly, people were to be able to state only whether their mother or father was born either in Australia or 'overseas'.[39] No allowance was to be made for those wanting to state dual ancestries.

In other words, a decision was made not to take up Kunz and Costello's recommendations, meaning there would be bias once more towards the mark-box options. The paper did not comment on the crucial matter of whether only as many as two or up to four (as Kunz and Costello recommended) ancestries would be coded. I was advised, however, on visiting the Australian Bureau of Statistics in Canberra in April 2006 that, once again, only two ancestries would be coded, which seems incongruous with the increase to four lines for entering additional ancestries.

As it happened, however, a new development was revealed when the census forms were distributed. The form, for the first time, asked people to 'provide up to two ancestries only', while the guide said 'For each person provide a maximum of two of the main ancestries with which they most closely identify, if possible'. What this means is that, at last, census respondents have been given the message to prioritise their ancestry choices to their most important two. While the form and guide did not go so far as to state that only two ancestries would be coded, this development should in large measure remove the incidence of lost ancestries. The continued downside, however, is that, even though the guide asked respondents to 'Consider the origins of the person's parents and grandparents', people had to limit themselves to two ancestries when they may genuinely have felt the need to write more (and were indeed provided with the space to do so). For example, an individual born in New Zealand to one Māori and one Samoan parent, and who had become an Australian citizen, would only have been able to enter two of Māori, Samoan, New Zealander and Australian, despite potentially feeling strongly all four.

The 2006 census results for ancestry will be among those released first by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, with a target date of June 2007.

37 Bergin (2002), p 263, and Bergin (1998), p 45.

38 Bergin (1998), p 450 (note 14).

39 Dennis Trewin, *Information Paper: Census of population and housing: Nature and content: Australia, 2006*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, November 2005, pp 26, 30.

CHAPTER 5: TE PUNI KŌKIRI SURVEY – A NEW POPULATION ESTIMATE AND IWI AFFILIATIONS

Chapter summary

- Over 14% of survey respondents said they would not enter 'Māori' on the Australian census form, thus indicating the need to add at least 10% to the census population figures for Māori in Australia to gain a more accurate total.
- Iwi affiliations of survey respondents largely match the proportions revealed in the New Zealand census, except Waikato is notably overrepresented and Ngāi Tahu is similarly underrepresented.
- The survey suggests that iwi that have already received Treaty settlements in New Zealand have by far the highest proportions of members in Australia registered with their representative organisations.

NEW POPULATION ESTIMATE

Survey question 19 asked respondents the following: 'The Australian census asks a question about ethnic ancestry. You are able to give more than one answer. If you were answering that question, which of these answers would you give?'. The choices provided were 'Māori', 'New Zealander', 'Australian', 'other' and 'don't know'. Obviously, the question was framed with the 2001 Australian census in mind, where respondents were invited to name more than two ancestries (it was not known what form the question would take in the 2006 Australian census when the survey question was devised).

Of the 1189 people who answered question 19, 996 said they would choose Māori, 515 New Zealander, 44 Australian, 31 other and six did not know. This obviously equals more than 1189 responses, since people could select more than one option. The more relevant way of viewing the results is in terms of the combinations of options people chose. These are set out in table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 19 ON ETHNIC ANCESTRY, BY ETHNIC ANCESTRY COMBINATIONS

Ethnic ancestry	No.	%
Māori only	*616*	*51.8*
Māori and New Zealander	*344*	*28.9*
New Zealander only	*149*	*12.5*
Māori and Australian	*19*	*1.6*
Māori, New Zealander and Australian	*15*	*1.3*
Māori and other	*13*	*1.1*
Other only	*11*	*0.9*
Australian only	*9*	*0.8*
Māori, New Zealander and other	*6*	*0.5*
Don't know	*6*	*0.5*
Māori, New Zealander, Australian and other	*1*	*0.1*

As noted in chapter 4, many Māori in Australia will have entered 'New Zealand Māori' in the census and, in a few cases, potentially have been counted as both 'Māori' and 'New Zealander'.

The results of this question can be used, I believe, to give a new population estimate for Māori in Australia. The most significant statistic is the fact that over 12% of respondents said they would only enter 'New Zealander' on the census form. I met some people in this category and do not doubt that they strongly identified as Māori. Indeed, the mere act of taking part in the survey probably shows that these 149 people took their taha Māori seriously. Their explanation for answering the census in this way was that, living in another country, their primary frame of reference was as New Zealanders rather than as Māori. There may have been some who confused the ancestry question with a nationality question, which is a notion the Australian Bureau of Statistics has been actively trying to negate (it was one of the reasons the ancestry question was dropped after 1986). Others I spoke to suggested that such answers might relate to the way Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders in Australia usually become grouped together simply as 'Kiwis' in the minds of Australians, and how this affected the way Māori viewed themselves.

Bedford et al's 2004 estimate of at least 90,000 Māori in 2001 was made without considering this phenomenon. Before deciding what it might mean for an overall population total, however, we need to consider where those answering 'New Zealander' only were born. As noted, the survey was overwhelmingly filled in by people born in New Zealand. However, since just under 70% of those who entered 'Māori' as one of their first two ancestry choices in 2001 were born in New Zealand, and approximately two-thirds of Australian-born Māori were under 15 in 2001, we can assume that, for the most part, the Australian-born had the census filled in for them by the New Zealand-born.

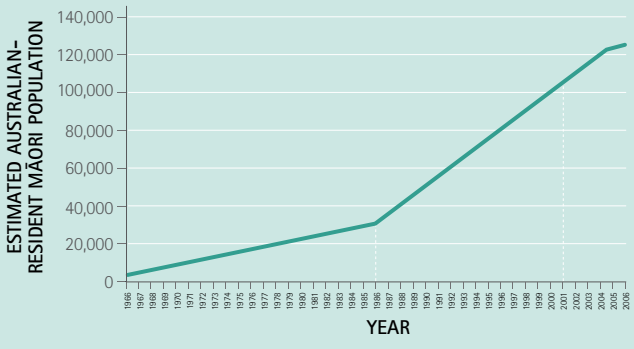
There is, of course, no way of knowing whether parents entered 'New Zealander' for their Australian-born children. Instead, we might consider that, among the Australian-born Māori overall, there may have been a similar tendency to enter 'Australian' only on the census form, despite feeling strongly Māori in other ways[1] (certainly, the nine people who said they would answer 'Australian' only in the census – seven of whom were born in Australia and two of whom were born in New Zealand – felt sufficiently Māori to be bothered answering the survey). I also met a number of Māori who had married Australians who told me they were sure their Australian-born adult children would answer the census simply as 'Australians' and not state 'Māori', despite the census question being on ancestry or descent, rather than ethnic group or nationality.

Then there is the matter of the small number of people who entered 'other' only. Most of these individuals were born in New Zealand and could state their iwi affiliations, so it is a puzzle as to why they would have answered the census in such a way. Once again, however, there can be little doubt about them being as 'Māori' as other survey respondents.

So, what does all this mean for the Māori population total in Australia? My conclusion is that we need to add around 11,000 people (or a bit over 12%) to Bedford et al's 2004 figure for the 2001 Māori population in Australia, bringing it to around 101,000 Māori. If everyone with any Māori descent back to their great-grandparents were counted, as the 2001 census seemed to intend, the total would certainly be even higher. The implication would also seem that Lowe's figure of 27,000 Māori in Australia in 1986 would need to be increased by at least 3000 people.

It is difficult to say how this figure of 101,000 Māori may translate into a total in 2007. We know that out-migration from New Zealand to Australia slowed after the peak in 2000, although it has begun to pick up again since 2003. If we were to plot the curve that begins with 4000 Māori in 1966 and rises to 30,000 in 1986 and 101,000 in 2001, we can see that, even if there were a tapering off in the rate of population growth during the last five years, the Australian-resident Māori population today is likely to be at least 115,000 and possibly as many as 125,000.

FIGURE 5.1: ESTIMATED AUSTRALIAN-RESIDENT MĀORI POPULATION, 1966–2006



1 The administrator of the www.maori-in-oz.com website, Christel Broederlow, went so far as to suggest to the *New Zealand Herald* that there might be up to 200,000 Māori in Australia if all those of Maori descent who called themselves 'Australian' were counted (see 'Making it over there', *Canvas,* 24 March 2007, p 10).

We await, of course, the results of the 2006 Australian census. What effect the instruction to census respondents to limit themselves to two ancestries will have on the Māori population total remains to be seen. On the one hand, it may at last make Māori aware that they need to prioritise their ancestry responses. On the other hand, it might have more of a negative impact on Māori and other New Zealand-born people than other groups, given their high multiple-ancestry response rate (as noted in chapter 4).

IWI AFFILIATIONS

The survey also enables us to comment on the iwi composition of the Australian-resident Māori population, an opportunity that I do not believe has existed before. Whereas iwi organisations in New Zealand will have a certain number of Māori who live in Australia on their rolls, these figures would not be a reliable basis for calculating the iwi breakdown in Australia.[2]

Of the 1205 individuals who completed the survey, 1095 of them gave their iwi affiliations. Some 595 of these respondents named one iwi only, while another 322 named two. Smaller numbers of people named three or more iwi, with one person naming 12 and another naming 16. As a result, there were 1920 iwi affiliations stated.

The 110 others (who entered 'don't know', gave an answer that could not be coded to any iwi or did not provide any answer at all) represented 9.1% of the survey total. This figure is proportionately lower than for the 2006 New Zealand census, where 15.9% of those of Māori descent stated they did not know their iwi and a further 5.2% did not answer or gave an unidentifiable answer to the iwi question. The proportion of those of Māori descent whose affiliations were recorded in the 2006 census was therefore only 78.9% (508,152 out of 643,977), although this did represent an increase from 2001.

The lower proportion stating 'don't know' or not answering the question in the Te Puni Kōkiri survey probably reflects the likelihood that those Māori in Australia interested enough to fill in the survey will know their iwi affiliation. A number learnt of the survey at iwi gatherings or at Māori cultural events presumably attended in large part by those aware of their whakapapa. It is improbable that Māori in Australia are significantly more likely to know their iwi affiliation than Māori in New Zealand.

In comparing relative iwi populations in Australia and New Zealand, it would seem logical to compare the relative share of the total number of people whose affiliations were counted in each country. This is because counting the percentage of total affiliations can be easily skewed by the incidence of a few individuals naming a very large number of iwi. To this extent, I have chosen to compare the relative iwi proportions of the 1095 whose affiliations were stated in the survey and the 508,152 individuals for whom the same applies in the 2006 New Zealand census.

Of course, it is by no means scientific to compare the results of a small, self-selecting survey with a national census. I therefore offer the comparisons that follow in full acknowledgement of the various caveats I have already placed on the quality and reliability of the survey data. If anything, however, the close comparability of the figures for most iwi leads me to conclude that the survey results are not without some reliability. Indeed, given the overwhelming similarity of the results, it is worthwhile focusing on and attempting to explain the differences.

Table 5.2 sets out the totals and percentages for those iwi for whom more than 20 affiliations were recorded in the survey[3], and compares them to results from the 2006 New Zealand census.

2 In any event, while I wrote to 79 tribal authority heads in December 2005 asking them for any information on the number of their registered members in Australia, few responses were received. Iwi heads were also asked to encourage their Australian-resident members to complete the survey. It is not known how many organisations contacted their members, and it may have been very few.

3 There were also 45 'Tainui' and 28 'Te Arawa' responses. While I have counted these among the total affiliations stated, I have not included them in the table, since they are not iwi but waka or iwi confederations.

TABLE 5.2: IWI AFFILIATIONS ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY AND THE 2006 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS

Iwi	Survey		Census	
	No.	%	No.	%
Ngāpuhi	272	24.8	122,211	24.1
Ngāti Porou	172	15.7	71,907	14.2
Waikato	158	14.4	33,429	6.6
Ngāti Kahungunu	140	12.8	59,226[4]	11.7
Tūhoe	91	8.3	32,670	6.4
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	86[5]	7.9	34,674	6.8
Ngāti Maniapoto	83	7.6	33,627	6.6
Ngāti Raukawa	65[6]	5.9	29,418[7]	5.8
Ngāti Awa	52	4.7	15,258	3.0
Ngāi Tahu	45	4.1	149,185	9.7
Ngāiterangi	43	3.9	12,201	2.4
Te Atiawa[8]	40	3.7	22,275	4.4
Te Aupōuri	37	3.4	9,333	1.8
Te Rarawa	35	3.2	14,892	2.9
Te Whānau a Apanui	35	3.2	11,808	2.3
Ngāti Whakaue	33	3.0	7,308	1.4
Ngāti Whātua	30	2.7	14,721	2.9
Ngāti Pikiao	24	2.2	7,386	1.5
Whakatōhea	24	2.2	12,072	2.4
Waitaha (Te Arawa)	21	1.9	732	0.1

Missing from the table is the iwi confederation of Te Arawa, except for its largest constituent parts, Ngāti Pikiao and Ngāti Whakaue, as well as the much smaller Waitaha. As a point of comparison, adding up the 2006 census totals for Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Rangiteaorere, Ngāti Rangitihi, Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Tapuika, Tarāwhai, Tūhourangi, Waitaha (Te Arawa), Uenuku-Kōpako, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whāoa, Te Arawa/Taupō region not further defined (which would certainly have included many Ngāti Tūwharetoa) and Te Arawa (not further defined) gives a total of 51,042 people[9] or 10.0% of 508,152. Doing the same for the survey (including Ngāti Rongomai and, of course, without the category of Te Arawa/Taupō region not further defined), gives a total of 135, or a reasonably similar 12.3% of 1095. Counting only the number of individuals in the survey who named a Te Arawa affiliation gives a total of 109 people and a coincidentally identical proportion of 10.0%.

TABLE 5.3: SELECTED COMPOSITE TRIBAL GROUPINGS ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY AND THE 2001 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS

Iwi grouping	Survey		Census	
	No.	%	No.	%
Te Arawa[10]	109	10.0	51,042	10.0
Taranaki	58[11]	5.3	37,668[12]	7.4
Hauraki	32[13]	2.9	14,565[14]	2.9
Gisborne[15]	28	2.6	12,246	2.4

4 This includes Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Whanganui a Orotu, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua and Ngāti Kahungunu (region unspecified). Census respondents may well have selected more than one of these, thus inflating the size of the iwi somewhat.

5 This includes both those who answered Ngāti Tūwharetoa and those who answered Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty), a distinction made in the electronic version of the survey but not made by the census. One person entered the two affiliations in the survey; this has been counted here as one affiliation.

6 In the electronic survey, respondents were given the choice of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga. In hindsight, the first should have been specified as Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato), as per the census. This figure includes those who gave either answer. The six incidences of individuals giving both affiliations have been counted as one affiliation each, rather than two.

7 This includes Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato), Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū) and Ngāti Raukawa (region unspecified). Again, some census respondents will have selected both Waikato and Horowhenua/Manawatū.

8 These figures (both survey and census) include those who stated they were Te Atiawa (Taranaki), Te Atiawa (Wellington), Te Atiawa (Te Tau Ihu), Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai and Te Atiawa (not further specified). The survey total includes three incidences of two of the affiliations being given, and so these individuals have been counted once each, rather than twice. The incidence of this doubling-up is of course unknown in the census, so the two figures are not strictly comparable. However, while the four groups are well recognised as independent iwi, it is the fact that 4647 people named Te Atiawa but did not specify a region in the 2006 census that means the easiest form of comparison is to give the two overall Te Atiawa totals.

9 Given the close links between the Te Arawa iwi, the incidence of stating multiple iwi affiliations may well have been commonplace, thus making the overall confederation perhaps not quite as large as the 51,042 figure suggests.

10 See the previous paragraph for an explanation of these figures.

11 This includes Ngāti Maru (Taranaki), Ngāti Mutunga, Ngā Rauru, Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Tama, Taranaki and Te Atiawa (Taranaki).

12 This includes Ngāti Maru (Taranaki), Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki), Ngā Rauru, Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Tama (Taranaki), Taranaki, Te Atiawa (Taranaki), Tangāhoe, Pakakohi and Taranaki (Taranaki) Region, not further defined. As with the composite Te Arawa census total, this will include an unknown number of individuals who named more than one Taranaki tribal affiliation.

13 This includes Ngāi Tai (Hauraki), Ngāti Hako, Ngāti Hei, Ngāti Maru (Hauraki), Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora, Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau, Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāti Whanaunga. Other Hauraki iwi were not represented among respondents.

14 This includes Ngāi Tai (Hauraki), Ngāti Hako, Ngāti Hei, Ngāti Maru (Marutuahu), Ngāti Paoa, Patukirikiri, Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora, Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau, Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Tara Tokanui, Ngāti Whanaunga and Hauraki (Coromandel) Region (not further defined).

15 This includes (for both the survey and the census) Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Māhaki.

Table 5.3 sets out the Te Arawa results, as well as those for other composite tribal groupings from Taranaki, Gisborne and Hauraki (all of which do not feature – apart from a combined Te Atiawa total – in table 5.2).

Table 5.2 shows that the iwi proportions revealed by the survey are, on average, slightly higher than those in the 2006 census. This discrepancy is possibly due to the unlimited number of iwi affiliations the survey permitted; the census, by contrast, limited respondents to a maximum of five each. If survey respondents had also been so limited, there would have been 44 fewer total affiliations (1876 instead of 1920, a difference of 2.3%).

Leaving aside the issue of the surprisingly high number of Waitaha (Te Arawa) respondents (which is likely to be an unrepresentative result, given the comparatively low population of this iwi in New Zealand), the survey results are closely aligned to the 2006 census results, although with two notable exceptions. Waikato iwi members answering the survey were a greater proportion by eight percentage points than those in the total New Zealand-resident Māori (descent) population revealed in the 2006 census, while Ngāi Tahu were five and a half percentage points fewer. While the figures are low enough to disallow conclusive comment, there may yet be some significance to them. Economist John Gould studied the socio-economic disparities between iwi revealed in the 1991 and 2001 New Zealand censuses.[16] Measuring income levels, school and university qualifications, employment status, unemployment, degree of home ownership, occupational distribution and degree of European ancestry, Ngāi Tahu easily ranked 'top'[17] of the 16 iwi Gould compared in work published in 1996 for the 1991 census and in 2005 for the 2001 census. By contrast, Waikato ranked last out of 16 in 1991 and second-last (ahead only of Tūhoe) in 2001. Furthermore, unlike almost all other iwi, the number of Waikato tribal members actually dropped between the 2001 and 2006 censuses, from 35,781 to 33,429 people.[18]

What this may reveal is that the socio-economic success of iwi could have some bearing on the numbers who have left New Zealand and moved to Australia. This is despite the fact that, in 2001, former Ngāi Tahu Rūnanga chair Sir Tipene O'Regan commented that, since the early nineteenth century, the voyage across the Tasman 'to trade, to settle and to marry' had 'always been more attractive to us than the journey north'. Therefore, he continued:

> the more recent Ngai Tahu movement into Australia is not new. That more recent movement, though, is quite dramatic. Today, the fastest growing geographic locations on the Ngai Tahu roll are second and third generation Australians. A steady stream of young adults from the south are migrating there and a noticeable group of retiring parents are moving to be closer to their grandchildren.[19]

O'Regan stated that there were 'now some 5000 Ngai Tahu living in Australia from a total census population of some 30,000. The old pattern continues stronger than ever'.[20] There is no reason to doubt that there are large numbers of Ngāi Tahu in Australia, but it may be that there are simply fewer, proportionately, than from other iwi. These issues would obviously benefit from further research.

It would, of course, be possible to ascertain iwi numbers if such a question were included in the Australian census, but since the census does not even distinguish between Aboriginal tribes or clans, this seems a rather unlikely prospect. A Māori organisation chair in one Australian city told me that the then Australian Statistician, Denis Trewin, had given her an in-principle agreement to include the iwi question from the 2011 census, but when I met with another senior Australian Bureau of Statistics official in Canberra, I was told that the Australian Government had so little policy interest in the iwi composition of Māori in Australia that this would never happen. He did accept the possibility, however, that a separate mail-out asking

16 See John Gould, 'Socio-economic differences between Maori iwi', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, June 1996, 105(2), pp 165–183, and 'Socio-economic gaps between Māori and Māori: Outcomes of sixteen iwi, 1991–2001', *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* March 2005, 114(1), pp 29–43.

17 Gould acknowledged that granting the top score to the iwi with the higher degree of European ancestry among its members would seem inappropriate to some Māori. But, as he explained, 'statistics at a higher-than-iwi level of aggregation prove conclusively that European ethnicity is positively, and Maori ethnicity negatively, associated with such measures as per capita income or educational attainment, and it is convenient to have all the rankings associated with high socio-economic level at the same end of the column' (Gould 1996, p 168).

18 This 6.6% loss compares with gains by Ngāpuhi (18.7%), Ngāti Maniapoto (23.8%), Ngāti Tūwharetoa (18.3%), Ngāti Porou (16.5%), Ngāi Tahu (25.5%) and so on. It may reveal that some had previously entered 'Waikato' as a geographic descriptor rather than an iwi name (the numbers of census respondents doing so in 2006 generally dropped significantly), or that many tribal members had transferred their identification to other iwi (which tends not to be the case after an iwi has secured a Treaty settlement). It could also, possibly, reveal the loss of a significant number of iwi members to Australia, although the year-of-arrival results for Waikato respondents followed a similar pattern to the overall survey results.

19 Sir Tipene O'Regan, 'The dimension of kinship' in Arthur Grimes, Lydia Wevers and Ginny Sullivan (eds), *States of Mind: Australia and New Zealand 1901–2001*, Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, 2002, pp 36–37.

20 Ibid, p 37. O'Regan will have meant a total of 35,000 Ngāi Tahu in both countries. Commenting in 2001, he would have been using the 1996 New Zealand census total of 29,133 Ngāi Tahu.

for iwi affiliation (among other matters) could automatically be sent to every individual who stated Māori ancestry, if, of course, the New Zealand Government were willing to pay for such an undertaking.

If the survey has some accuracy – or even if it does not, and we rely on the proportions in the New Zealand census – we can begin to speculate about the actual numbers of each iwi in Australia. If we take the approximate figure of an Australian-resident Māori population of 100,000, and assume that there are similar proportions to New Zealand not knowing their iwi or not, for whatever reason, stating an iwi affiliation, then we can guess that there would be around 79,000 Māori in Australia who would name their iwi. If Ngāpuhi are 25% of these people, then there would be approximately 20,000 Ngāpuhi in Australia. Similarly, there would be 12,500 Ngāti Porou, 11,500 Waikato and 10,000 Ngāti Kahungunu. On the basis of only 4.1% of the total in Australia being Ngāi Tahu, there would be around 3000 from that iwi. Obviously, this is only 60% of the figure stated by Sir Tipene O'Regan in 2001. That said, if we used the percentage of Ngāi Tahu in the 2006 New Zealand census – 9.7% – then there would be 7600 Ngāi Tahu in Australia, which is 50% more than the O'Regan figure and 150% more than what the survey indicates. Without knowing the basis for the O'Regan figure, and bearing in mind that it is now several years out of date, it is perhaps a reasonably accurate read-out after all.

Iwi concentrations in states and towns

It is likely that, through kin connections and chain migration, certain iwi are more concentrated in some states (or indeed some towns) in Australia than in others. The small sample size in the survey, however, makes it relatively meaningless to try and ascertain this, even for the largest iwi. With this in mind, I offer table 5.4 as a talking point only.

As noted in chapter 4, the 2001 census revealed that 35.5% of the Australian Māori population was in New South Wales, 29.7% in Queensland, 14.9% in Victoria, just under 14% in Western Australia and around 6% in the other states and territories. Obviously, the higher proportions in New South Wales in table 5.4 reflect the large numbers of survey respondents who heard about and completed the survey in Sydney, and the comparative difficulty in getting word of the survey to Māori in smaller centres.

Involvement with iwi organisations

Survey question 11 asked respondents 'Are you registered with any iwi organisation(s) such as trust boards, trusts, rūnanga [councils] etc in NZ?'. Of the 1182 who answered this question, 336 (28.6%) said 'yes', although, when asked for the names of any such organisations, 20 of these respondents either left the field blank or wrote that they could not remember. Of the other responses, some were certainly not tribal organisations (for example, the Māori Party, the Māori Trustee, the Māori electoral roll and several Māori community groups in Australia).

TABLE 5.4: GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATIONS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS, BY SELECTED IWI AND STATE

	Ngāpuhi		Ngāti Porou		Waikato		Ngāti Kahungunu		Te Arawa	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
NSW	*114*	*42.1*	*65*	*38.0*	*61*	*38.6*	*57*	*40.7*	*50*	*46.3*
QLD	*55*	*20.3*	*55*	*32.2*	*39*	*24.7*	*39*	*27.9*	*23*	*21.3*
VIC	*56*	*20.7*	*33*	*19.3*	*31*	*19.6*	*20*	*14.3*	*16*	*14.8*
WA	*30*	*11.1*	*11*	*6.4*	*23*	*14.6*	*17*	*12.1*	*14*	*13.0*
Other	*16*	*5.9*	*7*	*4.1*	*4*	*2.5*	*7*	*5.0*	*5*	*4.6*
Total[21]	**271**		**171**		**158**		**140**		**108**	

21 The totals for Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou and Te Arawa in this table are all one short of the total number of respondents for these iwi due to one individual in each case not providing their postcode or other residence details.

TABLE 5.5: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 11 – PLEASE GIVE THE NAME(S) OF [IWI] ORGANISATIONS [WITH WHICH YOU ARE REGISTERED] (MOST FREQUENTLY NAMED ORGANISATIONS)[22]

Organisation	Registrations	Registrations as percentage of affiliations in survey
	No.	%
Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company Ltd[23]	*66*	*41.8*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou	*28*	*16.3*
Te Arawa[24]	*25*	*22.9*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāpuhi	*20*	*7.4*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa	*19*	*36.5*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu	*18*	*40.0*
Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board	*13*	*17.1*[25]
Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc[26]	*12*	*8.6*
Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa	*11*	*31.4*
Te Aupōuri Māori Trust Board	*8*	*21.6*
Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board	*8*	*33.3*
Tūhoe-Waikaremoana Māori Trust Board	*8*	*8.8*
Te Aitanga a Māhaki Trust	*7*	*35.0*
Te Rūnanga-a-Iwi o Ngāti Kahu	*7*	*43.8*
Maniapoto Māori Trust Board	*7*	*8.4*

The impact of Treaty settlements as an impetus for registration can clearly be seen in the figures for the Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Ngāi Tahu tribal bodies. This can be contrasted with the results for iwi that have not yet settled, such as Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Tūhoe and Ngāti Maniapoto.[27] While the percentages for the Ngāti Kahu, Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Whakatōhea tribal bodies were high, the survey totals for these iwi were not large and thus the results may well be unrepresentative.

Survey question 30 asked respondents if they had voted in any iwi body elections while in Australia. Of the 1197 who answered this question, 13.4% said 'yes' and 80.5% said 'no'. For the 16 largest iwi, as we might expect, the pattern was much the same as for the question about registration with tribal bodies, with higher proportions saying 'yes' among those that have settled their Treaty claims (for example, 25.0% of Ngāi Tahu, 23.1% of Ngāti Awa and 21.8% of Waikato) and lower proportions among iwi awaiting settlement (10.1% of Ngāti Porou, 10.4% of Ngāpuhi and 14.5% of Ngāti Maniapoto).

TABLE 5.6: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 30 – WHILE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA HAVE YOU VOTED IN ANY IWI BODY ELECTIONS? (SELECTED IWI)[28]

Selected iwi	Respondents answering 'yes'
	%
Overall result	**13.4**
Ngāi Tahu	*25.0*
Ngāti Awa	*23.1*
Te Arawa	*22.0*
Waikato	*21.8*
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	*20.9*
Ngāti Kahungunu	*18.1*
Ngāti Maniapoto	*14.5*
Ngāpuhi	*10.4*
Ngāti Porou	*10.1*

22 The exact organisations were not always named – sometimes only an iwi name was used. However, in most cases, it was relatively clear which iwi organisation was being referred to.

23 This organisation was usually identified by the name of its predecessor, the Tainui Māori Trust Board.

24 This was usually expressed as the Te Arawa Māori Trust Board, although that organisation has now been succeeded by the Te Arawa Lakes Trust. In this total, I have also included any individuals who instead named Ngā Kaihautu o Te Arawa or Te Kotahitanga o Te Arawa Fisheries Trust (those being, collectively, the main overarching Te Arawa tribal organisations).

25 This excludes respondents who gave their affiliation as Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) but not also as Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

26 This includes one individual who entered Taiwhenua o Heretaunga.

27 A range of other factors may, of course, also be relevant, such as potentially high registrations over time with certain trust boards in New Zealand.

28 Where I have omitted various iwi in this and other tables, it is because their responses were close to the overall survey response.

Survey question 35 asked respondents to agree or not with the statement 'Iwi organisations in NZ give enough support to Māori in Australia' (see also chapter 9). Overall, 10.0% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed and 37.8% disagreed or strongly disagreed. The largest iwi did not significantly diverge from this, although Waikato and Te Arawa tribal members responded rather more negatively than members of Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Awa or Ngāi Tahu, for example.[29] For this question, there was no discernible split between iwi with Treaty settlements and those without, although many people will have answered in terms of their general impression rather than with respect to their own iwi. Selected results are shown in table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 35 (PART 2) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: IWI ORGANISATIONS IN NZ GIVE ENOUGH SUPPORT TO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA (SELECTED IWI)

Selected iwi	Agree or strongly agree	Disagree or strongly disagree
	%	%
Overall result	**10.0**	**37.8**
Te Arawa	*6.4*	*41.3*
Waikato	*7.1*	*45.8*
Ngāpuhi	*11.6*	*38.1*
Ngāi Tahu	*13.3*	*35.6*
Ngāti Awa	*13.5*	*38.5*

Importance of iwi politics to Māori in Australia

Question 32 asked respondents how much importance Māori in Australia place on iwi politics (also see chapter 17). Overall, 6.3% of respondents said 'more' or 'much more' than Māori in New Zealand, while 48.8% said 'less' or 'much less'. Once again, of course, respondents were not asked to answer in terms of their own iwi, so their responses may have been more general in nature. Table 5.8 sets out some of the more notable iwi results.

It is not immediately apparent why the response of members of Ngāti Maniapoto should be so different to that of, say, Ngāpuhi.

TABLE 5.8: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 – COMPARED TO MĀORI IN NZ, HOW MUCH IMPORTANCE DO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA GIVE TO IWI (TRIBAL) POLITICS? (SELECTED RESULTS)

Selected iwi	More or much more	Less or much less
	%	%
Overall result	**6.3**	**48.8**
Te Rarawa	*0.0*	*51.4*
Ngāpuhi	*4.9*	*52.2*
Waikato	*6.4*	*54.1*
Ngāti Awa	*9.6*	*53.8*
Ngāti Maniapoto	*9.6*	*38.5*

TABLE 5.9: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 44 (PART 2) – IMPORTANCE OF REGULAR CONTACT WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF MY IWI IN AUSTRALIA (SELECTED IWI)

Selected iwi	Not at all important to me	Important or very important to me
	%	%
Overall result	**14.6**	**75.2**
Ngāti Raukawa	*7.8*	*85.9*
Waikato	*9.1*	*87.7*
Ngāiterangi	*9.5*	*85.7*
Ngāti Maniapoto	*14.6*	*76.8*
Te Arawa	*14.7*	*78.9*
Ngāpuhi	*16.7*	*71.0*
Ngāti Kahungunu	*17.6*	*73.5*
Ngāti Porou	*18.7*	*71.3*
Ngāi Tahu	*20.0*	*64.4*

Contact with other iwi members

Survey question 44 asked respondents about the importance of meeting members of their own iwi in Australia. Here, there were some marked differences between iwi, which presumably reflect both the levels of connectedness generally

29 Among certain iwi, there were also noteworthy proportions in agreement or disagreement but not in both. For example, only 4.7% of Ngāti Raukawa agreed or strongly agreed, but those in disagreement were close to the average. Similarly, 50% of Ngāiterangi and 48.6% of Te Whānau a Apanui disagreed or strongly disagreed, but reasonable numbers of these iwi also agreed. Other options available to respondents were 'neither agree nor disagree' and 'don't know'.

within certain iwi as well as the individual motives that led iwi members to move across the Tasman (for example, joining kin or pursuing more individual goals).

Finally, survey question 45 asked respondents about the regularity of their meetings with other members of their own iwi.

TABLE 5.10: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 45 (PART 2) – HOW OFTEN DO I MEET UP WITH OTHER MEMBER(S) OF MY IWI IN AUSTRALIA (SELECTED IWI)[30]

Selected iwi	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often than once a month
	%	%	%
Overall result	**24.1**	**25.1**	**31.0**
Tūhoe	*35.6*	*27.6*	*18.4*
Ngāiterangi	*34.1*	*39.0*	*17.1*
Waikato	*27.6*	*35.9*	*23.7*
Ngāti Kahungunu	*28.9*	*22.2*	*30.4*
Ngāpuhi	*24.3*	*25.0*	*30.2*
Ngāti Porou	*24.6*	*24.0*	*32.7*
Te Arawa	*26.2*	*21.5*	*35.5*
Te Whānau a Apanui	*20.0*	*20.0*	*45.7*
Ngāti Maniapoto	*13.6*	*27.2*	*43.2*

Obviously, more regular contact could be expected between members of larger iwi, and many members of the smaller iwi will presumably have answered 'less often than once a month'. Te Arawa respondents, for their part, may have answered in terms of the individual iwi within the Te Arawa confederation rather than all of Te Arawa itself. The results doubtless also reflect the respective levels of iwi organisation in Australia, as well as the individual respondent's relative isolation from other iwi members.

30 The other option for this question, which I have not included in the table, was 'don't know/no opinion/not applicable'.

CHAPTER 6: REASONS FOR MOVING TO AUSTRALIA

Chapter summary

- Māori migration to Australia has largely followed the pattern of overall New Zealand migration, with the extent of net out-migration corresponding to the relative performance of the New Zealand and Australian economies.
- Māori are drawn to Australia by pull factors such as economic opportunities, the 'lifestyle' and the desire to join whānau already there.
- They also leave New Zealand because of negative experiences, such as: gangs, drugs and crime; domestic violence and abuse; negative stereotyping and news stories about Māori; and negative attitudes towards success within people's own whānau.

> People set out for work early, they came home late. They worked seven days a week, worked under lights, drove themselves to exhaustion. They did what they could, but it was never enough. This was why they crossed the Tasman. They wanted more value for work done. They wanted to take a look. They wanted to give another country a try. They wanted to see what the fuss was about. They wanted something better for their children.[1]

This quotation from Roger McDonald's *Shearers' Motel*, a novel about Māori shearers in Australia, reflects the general view that most Māori migrate to Australia for higher wages. While this chapter does not seek to overturn such a notion, it nevertheless attempts to show that those interested in the reasons Māori leave New Zealand must consider a much broader range of push and pull factors (that is, factors that make Australia an attractive place to Māori and factors that make New Zealand an unattractive place).

YEAR SURVEY RESPONDENTS ARRIVED IN AUSTRALIA

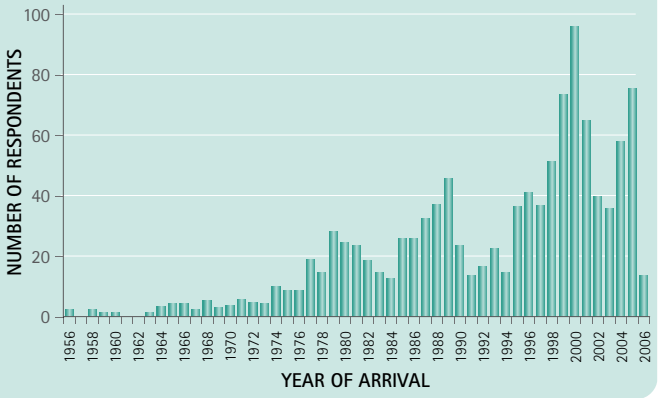
The year Māori migrants arrived in Australia – to the extent it is known – seems to confirm that many Māori have left New Zealand for economic reasons. This is because it appears to correspond generally to the overall New Zealand pattern of movement to Australia, which in turn relates to the peaks and troughs in the performance of both the Australian and New Zealand economies. Indeed, the general New Zealand trend has been a sizeable amount of out-migration when the Australian economy has been performing strongly and the New Zealand economy has not, and lesser out-migration when the New Zealand economy has been performing well.

Figure 6.1 shows the years that survey respondents arrived in Australia.[2]

1 McDonald (2001), p 136.

2 While an oversight in the survey design meant that respondents were not asked whether they arrived in Australia from New Zealand or not, it is likely that the vast majority of people would have.

FIGURE 6.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 7 – WHAT YEAR DID YOU ARRIVE TO LIVE IN AUSTRALIA? (NON-AUSTRALIAN BORN)



Aside from this survey, there has been little data collected on Māori migration to Australia in the period after 1986. As noted in chapter 3, Jeremy Lowe recorded the rate of net Māori international migration for the period up to 1986, but working beyond this date would have been much more problematic given that the ethnic origin question on New Zealand arrival and departure cards was dropped in that year (it today requires a combination of data on duration of residence in Australia and place of residence five years previously in both the New Zealand and Australian censuses, as noted in chapter 3). Where the year of arrival figures in the survey offer some degree of assistance, therefore, is for the period after 1986.[3]

Some things are worth noting first about the pre-1986 period. The survey response dip in 1984 matches the net Māori migration gains made by New Zealand in the years ending March 1983 and March 1984. Likewise, the higher number arriving in 1979 and 1980 reflects a period of sizeable net Māori out-migration from New Zealand in the years ending March 1980, 1981 and 1982. The year ending March 1979 was actually one of net Māori migration gain by New Zealand, but of course the bulk of that calendar year – which is what survey respondents were asked to state – fell in the migration year ending March 1980. The lower figure for 1978 is thus in keeping with the net gain by New Zealand of Māori in the year ending March 1979.[4]

In other words, while the survey figures are low, they largely match known trends. A degree of divergence is instead to be found when we compare the rate of Māori out-migration with that for New Zealand citizens overall. Permanent and long-term departures of New Zealand citizens reached nearly 60,000 in the year ended March 1979 (and rose nearly as high again in the year ended March 1989, and then peaked at 63,500 in the year ended March 2001[5]) with a correspondingly high net out-migration that year. But more Māori moved back to New Zealand in 1978/79 than left, and the overall number of Māori leaving also dropped. Māori out-migration (both in numbers leaving and net loss to New Zealand) seems to have peaked two years later, in the year ended March 1981. I am unaware of the reasons why Māori were slower to join the late 1970s exodus than other New Zealanders. The dramatic increase in the number of Māori emigrating in the year to March 1986, however, matches the leap in net New Zealand-citizen out-migration at that time.[6]

The post-1986 survey figures generally reflect the known international migration trends of New Zealand citizens, as well as the figures specifically for migration to Australia: an increasing flow out of New Zealand in the late 1980s, with a peak in the year ending March 1989; a sharp and significant decrease in net outflow in the year to March 1991; a steady increase of outward flows in the 1990s, with a peak in the year to March 2001; sharply declining net outflows after world events such as the attacks of 11 September 2001 and the start of the Iraq war in 2003 and during a period in which the New Zealand economy was performing strongly; and then steadily increasing net outflows in 2004 and 2005.[7] Apart from generally conforming with the trends, however, the survey sample is too small to withstand more analysis, and further research would be beneficial on rates of Māori migration to Australia since 1986. It is also most unlikely that much can be read into the low number of Māori arriving in Australia in 2006 who completed the survey: many in this category may have felt too new to Australia to be answering a survey on their lives as Māori across the Tasman.

3 The figures depict trends rather than relative numbers of Māori entering Australia, of course. To get a sense of relative numbers, one would have to factor in such matters as subsequent rates of return migration as well as the expected survivorship rates of people of varying ages in any given year (which would, in turn, require establishing the age range of those Māori who left New Zealand for Australia at the time).

4 It must be remembered that the official definition of 'Māori' was restricted to those who were at least 'half' Māori until the start of the 1982/83 year (see Lowe 1990, pp 25, 26).

5 See Jacqueline Lidgard and Christopher Gilson, 'Return migration of New Zealanders: Shuttle and circular migrants', *New Zealand Population Review*, 28(1), 2002, pp 103–104.

6 See Lowe (1990), p 26, and Bushnell and Choy (2001), p 4.

7 See Bushnell and Choy (2001), p 4; Hayden Glass and Wai Kin Choy, *Brain Drain or Brain Exchange?*, Treasury Working Paper 01/22, p 23, The Treasury, Wellington, 2001, www.treasury.govt.nz/workingpapers/2001/twp01-22.pdf (accessed 8 February 2006); Statistics New Zealand, *Hot Off The Press*, 21 February 2006, www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/7cf46ae26dcb6800cc256a62000a2248/4c2567ef00247c6acc25711b000c90a9?OpenDocument (accessed 10 March 2006); and Statistics New Zealand, 'Tourism & Migration 2000', www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/tourism-migration-2000/default.htm (accessed 12 June 2006).

REASONS GIVEN IN SURVEY FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND

Survey question 8 asked respondents to 'show the reasons that you came to Australia to live. If you came to Australia with family/whānau, tick the reasons your family/whānau came'. Of the 1149 survey respondents not born in Australia (and remembering that they could choose more than one option), 681 (59.3%) said they had come to Australia 'for a better chance to get work or better job(s)', 396 (34.5%) said they had come 'to join family/whānau who were already here', 689 (60.0%) said they had come 'for a new start in life' and 266 (23.2%) cited other reasons, such as:

- staying on when only having intended to visit Australia briefly on holiday (35 instances)
- taking advantage of greater opportunities for their children, including better government support for families (23)
- entering a relationship with or marrying an Australian (18)
- searching for travel or adventure (16)
- enjoying the better Australian lifestyle, including multiculturalism, the faster pace, more things to do (12)
- undertaking a working holiday (10)
- enjoying the better weather and climate, including for health reasons (8)
- taking up better educational opportunities for themselves (7)
- transferring jobs from New Zealand, including a partner's transfer (7)
- playing sports or receiving better sports coaching (6)
- serving in missions or attending Bible school, or other religious reasons (5)
- escaping Māori or whānau politics, 'staunch' Māori attitudes or Māori racism directed at fair-skinned Māori (4)
- other reasons (34) – for example, interacting with Aborigines; retiring; teaching te reo Māori; joining friends; 'escap[ing] suppression' or wanting to be treated as an equal; embarking on a 'life venture' or 'find[ing] own identity' (none of these reasons was stated more than twice).

In addition, a number of people gave 'other' reasons that more or less fell within the three options provided in the survey question. For example:

- 37 respondents stated work-related reasons (30 of whom had already selected 'for a better chance to get work or better job(s)')
- 21 respondents mentioned higher wages or lower taxes in Australia or the greater ability to make or save money, as well as a range of other factors such as employment or business opportunities and a better work–life balance
- another eight people gave reasons that essentially equated to coming to join whānau (and five had already selected that option)
- 13 gave 'new start' reasons that included escaping a rut, a bad marriage or rarururaru (trouble) with whānau, or needing to change their lifestyle, environment or surroundings (seven of these 13 respondents selected the 'new start' option).

Despite the question asking the reasons individuals' families came if they did not move by themselves, 34 people gave their reason for moving simply as coming with their parents.[8]

It is probably unsurprising that the 'new start' option was the most popular choice. In fact, in some ways, it would have been understandable if this had been chosen by every respondent not born in Australia, since a move to Australia must by definition be something of a new start.

Paul Bergin wrote that he had asked a sample of 250 Māori in Australia why they had moved from New Zealand. Although Bergin grouped his themes a little differently, it is easy to see similarities with the results of the Te Puni Kōkiri survey. While he did not present his results in tabular form, he did provide some categories and percentages, which I summarise in table 6.1.[9]

TABLE 6.1: REASONS FOR MOVING TO AUSTRALIA (FROM BERGIN 1998)

Reason for moving	%
Work-related motives	*50.4*
Family reasons (including getting away from whānau)	*25.0*
Travel/adventure/working holiday	*20.0*
Lifestyle factors	*12.0*
Join family (for example, see mokopuna)	*9.0*
Have a break from Māori politics, gangs, 'having to be Māori', et cetera	*7.0*
Fresh start in life after family problems	*5.0*
Develop as an individual	*5.0*
Marital reasons (for example, escape a bad marriage, avoid child maintenance payments, follow Australian spouse)	*5.0*

8 The advantage of this was that it allowed the identification of some 'second-generation' migrants where the 10-year age bands did not. See chapter 8.

9 See Bergin (1998), pp 341–347. Note: Bergin's respondents were able to give more than one reason.

COMPARING RESULTS FROM TE PUNI KŌKIRI SURVEY AND KEA SURVEY

The survey results can be compared with those of an online survey run in 2006 by Kea (formerly the Kiwi Expat Association).[10] Kea's expatriate target community was quite different from those targeted by the Te Puni Kōkiri survey. As an organisation, Kea's purpose is to connect New Zealand 'professionals' around the world so that New Zealand can 'better harness the immense potential of its large expatriate community'. Of the 18,002 people who completed the 2006 Kea survey, 87% identified as 'NZ European' and only 8% as Māori.

It is worth setting out further differences to put the results into some kind of context. Unlike the general spread of ages among the Te Puni Kōkiri survey respondents, 51.5% of Kea's sample was aged 25–34. Nearly 32% reported earning more than NZ$100,000 per year (which – leaving aside the cost of living in cities like London – would put them in the top 3% of earners in New Zealand). Despite the New Zealand-born in Australia equating to approximately 10% of the current New Zealand population – with only 1.5% in the United Kingdom, 0.5% in Canada and the United States and 1.5% elsewhere in the world[11] – only 26.5% of Kea's respondents lived in Australia, while 41.4% lived in the United Kingdom, 14.1% in North America and 7.3% in Europe.

The Kea survey also had a question about reasons for leaving New Zealand. It had a more detailed list of options for its respondents to choose from, and allowed them to select one only. Bearing these differences in mind, only tentative comparison between the two surveys is possible on this matter. In response to Kea's question 'Which of these best describes your main reason for living outside NZ?', 37% answered 'General job/economic/income prospects overseas'. A further 2.2% reported that their New Zealand employer had asked or required them to work overseas, while 6.5% said they had received a specific job offer from an overseas employer. When these answers are combined, it shows that 45.7% of Kea respondents left for work-related reasons, as opposed to approximately 60% of Māori moving to Australia.

Given that Kea respondents could choose only one option, however, it is not unreasonable to infer that the actual number in that survey leaving New Zealand for employment opportunities was similar to the Māori in Australia tally. In other words, Māori may not be leaving New Zealand for work in much greater numbers than any other section of the population (although their economic circumstances and the kind of work they are leaving to secure may well be rather different). Indeed, survey responses as well as interviews with numerous Māori around Australia show, if anything, that Māori motivations for leaving New Zealand for Australia are much more complex than a case of simple economics. I suspect, for example, that a multitude of reasons relating to negative experiences in New Zealand of one kind or another may have been hidden within the catch-all 'new start' option in the Te Puni Kōkiri survey (or that they may have been secondary to work or family reasons but still important factors in the decision to leave).

The divergence between the two surveys is perhaps better illustrated by the 30.6% of Kea respondents who chose 'Enhanced lifestyle/culture/excitement overseas'. While the Te Puni Kōkiri survey had no such option, relatively few people wrote something equating to this in the 'other' category, even if they noted somewhere that this was exactly what they had discovered in Australia. This is backed up by other research. The result of a 2001 study of returning New Zealand migrants was that, while just over half returning from Australia said that 'travel' had been their primary motive for going overseas, the equivalent figure for those returning from all other countries was 84%.[12]

It is harder to compare the two surveys with regard to respondents leaving New Zealand to reunite with family. Nearly 17% of Kea's respondents said they had left because of 'Family/marital connections overseas', which may well have been closer to the Te Puni Kōkiri survey count of those coming to join whānau already in Australia had respondents in the latter survey been able to choose one option only. This assumes, of course – possibly incorrectly – that those 247 who chose both job prospects and joining whānau would have been more likely to choose the former if they could only select one answer (182 of these respondents also chose 'new start' or 'new start' and 'other', which makes the issue of their primary motivation even less clear).

The reason for moving to Australia was probably my main topic of discussion with Māori I met around the country. While each individual's story is unique, I feel that there were two main categories of reasons:

10 See 'Every one counts', Kea, www.keanewzealand.com/news/eoc-summary.html (accessed 13 June 2006).

11 Bushnell and Choy (2001), p 7.

12 Lidgard and Gilson (2002), p 117.

- pull factors, such as economic or career opportunities; lifestyle factors, including the weather, the shopping and the cultural diversity; and family reunions
- push factors, such as getting away from negative experiences in New Zealand.

For many people, of course, it was a combination of factors.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Many Māori I spoke to were bemused when I said Te Puni Kōkiri was interested in the reasons they had moved to Australia. A man in Sydney replied that it was 'not rocket science', and a man in Perth said, simply, that all the Māori in Western Australia were 'just here to make money'. Certainly, I heard countless stories of people moving to better-paid employment or having more work options in front of them. A typical example is a woman in Geraldton who said that she had needed to work three jobs in Wellington to raise her children, but now she got by comfortably with only one. Another example is a woman in Melbourne who said she had been one of 12 siblings in Murupara, and the only one to have made the break. The rest of her whānau were struggling at home, but in Melbourne she felt there was no excuse not to get ahead. The local paper, for example, was 'always crammed with jobs'.

In keeping with the overwhelming prevalence of a search for higher wages, another Melbourne woman thought it was 'the marginalised Māori' in New Zealand who had moved to Australia – 'they come for work, do it tough, and take what they can get like no deposit home loans'. Without doubt, better economic conditions in Australia are a significant pull factor for many moving across the Tasman. I met a number of people, for example, whose move had been prompted by redundancy at home: a man in Melbourne had been made redundant when Whakatū Freezing Works closed in 1986; another in Sydney had been laid off when the Tomoana works closed in 1994; a man in Perth had been laid off as a train driver in 1991; and a man in Wollongong had lost his job from Todd Motors in Porirua in 1983. As the *New Zealand Herald* put it in March 2006, 'in the 15 years from 1984–99 … we closed a third of our industry and laid off a fifth of all Maori workers to become more efficient'.[13]

Related to this, several people (in addition to the Māori trade unionists I spoke to in Sydney) said that they had wanted to get away from matters such as New Zealand's Employment Contracts Act or the introduction of the Goods and Services Tax (GST). One survey respondent said a great benefit of living in Australia was the comparatively stronger union movement.

I discuss Māori employment in more depth in chapter 7.

LIFESTYLE FACTORS

Very few people cited the weather as a driving motivation for leaving New Zealand, but most people reflected that the Australian climate was a bonus. So well adapted have Māori become in a place like Brisbane that some genuinely worry about coping with the New Zealand cold on return visits (although a lot of Queensland Māori I met said their ideal lifestyle would be to spend winter in Australia and escape the oppressively hot Australian summers in New Zealand). Some Māori, though, said they had moved to Australia because the warmer climate was beneficial for health reasons. As one woman in Brisbane put it in her survey response:

> my whanau made the big move from Auckland to Brisbane in an attempt to ease the suffering of my baby at that time. He was an acute asthmatic but is a strong healthy young man now and I am grateful to the country for that.

Colder Australian climates also have their attractions: a woman in Tasmania, for example, told me that many Māori were attracted there because it was 'just like home': clean, bush-clad and nowhere was far from the sea. She described it as 'a world away from the Sydney ratrace'. Similarly, Māori on the Central Coast said that the great attraction of their area was that the sea or lakes were all around them, which, coupled with the easier pace of life there, was luring many Māori up from Sydney.

A lot of Māori also said they revelled in the multiculturalism and diversity of big Australian cities like Sydney and Melbourne. As a Sydney woman explained in her survey response, 'The multiculturalism here has … benefited ourselves and the kids, we never had the opportunity to interact with so many nationalities back home'. Another woman in Sydney wrote 'Because there are so many cultures living in Sydney, you get a better understanding of what else is out there in the world & it makes you appreciate & be proud of who you are'.

Other people cited factors such as better shopping and a greater range of entertainment and leisure pursuits. A Sydney survey respondent wrote that the latter aspects of the

13 'Why settlers just won't settle down', *New Zealand Herald*, 23 March 2006.

Australian lifestyle had led to whānau spending better quality time together:

> Australia has been good to me, it provided me with not only a job and good housing but a lifestyle I couldn't see myself achieving in NZ within the next 5 years as easily as I obtained it here. Also with that change came a different sort of social life / socialising, whether it was going out to functions or just to dinner at a local restaurant or RSL. That's one really good thing I think the lifestyle here in Oz has taught our people and that is how to socialise in a lot more ways than just going out to get pissed. They have more affordable restaurants you can take your family to. They have more affordable shows or parks where you can go as a family. I guess it allows you to do for your whanau what wealthy people back home can do. To me there is a more definite line between the haves and have nots where as here in Australia it's a little bit more subtle.

FAMILY REUNIONS

The most common example of Māori moving to Australia principally to join whānau seems to be grandparents coming to be with their mokopuna and their children, who had moved across the Tasman as adults in search of work and started families of their own. I heard many cases of this and met some people in this category. In some cases, the grandparents had come for a visit but ended up staying. The existence of Australian-born mokopuna is certainly also a key factor in many Māori staying on in Australia where otherwise they might have chosen to return to New Zealand. For example, a survey respondent in Perth wrote 'we would love to return to NZ to live [but] the fact … that our mokos have an Aust. dad will mean that we will remain here so as not to lose contact with them'. Another in Sydney wrote 'Having grandchildren who were born here in australia has a great impact on the decision to move back to nz, because the chances of them & their parents moving back to nz is very remote, therefore why would we move back to nz & be separated from immediate whanau & mokos'.

In many cases, of course, young adult children follow their parents or other members of their family to Australia. This kind of 'chain migration' is partly the product of economic factors and partly due to the desire to keep families together. A woman in Ipswich near Brisbane told me that first her aunt had come, then she had, then her brother, then her sister, and then her parents because all their mokopuna were by then in Australia. The whānau of a man I met in Newcastle was a good example of a family moving en masse, with all but one of his 11 surviving brothers and sisters now living in Australia. By contrast, an elderly man in Sydney said he was the only one of 13 children in his family to move to Australia: 'The others all thought I was crazy, but now some of my whānau think I was the only one who had any sense', he told me. While his siblings have stayed in New Zealand, a lot of his nieces and nephews have moved to Australia.

Most whānau actively help family members migrate to Australia. Survey question 26 asked respondents the ways in which whānau helped when they first arrived in the country. Only 20% of those not born in Australia said that whānau did not help at all when they first arrived. By contrast, 33.1% said whānau helped with the move, 40.5% said whānau helped with finding a job and 52.1% reported that whānau helped 'in other ways'.

What Australian-resident Māori usually offer their relations is a place to stay while they establish themselves across the Tasman. A couple in Melbourne told me that an open-door policy applied to any whānau in New Zealand thinking of moving to Australia: 'We call ourselves "the lighthouse"', they said. They told me that, at present, they had 12 people in the house – comprising their own family and a recently arrived family of relations – and that that was entirely normal. A man in Cairns said his brother had come and stayed for six weeks until he had established himself, and then he moved into his own place and brought the rest of his family over from New Zealand. Likewise, a man in Ararat told me:

> Any whānau are welcome to come and stay, with no ground rules. We encourage them to come. They struggle back home and we tell them that it'll be better for their family if they come over.

GETTING AWAY FROM NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES OR PRESSURES IN NEW ZEALAND

Many people I spoke to felt that the economic enticements of Australia needed no elaboration. What they wanted to talk about were the things about New Zealand that drove them away. These negative experiences fell into roughly four areas: gangs, drugs and crime; domestic issues, such as violence and sexual abuse; a whānau environment that discouraged success; and perceived prejudice towards Māori.

Gangs, drugs and crime

A big issue for people was gangs in New Zealand. Many Māori reported that they had come to Australia to get out of that lifestyle themselves, or to stop their children joining gangs, or simply because they felt the gangs were too much of a blight

on Māori society.[14] As one survey respondent in Queensland put it, 'many Maori here have hangups, often running away from their troubled past – I am no exception – domestic violence and Māori gang affiliations'.

Closely related to the gangs was the issue of drug abuse, particularly the methamphetamine ('P') 'epidemic' among Māori communities. One woman in a group I met in Melbourne told me:

> We all came to get away from the drugged-up, boozed-up lifestyle in south Auckland. We all escaped drugs and gangs – we're all the same. Back home everyone's taking P, there's domestic violence, you name it. There's nothing at home – everyone's drugged and stoned. If you can't sort yourself out in Australia you never will.

A 50-year-old man in north Queensland painted a similar picture of his old school friends still being in gangs and opening their first beer at eight in the morning. A woman also in north Queensland had lost a brother in New Zealand to a P-related suicide. A Māori police officer in Brisbane said that numbers of young Māori in New Zealand were being sent away to secondary school in Australia in an effort to keep them safe from P.

This theme of coming to Australia to 'sort yourself out' was repeated by quite a few people. A man at a festival in Sydney told me of his gang past and said he had come to 'get away from my bad habits'. I also met Māori community workers and church leaders who said they knew many Māori who had come with a strong determination to break their 'Ōtara [or Māngere] cycle'. Some, they said, had indeed been able to change their lives for the better.

Domestic issues

Not unrelated to the foregoing reasons for leaving New Zealand was the issue of whānau violence or sexual abuse. A woman in Queensland told me she had made the decision to raise her children in Australia because of the levels of violence and abuse within her own whānau. As she put it, 'While I love them, I decided that I just couldn't trust my own relations'.[15] In a similar vein, another told me that her whānau was typical: 'There was violence and molestation from the uncles and the "cuzzie bros", but also there was love and laughter'.

Another woman in Queensland told me that she had taken her three children and left the country to get away from a violent husband.

I also met several grandmothers who had become concerned about the home life of some of their mokopuna in New Zealand, being raised by daughters who had 'gone off the rails on drugs and alcohol' and got into bad relationships. For example, in Melbourne, I met a couple who were raising five mokopuna aged under 10 they had taken from a daughter, with the daughter herself unable to escape that lifestyle to join them in Australia because of her criminal record. A woman in Brisbane had gone back to New Zealand and taken three mokopuna from her daughter and now had them attending school for the first time in nearly a year. A couple in Townsville had also taken a grandchild away from a daughter because of her 'shocking' home life.

In *Shearers' Motel*, Roger McDonald writes of a clean-living shearer named Rocco:

> Rocco feared symptoms of the life he had left behind him in New Zealand. He hated the alcoholism, the unemployment, the crowded families, the broken marriages, the incest, the destructive repetitive patterns. There had to be another way. Rocco knew what was real.[16]

Whānau environment

Aside from an unsafe domestic environment in New Zealand, a number of people told me they had come to escape their whānau for other reasons. It is, of course, common for people to want to get away from their families: a woman in Brisbane observed to me that 'families can be suffocating at times'. A survey respondent in Sydney went further:

> Coming away from the 'whanau/community' environment after years of being in it, of living it, breathing it, eating it, without even realising it (you know the story marae, whanau hui [meetings], whanau politics, continuously fighting each other but still whanau in the end) has in a way been a good thing for us (myself, husband and 2 daughters aged 21 and 23). It feels like we are able to live our lives without being answerable or having to think is this good for the rest of the whanau.

14 There is some evidence that New Zealand gangs have tried to establish themselves in Australia. A survey respondent, for example, wrote that he wanted to set up a Black Power chapter in Perth. A number of Māori I spoke to said, though, that Australian bikie gangs would never allow this to occur. In 1989, the *Kiwi Cooee* reported that members of the Australian Gypsy Jokers, God's Garbage and Coffin Cheaters gangs had been charged with shooting and bombing attacks on Mongrel Mob members in an apparent 'unholy alliance to warn off their Kiwi counterparts' ('NZ bikies under siege', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(12), December 1989, p 1).

15 A survey respondent in Melbourne also said she would never live in New Zealand again after her son was sexually molested on a return visit.

16 McDonald (2001), p 279.

Likewise, another survey respondent said her reason for leaving New Zealand for Australia was to 'get away from tikanga Maori [Māori custom] and whanau dynamics or pressures associated with being whanau'. Yet another wrote that many Māori leave to get away from 'the rigid beliefs of our elders and the endless hours of mahi [work] on our maraes'.

But a number of people put their finger on something more than this. A couple starting their own business in Canberra told me that the environment was not right for this to happen in New Zealand, with whānau telling them they were 'crazy' and that it would fail. They felt their relations did not want them to succeed, because those who do so make those who continue to live in a rut feel inadequate. They also said they were always having to deal with 'whānau with their hands out' if they showed signs of getting ahead. A woman in Cairns also said that she had felt she had to get away from a whānau environment that stopped people from getting ahead through a negative attitude towards success. On a slightly different tack, a survey respondent in Western Australia wrote:

> Moving to Australia for myself and my Husband I felt that we needed to break away from the influences from whanau telling us how to be 'Maori'. I myself was considered a plastic Maori because I had different beliefs for example, we both had jobs no matter what they were, we were able to support ourselves, through working we were able to afford clothes, cars, our own home if we decided to stay in NZ. My husband always helped/supported his whanau but to me he was being used. Because of what he had, his whanau depended on him a lot, it just made me angry, I would say no! they should get off the butts and do something for themselves. My poor husband, having to be put in a position like that wasn't at all good for either of us.

Māori commentator and author Alan Duff expressed his views on the subject in 1993:

> The concepts of anti-individualism, of whakama [shame] being a desirable quality, of tribal thinking, of all-embracing whanau obligations before the personal, of the grand (and false) concept of Maori all-in-together, are really millstones around the necks of every potential individual Maori. If you don't believe me, go to Australia and see the same brown faces beaming broadly at their individual success. And, most of all, their self discovery.[17]

In chapter 17, I discuss in more detail the perception among many Māori in Australia that they look at success and personal advancement differently from their whānau in New Zealand.

Perceived prejudice towards Māori

Another oft-cited reason for leaving New Zealand was what people described as racism and discrimination that kept Māori 'in their place' in New Zealand. This was usually contrasted with a view of Australia as a place where people are accepted from all ethnic backgrounds and walks of life and can get ahead through their own endeavours. A survey respondent in Melbourne wrote 'Everybody is the "same colour" here whereas back home you are "white" or "not" – that's what I like about Australia the most people don't care because it is so multicultural here'. Another in the same city wrote:

> Here in Australia if you work hard, show some initiative, Australians will give you an opportunity to go as far as you want to go knowing that you may not have the proper educational qualifications.

> My own life is the perfect example of this. I came here as a fifth form drop out, got a job in a print factory as a cleaner, worked hard, and became the national properties manager by time I was 24. I realised that there were no restrictions to how far you want to go, now I own properties around Australia and have just started my own marketing business.

In this, Australia seems to hold a similar promise for many Māori that the United States has traditionally held for immigrants from all over the world: a land of opportunity, freedom and something called 'the great American dream'. In fact, as a man in Sydney put it to me (in terms that would slot straight into the popular conception of America), 'This is the land of great opportunity. I came here with 30 cents to my name and now I've made it. Everyone's accepted here, there's a great ethnic mix'.[18]

In New Zealand, some people said, the political environment can leave you feeling depressed. As a man in Canberra put it, 'The media's always full of negative stories about Māori. People are always thinking "the bloody Māoris"'. A woman trained as a nurse said 'My qualifications were perceived as given and not earned'. A man who came to Australia in the 1960s said he had always been the last hired and the first laid off in New Zealand, and had had enormous trouble finding

17 Alan Duff, *Maori: The crisis and the challenge*, Auckland, Harper Collins, 1993, p 110, quoted in Bergin (1998), p 33.

18 In chapter 7, I discuss the view of many Māori that they simply could not have had the careers they have had in Australia if they had stayed in New Zealand.

a house to rent in Palmerston North because neighbours had complained at the prospect of living next to a Māori. In 40 years of living in Australia, by contrast, he had never suffered prejudice of any kind. Many I spoke to suspected that matters were improving in New Zealand, but a number of people harboured much ill feeling about what they had experienced. A man in north Queensland said he had been 'a foreigner in my own country' and contended that Māori are still today 'kept drugged and drunk to keep them down'. Likewise, a man in Brisbane also described New Zealand as a 'white man's country', with Māori kept 'at the bottom of the heap'. A woman in Melbourne who answered the survey wrote:

> Maori in Australia are better off and we don't like what is happening at home – ... [P]akeha ... promote [the Maori] lack of unity to continually keep Maori oppressed and in a rut – which is where they always want us to be. The seabed and foreshore policies are just one example of how to divide Maori ... history can provide more examples of this type of strategy.

Another female respondent in Melbourne wrote:

> It is paramount that the NZ government begin to recognise that Maori are achieving and are successful when living away from NZ, and they have to be asking themselves why is this not happening in NZ. [T]o oppress a people and manipulate politics to achieve their own means will only see more Maori recognising that they do have a future and they can be sucessful and live in the flash house, and drive the flash car, and have a healthy bank account and still retain their Maoriness unfortunately they have to leave NZ to do it.[19]

Of the New Zealand-born survey respondents, 34.5% stated at question 27 that they had left New Zealand political issues behind them on moving to Australia. Of these people, 39.0% reported at question 28 that leaving New Zealand political issues behind them had made them feel 'more free' (with 39.6% saying it had not and 21.4% selecting 'don't know/no opinion').[20]

For many Māori in Australia, the motivation to succeed seems a reaction against what they experienced in New Zealand. They feel a need to prove themselves without a handout in a country where no-one can accuse them of having a head start. This, they said, is part of the liberating experience of living in Australia. At home, many said, your career is mapped out at an early age, both through Pākehā expectations of what Māori can achieve and by Māori themselves not being able to step outside this limiting paradigm. In Australia, their mood lightens: they can be themselves. It is perhaps little wonder that some told me they had come to 'get away from all that Māori bother' or even 'to get away from being Māori', as one man put it. At the Waitangi Day festival in Brisbane I attended, a man summed it up to me like this:

> Māori come here to lose the chip on their shoulder. Look at it all today – there's no aggro, no politics, it's all family. Māori can relax here and be themselves. They don't have anyone to blame.

A survey respondent from the north of Western Australia wrote similarly: 'I feel free to be who I want to be and say what I want to say without fear of rebuttal or repercussions from my own whanau, Iwi and government agencies'.

The attitude of white Australians is obviously a major component in the way many Māori feel a greater acceptance in Australia than they do in New Zealand. I discuss this in chapter 16, including the way Māori answered the survey question on how they believe Australians see them.

MANY REASONS FOR MOVING TO AUSTRALIA

Finally, of course, it is worth reiterating that every story of moving to Australia is unique. It should also be acknowledged that there is probably no consensus among Māori in Australia as to why so many of them have left New Zealand. A man in north Queensland told me, for example, that perceptions of prejudice back home were 'no excuse'. Another man took great exception to what he saw in the survey as a suggestion that Māori 'just came to Australia for the money'. Furthermore, there were a host of reasons given to me that were either unique (such as wanting to learn more about another indigenous culture) or probably not so much 'Māori' reasons as ones common to all peoples, such as suggestions many leave to escape debts, fines and personal responsibilities.

In any event, Australia, without question, exerts a great pull on Māori in New Zealand – just as it did in the early nineteenth century, as I related in chapter 2. A man I met in Bowen summed up his view like this: 'There's only two types of Māoris – those who come here for a look and those who never get off their arses'.

19 On the same topic, a man in Melbourne wrote that 'having a flash car in australia isn't even a head turning exercise but if a Maori owns a flash car in N.Z. he or she is automatically assumed to be involved with drugs etc'.

20 Question 28 was also answered (both online and in hard copy) by about 350 respondents who should have skipped forward to question 29 because of the nature of their answer to question 27. For interest's sake, this total response to question 28 (including those who should not have answered) was 27.7% of those who answered selecting 'yes', 40.9% selecting 'no' and 31.4% selecting 'don't know/no opinion'.

CHAPTER 7: EMPLOYMENT

Chapter summary

- Survey respondents overwhelmingly reported much better employment since moving to Australia.
- Māori also claim that they enjoy a reputation as reliable and hard-working in Australia, with old stereotypes of them as bludgers or job thieves fading away.
- High-profile occupations that Māori have held in Australia include entertainers, shearers, construction workers, bouncers and miners.

> The work in australia pays triple what you would earn working in a job back home in NZ and you dont even have to have ridiculous qualifications for these positions here they luv us kiwi workers theyre basically throwing the work at us. Theres nothing back home for young people.[1]

WHAT SURVEY RESPONDENTS SAID ABOUT EMPLOYMENT

One part of survey question 47 asked what had happened to respondents' employment since they had been in Australia. Of the 1082 individuals not born in Australia who answered this aspect of the question, 801 (74.0%) reported that their employment had become 'much better' since they had been in Australia, while a further 140 (12.9%) said it had become 'a bit better'. Only 7.0% felt it had remained 'the same', 2.2% a 'bit worse' and 1.1% 'much worse'. A further 2.7% said they did not know.[2] Of those 801 reporting much better employment, 35.4% said they would definitely return home to live in New Zealand, compared to the average for all respondents of 36.0%. Similarly, 21.0% of those reporting much better employment said they would probably not return to New Zealand and 4.3% said they definitely would not, compared to the overall rates of 19.6% and 3.7%, respectively. Thus, better employment appears to be a relatively insignificant factor in Māori preferring to stay in Australia (see chapter 18).

So, what do respondents consider to be 'better employment'? For some, it may be better wages or working conditions, while for others it may be career advancement. While there are doubtless many additional variables to consider – such as the performance of the Australian economy, the qualifications and mobility of the respondents, and so on – looking at both a person's employment results and the year they arrived in Australia shows that survey respondents arriving in Australia after 1990 have enjoyed somewhat better employment than those who arrived up to and including that year. This result is set out in table 7.1.

1 These are the comments of a survey respondent from Mandurah in Western Australia.

2 Leaving aside the Australian-born, 67 eligible respondents did not answer this question. They presumably included many who arrived as children and did not see the question as relevant.

TABLE 7.1: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT RESULTS AND PERIOD OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

Period of arrival	Individuals arriving in Australia	Individuals reporting better or much better employment
	No.	%
2001–2005	*261*	*87.7*
1996–2000	*277*	*93.1*
1991–1995	*102*	*87.3*
1986–1990	*161*	*81.4*
1981–1985	*93*	*83.9*
1976–1980	*97*	*85.6*
Pre-1976	*68*	*82.4*

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT THEMES

Talking to Māori in Australia about their work drew out a number of themes. For a start, many people told me their wages had improved markedly. A doubling of wages was not an uncommon story, particularly for those moving from the lowest-paid jobs in New Zealand. A man I met at the Merrylands Waitangi Day festival said his NZ$10 an hour demolition wages in New Zealand had risen to A$20 in Australia. Similarly, a woman interviewed by the *New Zealand Herald* in March 2006 hoped to swap her NZ$10.50 wage at an Avondale plastics factory for A$19 an hour as a bar manager in Melbourne.[3] One man in Wollongong even told me that his daughter saved to go to university back in New Zealand by washing dishes for A$24 an hour. A man in Sydney said he earned A$21 driving a truck, another in Bowen said he was being offered A$35 as an earth-moving foreman and a man in Mackay said his youngest son earned A$72 as an electrician. A storeman in Melbourne told me he had doubled his income from home and that rents were cheaper in Melbourne than in Auckland. A man in Newcastle told me he had come to Australia in 1977 for vastly superior wages because he was earning NZ$115 for a 90-hour week driving bulldozers at home.

While this is all anecdote, and some examples may include a degree of exaggeration for effect, it is indisputable that Australian wages are higher than those in New Zealand. The *New Zealand Herald* reported that New Zealand incomes as a proportion of Australian incomes slid from 104% in 1966 to 76% in 2006.[4] The cost of living remains much higher in Sydney than the other main cities of Australasia, but in recent years Auckland and Wellington have both been more expensive than the likes of Brisbane, Perth and Adelaide, only becoming more affordable in 2006 as the New Zealand dollar weakened. Table 7.2 sets out the recent results from human resources company Mercer's annual international survey of 144 cities, with the number shown being the city's rank in terms of cost from 1 (most expensive of the sample) to 144 (least expensive).[5] I have included this data because, of course, higher wages in Australia are only part of the equation for Māori relocating across the Tasman.

TABLE 7.2: AUSTRALASIAN CITIES RANKED BY COST OF LIVING IN MERCER'S ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

Year	Sydney	Melbourne	Perth	Brisbane	Adelaide	Auckland	Wellington
2003	*67*	*111*	*121*	*144*	*124*	*115*	*117*
2004	*20*	*67*	*94*	*87*	*88*	*80*	*86*
2005	*20*	*68*	*93*	*84*	*89*	*69*	*76*
2006	*19*	*74*	*93*	*99*	*108*	*100*	*105*

3 'View very different from bottom of economic ladder', *New Zealand Herald*, 21 March 2006.

4 'To stay or go – it's all down to money', *New Zealand Herald*, 21 March 2006.

5 The Mercer survey compares the cost of expenses such as housing, food, clothing, transportation and entertainment. The data in the table was taken from the following webpages issued by Mercer or reporting on Mercer's survey results (all accessed on 17 August 2006): 'World's most and least expensive cities', CNN Money, http://money.cnn.com/pf/features/popups/costofliving/popup05.html; 'Worldwide cost of living survey 2006 – city rankings', Mercer Human Resource Consulting press release, 26 June 2006, www.mercerhr.com/pressrelease/details.jhtml?idContent=1142150; 'Cost of living skyrockets in Australia', the *Age*, 14 June 2004, www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/06/14/1087065063709.html?from=storylhs; 'Sydney as home is dearer than Rome', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 2006, www.smh.com.au/news/national/sydney-as-home-is-dearer-than-rome/2006/06/26/1151174135418.html?from=rss; and Mercer Human Resource Consulting press release (untitled), 16 June 2003, www.imercer.com/australia/col.asp. Mercer also conducts an annual quality-of-living survey, in which all the main Australasian cities tend to score very highly.

Several Māori told me that those coming to Australia were working-class people who were doing the same kind of work they were doing in New Zealand, such as cleaning, picking fruit, driving trucks and operating earth-movers. Often, I was told, the work Māori do – which is sometimes transient, remote, hot or dirty – is the kind that Australians simply choose not to do and leave for migrants. The key difference is that Māori can earn a lot more money at these jobs than in New Zealand.

Upward occupational mobility, therefore, remains out of reach unless they retrain. But, in a number of cases, the children of these workers had gone to university and acquired degrees and 'broken the mould', as they put it. These young people felt that Australia had given them that opportunity. There are, of course, many young Māori 'breaking the mould' in New Zealand as well today, and I suspect that any comparison would require the collection of data on Māori participation in tertiary education in Australia.

In any event, when I asked Māori enjoying successful working careers in Australia (for example, managing mines, ports and prisons, researching child safety in Aboriginal communities at a university institute, overseeing 40 staff working on cyclone reconstruction in Innisfail) whether they felt they could have had the same career in New Zealand, they always replied 'no'. Some felt this was simply because of the economic opportunities in Australia, but others said it had as much to do with being freed from an environment in which Māori were not encouraged or expected to do well, including by their own people, or allowed to by what they perceived as a racist system (as noted in chapter 6). In keeping with this, a number of people told me that they had felt emboldened to start up their own business in Australia, which they had never felt confident to do in New Zealand.

Another theme that emerges in speaking to Māori in Australia is that they feel their working life can be prolonged by leaving New Zealand. In this regard, the *New Zealand Herald* quoted a 54-year-old Pākehā electrician in March 2006 as saying he was moving to Australia after losing his job at a closing steel-alloy plant in south Auckland and doubling his income at a new Queensland coal mine. In New Zealand, he explained he got a sense:

> Once you're over 50 you are consigned to the scrapheap. In Australia I didn't get that feeling. I was told that age equals experience and that's exactly what Australian industry was looking for.[6]

A Māori man in Sydney told me 'A lot of Māori men are coming over in their fifties and lifting furniture and the like – but at least they have a job'. A survey respondent on the Gold Coast explained: 'Back in NZ my husband would not be working in full time employment, typical of many Maori Tane his age (63). Here in Australia we both have full time employment'.[7]

The survey allowed the identification of a small group of 40 respondents who definitely arrived in Australia over the age of 45. Three-quarters of this group reported that their employment had become better or much better.

In contrast to these positive accounts of employment prospects in Australia, however, the 2002 Ipswich research revealed some quite negative perspectives among the 60 Māori household heads surveyed:

- 76% of Māori respondents agreed that 'my age is a barrier to finding employment'
- 80% agreed that 'my qualifications (and/or those of other members of this family) are not recognised in Australia and this is a barrier to find[ing] a job that I am (we are) qualified for'
- 78% agreed that 'my cultural background is a barrier to finding employment'.

Māori had a much higher rate of agreement with these statements than the Samoans, Tongans and Cook Islanders surveyed.[8] It demonstrates, as I discuss in chapter 18, that not all Māori migrants have positive experiences of life in Australia.

FADING PERCEPTIONS OF MĀORI AS BLUDGERS AND JOB THIEVES

There is a fading stereotype in Australia of New Zealanders sunning themselves on Bondi Beach or the Gold Coast while collecting the dole. In 1995, Australia's Industry Minister, Peter Cook, suggested that New Zealand's unemployment rate would double if all out-of-work New Zealanders in Australia went home.[9] When the dole was available on arrival in Australia, there may well have been a number of New Zealanders who

6 'To stay or go – it's all down to money', *New Zealand Herald,* 21 March 2006.

7 Another man in Sydney said that he had moved to Australia in 1967 and worked any number of manual jobs until he retired four years ago at the age of 73. But he had got 'itchy feet' and was now working again three days a week.

8 Shehata (2003), pp 50–51.

9 'Diary: Letter no. 20', The Jobs Research Trust, 30 June 1995, www.jobsletter.org.nz/jbl02001.htm (accessed 14 November 2005).

took full advantage and were in no hurry to look for work. But this notion, to the extent that it still persists, now has little basis in reality. The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) reports that the labour force participation rate of New Zealand citizens in Australia at 30 June 2006 was high at 76.7%, compared to only 68.6% for the Australian-born. The explanation for this is in part that New Zealanders in Australia are concentrated in the young adult age group, as noted in chapter 3. The June 2006 unemployment rate for New Zealand citizens in Australia was lower than that for the Australian-born (3.5% compared with 4.7%).[10]

Receiving the dole on arrival was not a situation that lasted long. In 1986, a six-month waiting period was imposed on newly arrived New Zealanders, and in 2000 it was extended to two years.[11] A further lack of basis for the stereotype today was the introduction in 2001 of a new bilateral agreement between Australia and New Zealand on social security payments to residents from each other's countries. The agreement, put into effect by the Australian Government in its Family and Community Services Legislation Amendment (New Zealand Citizens) Act 2001, essentially meant that New Zealanders moving to Australia after 26 February 2001 would have to apply for a permanent residence visa before becoming eligible for certain Australian social security payments as well as for Australian citizenship. Democrats Senator Andrew Bartlett said in Parliament in debate on the Bill:

> It is not sufficient to justify this bill on some notion that New Zealanders are Bondi Beach dole bludgers. We should acknowledge the contributions made by migrants from New Zealand to the fabric of Australian communities over the years ... The combination of high labour force participation rates and comparable unemployment payment rates indicates that New Zealanders do not deserve the dole bludger tag that is sometimes put upon them.[12]

The inverse of the dole-bludger stereotype is the idea that New Zealanders come to Australia and take jobs off Australian workers. A good example of this occurred in the shearing industry (see below). A number of Māori I spoke to said they thought Australians saw Māori as a threat because of their ethic of hard work. DIAC (or the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, as it then was) concluded at the end of the 1990s that 'The argument, that the New Zealand-born take jobs from Australians, is probably largely without foundation', since New Zealanders are so well integrated into the Australian labour market.[13]

In response to question 12 (also see chapter 16), where respondents were asked how they thought Australians see Māori in Australia, 902 people (74.9%) said 'hard working', 128 (10.6%) said 'lazy' and 187 (15.5%) said 'a burden on Australian tax-payers'. Of the 244 people who selected 'other', 28 commented that they thought Australians saw Māori as a threat to their job security. In any event, many people were adamant that New Zealanders had a reputation as hard workers. As a woman in Cairns told me, 'There are great job opportunities in town if you're from New Zealand. People would ask "Are you a Kiwi?", and if you said "yes" they'd want you to start tomorrow'. Likewise, a survey respondent in Brisbane wrote 'In Australia, as a Maori, I am looked at as a valuable member of society. If I walk onto a construction site with dirt on my boots, I am almost certainly guaranteed a start the next day, if not immediate trial'.

The rest of this chapter supplements the summary detail in chapter 3 of Māori occupational distribution in 1986 and 2001. It attempts to examine, in greater depth, some of the higher-profile areas of employment to which Māori have gravitated in Australia.

ENTERTAINMENT

Many of the early Māori migrants to Australia from the late 1950s were entertainers who came to ply the club and hotel circuit, particularly in Sydney but also in Melbourne and resorts and venues all around the country. They formed perhaps the vanguard of the Māori migration to Australia. Showbands such as the Māori Hi Fives, the Māori Volcanics, the Māori Hi Quins, the Quin Tikis, the Māori Troubadours and

10 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Population Flows: Immigration aspects,* Canberra, January 2007, p 49, www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/popflows2005-6/Ch4.pdf (accessed 12 March 2007).

11 See speech on the Family and Community Services Legislation Amendment (New Zealand Citizens) Bill 2001 by Democrats Senator Andrew Bartlett, *Official Hansard* (Senate), no. 3 (2001), Thursday 8 March 2001, p 22802. http://wopared.aph.gov.au/Hansard/senate/dailys/ds080301.pdf#search=%22%22enthusiasts%20to%20western%20australia%22%22 (accessed 22 August 2006).

12 Ibid.

13 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'New Zealand-born people in Australia', www.immigration.gov.au/statistics/publications/community_profiles/new_zealandnet.pdf (accessed 16 September 2005). This paper was an extract from the department's 'New Zealand Born Community Profile', which is no longer available on the department's website. It seems to have been written around 1999.

many others – as well as individual stars such as Ricky May and Eddie Low – enjoyed acclaim and great success. The spirit of this age is captured well in Mahora Peters' 2005 published account of her career with the Māori Volcanics.[14] What she describes were really halcyon days for Māori music.

I met a number of Māori entertainers around Australia who had arrived in the 1960s or early 1970s.[15] One described a huge exodus of bands from New Zealand at that time. Another explained that, such was the popularity of Māori performers in Sydney, 'you only had to be Māori and they'd turn up to see you'. The sheer talent of the musicians – who in the showbands would often be able to play half a dozen instruments – as well as the novelty of the acts, found great favour with Australians. As Mahora Peters explains:

> Audiences were starting to look for something beyond simple crooners or would-be rock 'n' rollers. Māori showbands, which had grown from simple get-togethers at family occasions and the odd club gig, were beginning to attain a level of professional performing skills that matched well with their exuberance to provide a new entertainment experience. New at least, in traditionalist Australia.[16]

Many Māori entertainers also pursued their careers further afield than Australia, entertaining troops in Vietnam, playing in Noumea resorts and indeed taking their music – in the case of the Volcanics – right around the world. Some largely stuck to Sydney, entertaining on weekends and working regular jobs during the week, and occasionally being flown by agents to perform around the country.

Those I met had a range of theories for the passing of this golden era. One thought it was the introduction of breathalysers, which deterred patrons from a night out. Another thought it was without doubt the advent of disco in 1977. Yet another said it was the rise of DJs and drum machines, and another suggested it was the introduction of poker machines, with which pub owners filled their premises, leaving no room for live bands. In any event, while the heyday of the Māori entertainer has passed, many of these performers – including the Volcanics – still live in Australia and perform regularly.[17]

SHEARING

Another profession that brought many Māori to Australia from the 1970s was shearing. Along with other New Zealand shearers, Māori used the New Zealand standard 86-millimetre comb to shear sheep, in contravention of the Australian pastoral regulation that the comb be 64 millimetres wide. Australian shearers argued that the narrow comb was needed to protect the fine fleece and wrinkly skin of Merino sheep, while New Zealand shearers – and the graziers themselves – favoured the wider comb, as it significantly increased the number of sheep that could be shorn per day. Matters came to a head in late 1982, when the Australian Arbitration Commission approved the use of wide combs in the industry, and in early 1983, when the signing of Closer Economic Relations between Australia and New Zealand confirmed the free movement of labour between the two countries. Australian shearers went on strike about the use of wide combs, and the presence of large numbers of New Zealand shearers in Australian shearing sheds refusing to strike made conflict inevitable. Across shearing districts in rural Australia in 1983, there were frequent brawls between strikers and non-strikers.[18]

Bad feeling between New Zealand and Australian shearers continued for a decade, and culminated in 1992 when Australian shearers occupied the lawns in front of the Federal Parliament in Canberra in protest and then in 1994 with the Senate Inquiry report into the 'Employment of Visitors to Australia in the Shearing Industry', which Australian shearers viewed as a 'Clayton's Inquiry'[19] since it found that the impact of New Zealand shearers was less than perceived.[20] It was in the midst of this dispute in 1989 and 1990 that Australian

14 Mahora Peters with James George, *Showband! Mahora and the Māori Volcanics*, Huia, Wellington, 2005.

15 My thanks to Buster Wainohu, Mahora and Billy Peters, Don Smith, George Hema, Maurice Tahana and Ahi Tutaki for sharing their recollections.

16 Peters with George, pp 33–34.

17 For articles about forthcoming performances by the Māori Volcanics and Eddie Low, see 'Evergreen Maori troupe on stage', *Blacktown Advocate*, 26 February 2003; 'Explosive', *Mt Druitt Standard,* 11 February 2004; and 'Sounds of the seas', *Liverpool Leader,* 29 June 2005 (all Factiva).

18 Mark Hearn and Harry Knowles, *One Big Union: A history of the Australian Workers Union 1886–1994*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp 315–319; and Bergin (1998), pp 75–77. Bergin mentioned a Māori shearer wounded in a gun battle in Coleraine in Victoria in 1984 (p 76).

19 See Paul Williams, *Ramming the Shears: The rise and demise of the Australian shearer and his culture: An historical and contemporary account of the Australian Shearers' Union and industry,* Shearers and Rural Workers Union, Ballarat, 2004. Williams writes a highly partisan account from the perspective of the unionised Australian shearer. He attacks New Zealand for having failed to federate with Australia in 1901 but having long enjoyed the benefits of an 'unfederated state', and depicts the New Zealand economy in the 1970s and 1980s as backward and leaking 'economic refugees' to Australia in large numbers who broke unions, undercut wages and destroyed a rural Australian way of life. He does not mention Māori specifically in his book.

20 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'New Zealand-born people in Australia', www.immigration.gov.au/statistics/publications/community_profiles/new_zealandnet.pdf (accessed 16 September 2005).

novelist Roger McDonald spent a year and a half working as a cook for a Māori shearing gang and wrote about the experience in his award-winning novel[21] *Shearers' Motel,* which was later adapted for television by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in its 1996 drama 'Cross Turning Over'.[22] An Australian perspective on the dispute is provided by a character in McDonald's book called York:

> 'The Kiwis had ruined their own country by doing what they're doing here. They don't want to be there any more', he muttered ... 'All us people who stand by the union and stand by all those rights that have been won for us originally, we are being discriminated against because we are staying to our old times and these scabs are coming in and they're working any times and for any money, and in the long run it just has to ruin the whole shearing industry.'[23]

By contrast, another character – Māori shearer Lenny – gives the opposite view:

> What ... does Lenny care about this Australian thing, the big deal of formalised mateship, the traditions of the Australian Workers Union, 'what we grew up with', 'how we do things here', 'the battles hard fought'. Lenny sees the union as a bunch of work-shirkers, excuse-makers, always supporting reasons for not doing the job, laying down the tools according to rule rather than feeling.[24]

I was told that all the bad blood of the past with Australian shearers had now gone, but one legacy appears to be a strong anti-union sentiment among Māori shearers in Australia. One shearer told me that no Māori shearers joined a union that he knew of.

The attraction for Māori shearers of working in Australia has principally been the wages: one man told me he could not believe the size of his first pay cheque. Such is the pay on offer (particularly at times when the New Zealand dollar has lost value against its Australian counterpart) that some Māori shearers fly in to Australia once a year to work in sheds as far away as Western Australia. But equally important, I was told, was the shearing lifestyle. A shearer I met in Victoria worked Monday to Friday and could shear locally for 11 months of the year, due to three local lambing times, whereas, in New Zealand, the work required more travel and longer hours. In New Zealand, he said, he was always catching up because of losing time to the weather, and he would be shearing (with seasonal down-time) on average not much more than 100 days a year compared to the 224 days he did in Victoria in 2005. As Bertram Junior, another character in *Shearers' Motel*, explains, 'that's why I come over here from New Zealand in the first place, because in Australia you can work twelve months of the year if you play it right. You feel safe.'[25]

Māori shearers in Australia – in what is a truly trans-Tasman industry and workforce – often arrive on the job directly from New Zealand. McDonald describes the recruitment:

> [Quinn] caught the plane to Adelaide and the bus to Broken Hill, where Harold collected him in the Hi-Lux at the weekend and brought him down to the shed. It was a typical transition from New Zealand. With sheds organised Harold or Clean Team Alastair bundled workers into cars and hurtled them through the night. Maoris were a travelling people. Headlights revealed ghostly boomers drifting up to the side windows and if they were lucky, flicking away. Sometimes they hit. Crammed in the back seat were eighteen year old girls from Napier, ageing men from Timaru, mid-twenties married couples from Whanganui.[26]

Because of the better pay and more reliable weather, I was told, shearers in Australia are not so driven to end each day with a big tally – 120 sheep a day was quite acceptable, although there was nothing to stop people shearing (and thus earning) more. Merinos were a challenge initially (a former shearer in Adelaide said they seemed at first 'like horses'), but New Zealand shearers get used to them and the numbers of cross-bred sheep – like those in New Zealand – are apparently growing in Australia.

I met more ex-shearers than current ones in Australia. As an occupation, it is hard on the body and one man told me he intended to retire from shearing at 35 and work at

21 Although McDonald has referred to *Shearers' Motel* as a 'novel', he has also described it as a 'non-fiction account' (see www2b.abc.net.au/tmb/Client/Message.aspx?b=51&m=146&ps=20&dm=1&pd=2&am=146 – accessed 23 March 2007). Indeed, *Shearers' Motel* won the 1993 (Australian) National Book Council Banjo Award for non-fiction. I mention this in order to stress that, while names may have been altered, the characters and situations in McDonald's book are real and not fictitious.

22 This starred, among others, Māori actor Anzac Wallace.

23 McDonald (2001), p 125.

24 Ibid, pp 140–141.

25 Ibid, p 54.

26 Ibid, pp 128–129.

something else, an ambition he doubts would have been realistic in New Zealand. Others I met had done this, with one moving on to driving road trains and another to working in the mines. Nevertheless, Māori remain heavily involved in the Australian shearing industry. In fact, as one Māori shearer put it to me, 'The Australian wool industry wouldn't survive without the Kiwi shearers'. He said Australian woolgrowers always wanted more shearers to move across the Tasman, which undoubtedly reflects not only the New Zealanders' ethic of hard work but also the way many Australians have left the industry since the wide combs dispute was lost.

CONSTRUCTION

In the cities, and particularly in Sydney, Māori have always found ready employment in the building and construction industry, which a union official in Sydney told me is today the biggest employer of workers in Australia. In contrast to the shearing industry, the Construction, Forestry, Mining, Energy Union (CFMEU) has hundreds of Māori members in New South Wales and indeed has hired several Māori organisers, who are employed in part because of the numbers of Māori in the workforce.

Māori often undertake the more dangerous aspects of construction work, such as scaffolding, rigging, tunnelling and demolition. As a result, there have been many Māori fatalities on Australian building sites. Examples include: Ronnie Shores, killed by a rock fall in the Sydney cross-city tunnel in 2004; Tom Pascoe, killed by a pallet of bricks collapsing from scaffolding at first-storey height during construction work at the Sydney Olympic Village in 2000; Mark Poi, who fell 50 metres to his death from a bridge in Ulladulla in 1997; Wally Treloar, killed in a demolition collapse in central Sydney in 1996; and Selwyn Wano, killed in a demolition collapse in Darlinghurst in 1994.[27] Tipene Keenan, one of the CFMEU's Māori officers, said in 2002 that he knew of 16 Māori who had been killed in the Sydney construction industry since the 1960s.[28]

These deaths are just some of the numerous workplace accidents in Australia every year.[29] When a Royal Commission was established in 2001 to investigate corruption in the building industry, the CFMEU attempted, largely unsuccessfully, to have its focus broadened to include health and safety issues on building sites. In response to the Royal Commission's reluctance to push the matter, in 2002, Māori construction workers marched from the site of Wano's death and held up traffic outside the commission's office with a defiant haka (posture dance), Tipene Keenan remarking 'We came here because we thought the building industry would provide a better way of life for us and for our families. We didn't come here to die'.[30]

Māori protest and the performance of a haka have been features of other recent protests by construction workers in New South Wales:

- In 2003, after a 16-year old Blacktown youth died in a fall on a western Sydney building site, his Māori former schoolmates performed a haka at a protest rally in central Sydney, calling for the introduction of industrial manslaughter laws
- In 2004, Māori construction workers issued a haka in the Hunter Street Mall in Newcastle after the suicide of a colleague injured three months previously in a demolition site accident
- In November 2005, 100 or more Māori performed a haka on the lawns of Parliament House in Canberra in protest at the Australian Government's new labour laws.[31]

In a similar vein, when a Blacktown man died in a fall at a building site in Sydney in January 2006, Reverend Kaio (Malcolm) Karipa of the Church of Te Wairua Tapu conducted a short service at the site of the accident, since most of the deceased man's workmates were Māori.[32]

Māori protesting about current industrial reform in Australia have tended to argue that the new labour laws are the very

27 For Shores, see 'Tunnel claims hard-working family man', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 July 2004, www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/07/30/1091080440056.html?from=storylhs; for Pascoe, see 'Address by Andrew Ferguson' (CFMEU, New South Wales), National Occupational Safety and Health Commission national conference on 'Improving occupational safety and health in the building and construction industry', 28 June 2004, www.cfmeu-construction-nsw.com.au/pdf/OHSNationalConferenceSpeech.pdf; for Poi, see 'Tragic death leads to lift in contractor safety standards', *Workers Online*, no. 40, 19 November 1999, http://workers.labor.net.au/40/news94_death.html; and for Wano, see 'Billboard call for manslaughter law', CFMEU press release, 15 January 2003, www.labor.net.au/news/2768.html (all accessed 15 August 2006). For Treloar, Pascoe and Poi, I also relied on a personal communication from Tipene Keenan on 22 August 2006.

28 See 'Life or death?', *Workers Online*, no. 141, 21 June 2002, http://workers.labor.net.au/141/b_tradeunion_maori.html (accessed 15 August 2006).

29 For example, the National Occupational Health and Safety Commission (NOHSC) reported 214 deaths from falls alone in Australia from 1989 to 1992 (see NOHSC, *Work-Related Fatalities Involving Falls in Australia, 1989 to 1992: Information from the second work-related fatalities study*, Sydney, June 2000). CFMEU officials told me that falls and electrocution are the two biggest causes of the 70-odd deaths in the construction industry in Australia each year.

30 See 'Life or death?', *Workers Online*, no. 141, 21 June 2002, http://workers.labor.net.au/141/b_tradeunion_maori.html (accessed 15 August 2006).

31 For the schoolboy protest, see 'Joel's law', *Workers Online*, November 2003, http://workers.labor.net.au/features/200311/b_tradeunion_joel.html (accessed 16 September 2005); for the Newcastle protest, see 'Tribute to a comrade', *Herald* (Newcastle), 28 May 2004 (Factiva); and for the Canberra protest, see 'Maori workers challenge Canberra', Communications, Electrical, Plumbing Union press release, 7 November 2005, www.labor.net.au/news/1131328849_15491.html (accessed 11 November 2005) and 'Maori aren't going to haka it', *Courier-Mail*, 3 November 2005.

32 See 'Final blessing after fatal fall', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 January 2006 (Factiva) and 'March of honour as scaffolder laid to rest', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 January 2006, www.smh.com.au/news/national/march-of-honour-as-scaffolder-laid-to-rest/2006/01/11/1136956243005.html# (accessed 15 August 2006).

thing that drove them from New Zealand in the first place. For example, demolition worker Rawiri Iti, one of those at the forefront of the Canberra protest, said that 21 members of his whānau had left New Zealand to find work in Australia:

> It will be an honour to be in the front line leading that haka … The laws they brought in in New Zealand in the 90s have split up families as they have had to leave to find work. Let's not have the same thing that happened in New Zealand happen here.[33]

Similarly, Tipene Keenan claimed that workplace laws introduced in New Zealand had 'resulted in a mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of New Zealanders across the Tasman to Australia where we could receive decent pay and conditions'.[34]

SECURITY

Many Māori men work in pub and hotel security. Although this is often a second job for them, the stereotype of the Māori bouncer has become pervasive in Australia. When the *Bulletin* satirised what then Labor Party leader Mark Latham would be doing on his Christmas holiday in 2003, and wished to invoke the image of a bouncer, it naturally seemed to choose Māori:

> Mr Latham will experiment with shopping mall meet 'n' greets, accompanied by two large Maori bouncers. They will intercept Mr Latham whenever he extends his hand to a constituent, a beaming elderly lady with a shopping trolley, perhaps, and suddenly turns his hand into a fist.[35]

A search for the phrase 'Maori bouncer' on Australian websites brings up innumerable accounts in message boards of drunken Australian male encounters with terrifying Māori bouncers. Adjectives used to describe these Māori include 'twenty-stone', 'toothless', 'massive', 'huge', 'gigantic', '120 kg', '16 foot tall', '3 feet wide by 3 feet thick', '6'7"', 'built like the brick proverbial' and so on. One of these accounts can serve as a representative example:

> I got bounced after 30 seconds of being in a bar on Oxford St, Sydney. I walked in drunk, cut off a glassie [waiter] on my way to the bar, he told me to watch where I was going. I told him to get f**ked, he told manager, manager sent bouncer over, bouncer asked what I said to glassie, I said get f**ked, he threw me out. Maori bouncer then said 'How could you behave like that, you're a visitor to our bar.' I said 'You're a visitor to our country.' Maori bouncer said 'Hit me.' I noticed six of his maori mates, not bouncers, just waiting for a fight about 50 metres away. I walked away. Bouncer king hit me from behind, and threw me to the ground. I was already 20 metres away from the pub. I looked up and saw 6 big Maori f**kers running towards me. I got up and f**king ran for my life. I am a faster runner than maoris.[36]

Such stories doubtless include various embellishments, but Māori are obviously employed as bouncers because of their physical size and tough reputation. The film *Once Were Warriors* seems to have reinforced the stereotype in Australia, and Māori themselves appear willing to feed it on occasion.

They must also be good at the job: when security contractors at the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney sensed a crisis in recruiting, they turned instinctively to New Zealand, and soon '500 Maoris' arrived in Sydney for work. Unfortunately, they seem largely to have been brought over on false pretences: their qualifications were not recognised, the security contractors were not accredited and they had no accommodation. But goodwill and the combined efforts of the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, several trade unions and kaumātua Joe Eru (who had come as part of the New Zealand contingent) saw most employed and accommodated at a temporary 'Maori Village' at the old Arnotts biscuit factory at West Ryde. When forklifts could not move heavy boards out of the way during last-minute dress rehearsals for the opening ceremony, a busload of these Māori workers were brought in who moved the boards manually and won a reputation for having 'saved the day'.[37]

MINING

Australia is currently enjoying a resources boom driven by an insatiable international demand (principally from China but also from India and other countries) for coal, iron ore and base metals such as copper, nickel, silver, lead, gold and zinc. A 2006 report in the *Courier-Mail* weekend magazine detailed

33 'Maori take challenge to Canberra', *Workers Online*, no. 286, 21 October 2005, http://workers.labor.net.au/286/news62_haka.html (accessed 27 October 2005).

34 'Maori aren't going to haka it', *Courier-Mail*, 3 November 2005

35 'Adventure Holidays', *The Bulletin*, 10 December 2003, www.bulletin.ninemsn.com.au/article.aspx?id=135505 (accessed 16 August 2006).

36 http://66.102.7.104/search?q=cache:-nOPFcMdntkJ:messandnoise.com/topics.asp%3Fid%3D20697+%22Maori+bouncer%22&hl=en&gl=au&ct=clnk&cd=10 (accessed 16 August 2006).

37 See Tony Webb, *The Collaborative Games: The story behind the spectacle*, Pluto Press in association with the Foundation for Sustainable Economic Development and the University of Melbourne, Sydney, 2001, pp 3, 97–98, 116, and Jim Marr, *First the Verdict: The real story of the Building Industry Royal Commission*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2003, pp 57–59.

the upwardly spiralling world mineral prices that have seen mines around Australia expand their operations and do all in their power to make a mining career as attractive as possible. That obviously starts with salaries: no underground miner at the Osbourne copper mine in far western Queensland earns less than A$80,000 and many, particularly the 'jumbo' drivers who face the biggest dangers, earn considerably more. The mine villages themselves resemble resorts rather than camps, with good food, swimming pools, golf driving ranges, gyms and so on. Workers fly in and out on 'swings' that have reduced from the traditional 14 days on and eight off to eight on and six off.[38] A Māori coal miner I met in Mackay even worked a four-day-on and four-day-off swing.

The mines, more than anything else in recent years, have made Australia into a 'blue collar paradise', as a Māori man in Kalgoorlie described Western Australia to me. This is particularly so in the so-called 'resource states' of Western Australia and Queensland. It is not only because of the wages on offer in the mines themselves but because of the effect they have on the Australian economy generally and the higher wages they generate in other sectors that must compete to attract workers. Another Māori I met in Western Australia drove road trains full of nickel every day but was contemplating swapping that work – which he felt had become monotonous – for shunting work in the railyards at a starting salary of A$65,000.

The mines themselves require all sorts of labour in addition to excavators and drillers, such as electricians, mechanics and drivers. The lure of mining wages have therefore led not only to the movement of these people but also to a general drift of skilled workers to the coastal towns fringing the remote mining areas where so many miners now live. The *Courier-Mail* reported in July 2006 that the official figure of skilled worker vacancies across Queensland was 36,800, including 10,600 engineering and technical workers – many of whom would be needed in the mines – but also 5500 retail salespeople, 1000 teachers, 4200 doctors, nurses and dentists, 2200 waiters and chefs, 2300 bankers and financial planners, and so on.[39]

This kind of general economic climate is obviously an enticement for many New Zealand-resident Māori to move to Australia. But it is in the mines themselves that the biggest money can be made. A survey respondent in a Western Australian mining town summed it up this way:

> Financial goals are easier to achieve if you work here – the latest craze amongs[t] Maori in WA is to have a financial adviser. You can set yourself up for life. I predict in 10 years time there will be new Maori millionaires in Oz due to wages and financial advice and goals the Maori are doing at the moment. In 1989 our three eldest boys followed us to WA aged 23, 20, 16½. They started on mine sites working on machine drills, dozers, advanced to graders, excavators, etc. In 8 years one was a drill and blast supervisor $70,000 PA. Today he works on an underground drill at over $120,000=00 PA. 2 others now bosses for Leightons mining company both are earning $140,000 to $150,000 P.A. Youngest son started ... June 2001 in mines in 2004 he was made a shift boss now earns $100,000 P.A. and rising – He is age 26 now. We use our houses here to get whanau friends a start average stay in house is three weeks to 6 weeks then they are away laughing. You can walk off a job one day & into another next day.

In Townsville, I met a Māori whose job was to recruit workers for the mines. He said he was currently recruiting about three unemployed Māori coal miners a week from Huntly, and saw no reason why he would not be able to sign up considerably more. The Māori involvement in the mining industry in Australia can be seen in the large numbers of Māori in remote Australian mining towns, such as Tom Price (30 people choosing 'Māori' as one of their first two ancestries in the 2001 census), Newman (116 Māori), Port Hedland (181 Māori), Karratha (132 Māori), Kalgoorlie (542 Māori), Kambalda West (156 Māori) and Mount Isa (168 Māori).

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

There are a number of other occupations that are often associated with Māori in Australia. For example, a number of Māori found ready employment in the 1970s and 1980s in the horse-racing industry as trainers and stable hands.[40] Perhaps the best known – although for the worst reasons – of this group is Hayden Haitana, who in 1984 switched the racehorse Fine Cotton with a superior gelding named Bold Personality in a race at Eagle Farm in Brisbane, in one of Australia's

38 'What lies beneath', *QWeekend*, 1–2 July 2006, pp 16–21.

39 'We want you', *Courier-Mail*, 8–9 July 2006.

40 See Carl Walrond, 'Māori Overseas', *Te Ara: the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/MaoriOverseas/2/en (accessed 17 February 2006).

most infamous horse ring-in betting scams. Haitana and his accomplices were caught and he served jail time.[41]

There are also a lot of Māori fruit pickers and other seasonal farm workers. In Bowen in north Queensland, I met a group of Māori tomato pickers. It may seem strange that Māori would leave their homeland for Australia to pick tomatoes, but when the crop is ready there is good money to be made. Starting at dawn, the pickers fill as many buckets as they can until they knock off around two o'clock, earning A$1.60 per bucket. While it is hard and hot work, I was told that it is not difficult to fill 100 buckets a day. People tend to work seven days a week while the crop is ready, and can thus earn A$1120 a week. But for those prepared to work harder, their income can expand greatly. A fit person putting in a very hard day can pick 250 buckets or more, and even a level of 200 buckets a day can be sustained throughout a seven-day week. Some may therefore earn as much as A$2500 per week.

Picking crops such as tomatoes and mangoes in Bowen lasts from around May to November. Then, from December to April, the pickers move to Victoria and pick fruit in places like Shepparton and Bendigo. This transient life, often spent living in caravans, obviously has its drawbacks. But it can certainly be a means to save money: people told me that, with their fruit-picking money, they were in a position to buy cars or put down deposits on houses. They doubted they could achieve this with the same employment in New Zealand. They also liked the lifestyle, enjoying both the freedom of choosing to work at their own pace and the satisfaction that the money they were paid had been made on these terms.

In several places, I met Māori working as prison or juvenile justice officers, and I was told that there are many Māori in this profession. One man said Māori were good at it because they were 'big and scary', but others said their great advantage in this kind of work was their brown skin, which could lead to empathy and respect from many of the heavily Aboriginal (and Polynesian) prison or youth detention population. Corrections departments employ Māori as they are seen as the next-best thing to employing Aborigines, too few of whom are on the staff of prisons and detention centres. I also met a lot of Māori (predominantly women) working in community services, such as at migrant resource centres, charities, community advice centres and the like. They said it was work many Māori are drawn to because of their community-minded instincts.

There are also many Māori in the Australian Army, apparently because it pays better than the army in New Zealand. They are stationed in towns with big military bases like Darwin and Townsville. In the latter, I met a woman whose Māori husband was serving with the Australian Army in East Timor. Their daughter, likewise, was with the Australian Army in Iraq.

While no list could be exhaustive or do justice to the range of areas in which Māori have found employment in Australia, there are also many Māori meat workers, truck drivers, nurses, publicans, fishers, mill workers, and tradespeople such as electricians, painters and butchers.

41 See 'Remembering Fine Cotton', Associated Australian Press, 15 August 2004, www.aapracingandsports.com.au/horse_racing/rsnewsart.asp?NID=46668 (accessed 17 February 2006).

CHAPTER 8: CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND BEING COUNTED

Chapter summary

- Census and survey results indicate that nearly 80% of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia do not become Australian citizens.
- Most Māori therefore cannot vote in Australia. A minority continue to vote in the New Zealand elections.
- Many Māori claim not to bother with the Australian census, and it remains possible that undercounting of Māori in Australia in the census is a little higher than has been recognised.

NEW ZEALANDERS' RIGHTS TO AUSTRALIAN PERMANENT RESIDENCY AND CITIZENSHIP

Australian citizenship is a relatively recent phenomenon: it came into existence on 26 January 1949 after the passing in 1948 of the Australian Citizenship Act.[1] Prior to this time, people born in Australia had simply been British subjects. From 1949 to 19 August 1986, every person born in Australia became an Australian citizen (with certain exceptions, such as those born to foreign diplomats).[2] From 20 August 1986, an Australian birth no longer guaranteed Australian citizenship, unless at least one parent was an Australian citizen or a permanent resident. New Zealanders were excluded from these rules as 'exempt non-citizens'. On 1 September 1994, all non-citizens in Australia became legally required to hold visas, and a 'special category visa' (SCV) was thus created for New Zealanders (issued freely on arrival, subject to health and character tests).[3] Children born in Australia to a New Zealand parent holding an SCV continued to become Australian citizens at birth.

The regulations changed on 27 February 2001 when the New Zealand and Australian Governments ushered in a new bilateral social security arrangement. From this date, people born in Australia to New Zealand citizens (who are not Australian citizens) generally do not become an Australian citizen at birth, unless one parent has applied for and been granted a permanent residence visa. Exceptions exist for children whose New Zealand citizen parent was in Australia on 26 February 2001 or who had lived in Australia for a cumulative total of at least a year in the two years prior to that date.

Likewise, New Zealand citizens arriving in Australia on or after 27 February 2001 must apply for (and be granted) permanent residence in order to obtain Australian citizenship or sponsor their family members for permanent residence (or, for that matter, to receive social security payments not covered by

1 The information on this page and the first part of the following page has been taken from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship's form 975i 'Australian citizenship: citizenship by birth in Australia', downloaded from: 'Giving birth in Australia', www.citizenship.gov.au/becoming-a-citizen/other-ways/giving-birth.htm (accessed 18 July 2006); Australian Immigration Fact Sheet 17 'New Zealanders in Australia', www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/17nz.htm (accessed 17 July 2006); and 'As a New Zealander, am I eligible for Australian citizenship?', www.citizenship.gov.au/becoming-a-citizen/new-zealand-citz-elig.htm (accessed 17 July 2006).

2 The obvious exception to all this is Aboriginal Australians, who were denied citizenship until after a 1967 referendum.

3 New Zealand citizens who were living in Australia prior to 1 September 1994 can obtain an SCV from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

the bilateral arrangement).[4] In other words, New Zealanders arriving in Australia after 26 February 2001 are entitled to remain in Australia indefinitely but are ineligible for a range of benefits available to permanent residents and citizens unless they make the necessary applications. Applicants for citizenship must have been in Australia as a permanent resident for a total of two years[5] in the previous five years, including a total of 12 months in the two years immediately prior to application.

SCV-holders who arrived in Australia on or before 26 February 2001, by contrast, do not need to apply for permanent residence status in Australia in order to become Australian citizens (or to receive benefits available to citizens and permanent residents). The principal requirement for citizenship is that they must obtain a copy of their personal records history (criminal record) from the New Zealand Ministry of Justice (unless they took up residence in Australia before the age of 16).

The 2001 Australian census recorded a total of 355,680 New Zealand-born persons in Australia.[6] Only 36.5% of this group has taken up citizenship (adjusted to account for those not having met the residential requirement for citizenship and those in Australia temporarily, and for census undercounting). While this figure appears low, it does represent an increase from 1986 (32%) and 1996 (25.7%).[7] The New Zealand-born figures are very low, however, compared to the rate for all overseas-born, which was 75.1% in 2001.[8]

Māori have an even lower rate of take-up of Australian citizenship. Among Māori born outside Australia in 2001 who had resided in Australia for five years or more, only 22.8% reported that they were Australian citizens. Of all ancestral groups in 2001, only one other - the Japanese - had a lower rate of take-up of Australian citizenship.[9]

CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Survey results bear out the census figures.[10] Of the 1110 New Zealand-born individuals who answered survey question 14, 861 (77.6%) reported that they were not Australian citizens (three of the five born in other countries had also not become citizens, giving a grand total of 864 non-citizens). Of the 56 Australian-born respondents, 10 also reported that they were not Australian citizens, although all of these individuals must have been unaware that they had become Australian citizens at birth.[11]

Survey question 15 asked those non-Australian citizens why they had not become citizens. Table 8.1 shows their responses.

TABLE 8.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 15 – SHOW THE REASONS WHY HAVE YOU NOT BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN (NON-AUSTRALIAN CITIZENS) (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

Response	%
Don't qualify – haven't lived here long enough	*10.4*
There's no need to do that	*29.7*
Just haven't got round to it	*35.1*
It is too expensive	*6.7*
I want to go on being a citizen of New Zealand only	*48.3*
Other	*5.2*
Don't know	*3.0*

Question 16 asked those who had not become citizens if they thought they would eventually do so. The results show, unsurprisingly, that those who see no need and those who want to remain a citizen only of New Zealand see themselves

4 Exceptions exist, again, for those SCV-holders in Australia on 26 February 2001 or those who lived there for a cumulative period of at least 12 months in the two years prior to February 2001.

5 At the time of writing, the Australian Government had signalled an intention to introduce legislation in 2007 to increase the residency requirement to four years.

6 Overall, there were an estimated 471,000 New Zealand citizens present in Australia on 30 June 2006 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Population Flows: Immigration aspects*, Canberra, January 2007, p 49, www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/popflows2005-6/Ch4.pdf – accessed 12 March 2007).

7 The Department of Immigration and Citizenship credits the upward trend in part to 'greater efforts made by Australian Governments from 1994 onward to encourage long-staying migrants to become citizens' (see 'New Zealand-born people in Australia', www.immigration.gov.au/statistics/publications/community_profiles/new_zealandnet.pdf – accessed 16 September 2005).

8 Referenced in 'The New Zealand born community in Australia', *Poihākena Post*, issue 2, Hui-tanguru 2005, p 10, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

9 Khoo and Lucas (2004), pp 35, 92.

10 Of the 60 Māori surveyed in the 2002 Ipswich research, only 20% had become Australian citizens, compared with 70% of Cook Islanders, 65% of Samoans and 46% of Tongans (Shehata 2003, p 25).

11 As a further point of comparison, in a 2002 study of Turkish attitudes to integration in Germany, 70% of the 463 surveyed said they either were unlikely to or definitely would not apply for German citizenship, which is unsurprising since naturalised Germans must renounce their existing nationality. Were they entitled to apply for dual citizenship, however, the number of those saying they probably or definitely would not decreased to 44% (see Veysel Özcan, *Turks in Germany: Aspects of their socio-economic and socio-cultural integration*, paper presented for the conference 'Integration of immigrants from Turkey in Austria, Germany and Holland', Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 27–28 February 2004, www.ces.boun.edu.tr/papers/feb/veysel_ozcan.pdf – accessed 10 August 2006).

as the least likely to become an Australian citizen. But, as if doubting their own conviction, nearly one in five of those who said they want to go on being a citizen only of New Zealand answered 'don't know' to question 16, suggesting a sense on their part that their determination may waver in the future.

TABLE 8.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 16 – DO YOU THINK YOU WILL BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN? (NON-AUSTRALIAN CITIZENS)[12]

Response	%
Definitely	*10.9*
Probably	*28.3*
Probably not	*25.6*
Definitely not	*19.4*
Don't know	*15.8*

The Australian-born respondents who said they were not citizens have, for the reasons outlined above, not been counted in these tables. But their reasons for saying they had not become citizens included wanting to be a New Zealand citizen only (five instances), not having got round to it (three) and seeing no need (three).

Almost all those who said they did not yet qualify to become Australian citizens arrived in Australia in or after 2001. Half of this group, though, said they definitely or probably would not become Australian citizens. Those who said they had just not got round to becoming citizens mainly arrived before 2001. But the lack of pressure on these people to become citizens is evident from the fact that 40% of them had been in Australia since the 1980s and over 60% since before 1998. In hindsight, it might also have been useful to ask those who had arrived after February 2001 whether they had become permanent residents (and, if not, why not, and whether they intended to in time). While the motivation to become a permanent resident in order to obtain Medicare and other benefits would appear large, the cost is high. A call to the helpline at the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (as it was then known) on 22 August 2006 established that the current 'typical first-stage fee' for obtaining permanent residency was A$1990. By contrast, the additional cost of becoming a citizen was A$120.

The key conclusions to draw from this are that:

- nearly half of all respondents who had not taken up citizenship said that they want to go on being a citizen of New Zealand only
- 30% of non-citizens also saw no need to become an Australian citizen, although a quarter said that they have simply not yet got round to it
- there is a higher incidence among Māori than the New Zealand-born overall of not taking up Australian citizenship.

THE CHANGED REGIME SINCE 2001

In the debate in the Senate on the proposed legislation that effected the 2001 changes, Democrats Senator Andrew Bartlett raised the concern that the Bill might seriously disadvantage some New Zealanders:

> In some circumstances, what this bill may do is place New Zealanders in a worse position than migrants from other countries. The bill will ensure that people who live, work, pay taxes and raise children in Australia will never be entitled to social security income support because they were born in New Zealand, unless they take the previously unnecessary step of obtaining permanent residence. Other than under social security law and this change we are making now, there is no need or purpose for them to do so.

Bartlett's point was that the trans-Tasman travel arrangement allowed – and indeed encouraged – the free movement of migrants between Australia and New Zealand. Thus, unlike other migrants who must obtain permanent residence before they even arrive in Australia, many New Zealanders may be unable to access assistance at a time of need. In response to the Government's suggestion that the answer simply lay with New Zealanders becoming permanent residents, Senator Bartlett replied that that would put 'a whole new tilt on what the trans-Tasman agreement is about, which is not simply permanent migration but the unrestricted movement of people between the two countries'.[13]

The survey comments of a woman in Victoria illustrate the kind of scenario to which Bartlett was referring. In 2002, her husband moved to Australia and then sent for her and her two children three months later. At first, they all stayed together at his sister's house, but after a disagreement were asked to leave.

12 Results are shown without reference to how question 15 was answered.

13 See Bartlett (2001), pp 22802, 22807.

Her husband could not find work and the strain on the marriage led to separation and, eventually, divorce. Not being a permanent resident, the woman wrote that she was left raising two teenage children on a family tax benefit (for which New Zealanders who are not permanent residents remain eligible), which barely matched her rent. Nor did she qualify for full employment support and thus did not have a case manager helping her find work. It is probably this type of situation Bartlett was referring to when he said:

> If we are going to encourage or enable people to come here to contribute to our community, we need to recognise that those people may sometimes, through no fault of their own, unexpectedly fall into difficulties, and it is in our interests as well as theirs to ensure that they do not become an underclass in our community.[14]

In this vein, a survey respondent in Cessnock called for assistance for 'Maoris who come here to start a life[.] there is no support provided at this stage like short term accommodation, financial assist[ance], a safe haven. information at least if a crisis arises'. Unsurprisingly, a lot of people told me that they warn Māori in New Zealand to attempt, if possible, to secure a job before arriving in Australia.[15]

REASONS FOR NOT BECOMING CITIZENS

Māori in Australia not taking up Australian citizenship was the lead story of the second edition of the short-lived but excellent Sydney Māori newspaper, the *Poihākena Post*, in February 2005. Editor Arini Poutu opened with the following challenge:

> Why is it that so many of us Māori (and New Zealanders) living in Australia have chosen not to become Australian citizens? *Is it because of Rugby?* Do we think that we will have to stop supporting the All Blacks and start singing Waltzing Matilda? *Is it because of cultural identity?* Do we think it will take away our identity as a Māori? Our identity as New Zealanders? *Is it because we don't have to, so why bother?* Migration to Australia has become more and more restricted for New Zealanders over the last few years, so can we assume we will always have a choice? *Or is it out of respect for the tangata whenua of this land?* Are we waiting for the right time, spiritually, when there has been true reconciliation with the Aboriginal people of this land? *Or are we prejudiced against Australia and Australians?* Do we resist becoming Australians because we grew up competing against them? Do we dislike the big brother aspect of relations between NZ and Australia? Or is it because many of us always intend to return to our homeland, to Aotearoa? *Or is it pride?* Is it this pride in where we were born and where we came from that stops us from taking pride in where we have chosen to live?[16] [emphasis in original]

The survey obviously helps answer some of these questions. It is clear that the two major factors are the perceived lack of need and the desire to retain a distinctly New Zealand sense of identity. The survey also reveals that over 60% of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia think it probable or definite that they will return to New Zealand to live (see chapter 18). But the other matters highlighted in the *Poihākena Post* are certainly also contributing factors.[17]

Many Māori told me that the prospect of having to sing 'Advance Australia Fair' during the citizenship ceremony posed an almost insurmountable barrier to any thoughts they entertained of becoming Australian citizens.[18] A woman in Brisbane who had gone through the ceremony admitted to me that she had sung 'God Defend New Zealand' under her breath instead.

The 'rugby factor' is not to be underestimated in all this – for followers of New Zealand sports teams, Australia is always the arch enemy and becoming an Australian is simply anathema because of this. Paul Bergin wrote in his 2002 article 'Maori sport and cultural identity in Australia' that passionate identification with New Zealand sporting sides was reason alone for many not to become citizens.

Bergin also reported that, in some cases:

> Maori spouses take opposing sides over the question of Australian citizenship. Several Maori women stated that they wanted to become Australian citizens but had declined to do so because of their husbands' determined opposition to 'disowning New Zealand' and the land of their ancestors.[19]

14 Ibid, p 22805.

15 A 2003 research paper by Richard Bedford, Elsie Ho and Graeme Hugo concluded that the 2001 policy changes had not had a significant effect on the permanent and long-term migration of New Zealanders to Australia, or their return migration from Australia (see Bedford, Ho and Hugo, 'Trans-Tasman migration in context: Recent flows of New Zealanders revisited', *People and Place*, 11(4), 2003, pp 53–62).

16 'Citizenship: A question of identity?', *Poihākena Post*, issue 2, Hui-tanguru 2005, p 1, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

17 It is, of course, possible that the 2001 changes are prompting more Māori in Australia to take out citizenship than ever before. A man in Sydney heavily involved in the Māori community told me he had heard of many people being motivated in this way.

18 Most said, with relief, that anthem-singing had not been part of their ceremony.

19 Bergin (2002), p 266.

Such stubborn pride in their homeland was also clearly evident in many of the people I spoke to. Another woman I met in Brisbane, who had been in Australia for 22 years, told me that Australia was only where she chose to live and was not and never would be her home. She had never considered becoming an Australian citizen and liked to tell her New Zealand whānau when she got on a plane in Auckland to return to Australia, after a visit, that she was not going 'home', just returning to her 'holiday house'.

IDENTITY

In all this, Māori are probably exhibiting the New Zealand tendency in Australia of 'maintaining boundaries' in order not to lose their national identity when living in a similar culture. A recent study by two Bond University academics on the Gold Coast discusses this phenomenon. Their paper argues that New Zealand identity is strengthened in Australia 'because, in defining themselves, people need to assert their difference from a dominant majority'.[20] Māori are, of course, a subset of New Zealanders in Australia, and have some prior New Zealand experience of gaining identity through their difference from the majority. I discuss in chapter 17 the view of many, however, that it took moving to Australia for them to take greater pride in their Māori identity. For now, though, it is worth examining what the survey revealed about the sense of national or ethnic identity among Māori in Australia.

As noted in chapter 5, survey question 19 asked respondents how they would answer the Australian census ancestry question, while survey question 13 asked respondents to choose which one of the following descriptions fitted them best: 'an Australian Māori'; 'a New Zealand Māori living in Australia'; 'a Māori living in Australia'; or 'none of those'. Table 8.3 shows the results of these two questions for both the New Zealand-born and Australian-born respondents.

If we look at New Zealand-born respondents' answers to question 13 and the year they arrived in Australia, we can see how, as their length of residence in Australia increases, they tend first to drop 'New Zealand' as a descriptor in their identity and, eventually, to adopt 'Australian', as shown in table 8.4.

TABLE 8.4: INFLUENCE OF LENGTH OF AUSTRALIAN RESIDENCE ON CHOICE OF DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT IDENTITY (NEW ZEALAND-BORN RESPONDENTS)[23]

Descriptor	Pre-1970	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-06	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
An Australian Māori	*7.0*	*31.0*	*47.9*	*9.9*	*4.2*	*100.0*
A Māori living in Australia	*2.1*	*12.7*	*23.8*	*31.0*	*31.5*	*100.0*
A New Zealand Māori living in Australia	*1.9*	*7.7*	*20.6*	*30.2*	*39.5*	*100.0*

TABLE 8.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTIONS 19 AND 13 ON ANCESTRY AFFILIATIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF CURRENT IDENTITY

Question 19

Place of birth	Ancestry response would be 'Māori'		Ancestry response would be 'New Zealander'		Ancestry response would be 'Australian'		Ancestry response would be 'Other'	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Australia	*44*	*78.6*	*6*	*10.7*	*19*	*33.9*	*7*	*12.5*
New Zealand[21]	*996*	*85.6*	*507*	*44.9*	*24*	*2.1*	*24*	*2.1*

Question 13

Place of birth	Identify as a Māori living in Australia		Identify as a New Zealand Māori living in Australia		Identify as an Australian Māori		Identify as none of those	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Australia	*15*	*2.7*	*7*	*12.5*	*29*	*51.8*	*5*	*8.9*
New Zealand[22]	*380*	*33.7*	*627*	*55.7*	*73*	*6.5*	*46*	*4.1*

20 Alison Green and Mary Power, 'Defining transnationalism boundaries: New Zealand migrants in Australia', *Australian Journal of Communication*, 33(1), 2006, p 37, http://epublications.bond.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1075&context=hss_pubs (accessed 23 November 2006).

21 Percentages are on the basis of 1129 rather than 1144 people, as 15 New Zealand-born respondents gave no answer. Percentages also add up to more than 100, as respondents could select more than one option.

22 Percentages are on the basis of 1126 rather than 1144 people, as 18 New Zealand-born respondents gave no answer.

23 Those who answered 'none of those' have been excluded from this calculation and table.

As can be seen, a large majority of those describing themselves as 'an Australian Māori' arrived before 1990, while a similar proportion of those selecting 'a New Zealand Māori living in Australia' arrived during or after that year. Those choosing 'a Māori living in Australia' were a little more evenly distributed.

Looking at age range, year of arrival and survey comments entered at questions 8 and 50 allows the identification of a group of 76 respondents who arrived in Australia as children (aged under 15).[24]

The results (table 8.5) suggest that, while a person's sense of New Zealand identity diminishes in the second generation, it is not necessarily replaced by a sense of being Australian. Indeed, the challenge for young Māori of fitting into Australia seems to have left some adrift, feeling like they properly fit into neither Australia nor New Zealand (also see the section 'Fitting in' in chapter 16). A survey respondent in Wollongong, for example, wrote 'Living as a Maori in Australia I have always felt as though I don't truly belong to either society. I am labelled by Aussies as a New Zealander and my NZ whanau reject me as a Aussie'. A woman in Brisbane put it this way:

> Having lived in Australia since the age of 8 both my brother and I have missed out on not only learning about our culture and heritage but also knowing what it's like to grow up on a marae, learn te reo, hapu songs and what it's like being Maori in New Zealand.
>
> Racial discrimination was always a significant impact in both my brother and my childhood years. However, this was in Australia and New Zealand. Discrimination was far greater in Australia with racial slurs and segregation a common occurrence. Discrimination in New Zealand was more commonly attributed to Maori associating me as an Australian and being too 'white'. Thinking too 'white', dressing too 'white'.
>
> At times it feels as if you are in limbo. You're not accepted in the country you live in (Australia) and even worse you're not accepted in the place you love (New Zealand).
>
> Where do I belong?
>
> I have commonly heard this among Maori living in Australia.

The feeling of belonging in neither country is certainly experienced by second-generation migrants in other countries. A recent study of Turkish integration in Germany showed that 31% of second-generation Turks felt 'hardly' or 'not at all' German (with 29% feeling 'totally' or 'mainly' German and 40% feeling 'partially' so), while a similar proportion (30%) felt little or no connection to Turkey (as opposed to 37% feeling a strong or very strong connection and 33% feeling connected 'in some respects'). It is possible that many who felt alienated in Germany had similar feelings about their ethnic homeland.[25]

VOTING AND POLITICS

Some of the more politically minded Māori have ideological objections to becoming Australian citizens. A woman I met in Perth, for example, said that Australia's poor record with respect to Aboriginal rights meant she could not contemplate becoming a citizen. But I suspect this would be a minority

TABLE 8.5: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTIONS 19 AND 13 ON ANCESTRY AND DESCRIPTIONS OF CURRENT IDENTITY (RESPONDENTS WHO ARRIVED IN AUSTRALIA AS CHILDREN)

Question 19

	Ancestry response would be 'Māori'		Ancestry response would be 'New Zealander'		Ancestry response would be 'Australian'		Ancestry response would be 'Other'	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arrived as children	*69*	*90.8*	*24*	*31.6*	*5*	*6.6*	*3*	*3.9*

Question 13

	Identify as a Māori living in Australia		Identify as a New Zealand Māori living in Australia		Identify as an Australian Māori		Identify as none of those	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arrived as children	*23*	*30.3*	*29*	*38.2*	*22*	*28.9*	*2*	*2.6*

24 This group will not include all who arrived under the age of 15 because survey respondents selected from 10-year age brackets.

25 See Özcan (2004), who notes that 'nothing is asserted about whether alienation from Turkey and integration in Germany determines each other'.

view. In fact, the lack of take-up of Australian citizenship probably has more to do with political apathy than political mindedness. Unless they were registered to vote before 25 January 1984, non-citizens in Australia cannot vote. I did not meet anybody who expressed frustration about this. In fact, one man in rural New South Wales who had become a citizen told me that he still did not vote, even though it is compulsory for Australian citizens. A woman in Cairns said she had become a citizen after many years of living in Australia. When I asked her if that was so she could vote, she said 'No! Who cares what government they've got!'.[26] Of the 770 survey respondents who arrived in Australia from 1985 to 2004 and answered the question[27] (since later arrivals would not have had time, in likelihood, to become citizens anyway), 630 (81.8%) were not citizens and thus definitely not able to vote.[28] Therefore, Māori in Australia are significantly lacking a political voice.

Arini Poutu stressed this in her *Poihākena Post* editorial:

> Whatever the reason many of us have chosen not to become Australian citizens, the political reality is that if Māori (and New Zealanders) who are permanent residents of Australia, don't become Australian citizens, we make ourselves invisible, politically, and therefore culturally. It is a matter of mathematics. In order for Māori to be counted, we need to exist. If we are not on the electoral roll, then in the eyes of the politician we do not exist. We can't lobby the government, we can't write to our local Minister [sic] (because we don't have one) – we can't be a significant cultural entity if we have no voice politically. As a minority in a modern democratic state it is difficult enough to find a voice. By limiting our own access to the political process we deny ourselves even the chance.[29]

Feeling politically overlooked led some Māori in Sydney in 2006 to discuss forming a political party to represent not just Māori but all those they see as marginalised in Australian society (particularly Aboriginal people). A wānanga (seminar) on this matter was held in January 2006 at the Poi Turaki whare (meeting house) in Newcastle.

Migrants often keep their heads down, work hard and do not involve themselves in the politics of their new land. That may also apply to Māori in Australia. But it is equally true that migrants frequently remain fully immersed in the political affairs of their homeland, and here it is harder to make a judgement. Survey question 27 asked respondents whether they felt they had left New Zealand political issues behind them on moving to Australia. Of the New Zealand-born Māori arriving in Australia up to and including 2004, 34.7% said 'yes', 45.3% answered 'not applicable/not interested in politics/no opinion' and only 20.0% said 'no'. However, of these same people, 138 (13.3%) reported at question 29 that they had voted in the 2005 New Zealand election from Australia, and a further 1.6% said they had voted while (presumably temporarily) in New Zealand.[30]

This is an interesting statistic. Of the total of 43,535 New Zealand voters enrolled overseas in 2005, 24,100 (55.4%) were enrolled in Australia. Overall, 27,482 people (which is not a subset of the 43,535 enrolments, since many will have voted while on a temporary holiday overseas) cast valid votes overseas (including 612 on the Māori roll). Thus, since 55.4% of overseas voters were enrolled in Australia, the Electoral Enrolment Centre estimated that approximately 15,060 people voted in Australia, including 325 people on the Māori roll.[31] Obviously, there must have been many more Māori enrolled on the general roll who voted from Australia. But even so, the survey figures seem almost impossibly high. If we estimate that Māori are roughly 20% of New Zealand citizens in Australia (approximately 100,000 out of about 470,000[32]), then we might expect on a pro rata basis that 3000 Māori voted in the 2005 New Zealand election in Australia. But the survey instead seems to show that 13% voted of the, say, very conservatively, 50,000 New Zealand-born Māori in Australia aged 18 and over in 2005, which would be 6500 people.

It seems unlikely that nearly half of all votes in the 2005 New Zealand election in Australia were cast by Australian-resident Māori. Were the survey results accurate, it would also mean that Australian-resident Māori favoured the general

26 Had we asked citizens if they had voted when eligible in Australia, there may well have been many answering 'no'.

27 Twenty-nine respondents who arrived during this period did not give an answer.

28 Since the survey was open to those aged 15 and over, a few of this group would not yet be of voting age in any event. The 10-year bracket per age range makes it impossible to know how many people this applies to.

29 'Citizenship: A question of identity?', *Poihākena Post*, issue 2, Hui-tanguru 2005, p 1, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

30 Again, a small number of this group would not yet have reached voting age.

31 Electoral Commission, 'Election results', www.electionresults.govt.nz/e9/html/e9_part10_1.html (accessed 23 August 2006). I also made use of a spreadsheet compiled from Electoral Enrolment Centre figures by John Wilson, research analyst, Parliamentary Library, 8 March 2006.

32 See Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007), p 49 for the figure of 471,000 New Zealand citizens estimated to be in Australia at 30 June 2006.

roll over the Māori roll by a rate of 20 to one (as opposed to a rather more even split in New Zealand[33]). Nor can the results be explained as stemming from a high proportion of respondents being people likely to want to keep voting in New Zealand, since the vast majority said they had no interest in politics or had left New Zealand political issues behind them.

Despite the contradictions, however, it may well be that Māori in Australia make up a surprisingly large proportion of those voting in New Zealand elections in Australia, and that Māori in Australia greatly prefer the general roll over the Māori roll. In any event, and for reasons that appear throughout this report, Māori living overseas probably feel a greater stake in the politics of their homeland than do expatriate Pākehā.

As an aside, the qualification for New Zealand citizens to vote (aside, of course, from enrolment) is to have been in New Zealand at some stage during the previous three years. Eligibility was presumably not an issue for most of the New Zealand-born who arrived in Australia before 2005, since 61.3% of all these respondents reported at question 36 that they had been to New Zealand at least once during the previous 12 months.[34]

'HAVING THE OPERATION' – MĀORI TAKING UP AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP

There is, of course, a sizeable minority of Māori in Australia who have chosen to become Australian citizens. For many, it is obviously a difficult decision. A number of people told me becoming a citizen was referred to within their whānau as 'having the operation': it is something that is necessary and ultimately beneficial but a painful experience at the time. One survey respondent put it this way:

> Becoming a citizen of Australia took a lot of thought on my part, my heart is and always will be a part of Aotearoa, and becoming an Australian citizen has not and can never change that. I have pledged my allegiance to Australia and I will honour that pledge, but my heritage and whakapapa is NZ Maori and that is mine for time immemorial. I intend to be buried here with my husband (who died last year) but I know and believe that my spirit will return to the land of my forefathers – the land I still call home – Aotearoa! New Zealand.

Māori become Australian citizens because they feel that they owe Australia something for having given them opportunities they do not think they would have had in New Zealand. Others do so, quite pragmatically, because they consider it makes life in Australia easier, or they fear it may become harder for non-citizens to enter Australia. Some simply have to in order to work as public servants, while a few think it important that they can vote in order to have a say in how their taxes are spent. Some also realise that Australia feels like home to them: they do not wish to return to New Zealand and they proudly announce that they have become citizens or bought their local burial plot. But these same people usually report that they would never have become an Australian citizen if they had had to give up New Zealand citizenship to do so. They are often quite frank, as well, that becoming an Australian citizen in no way equates in their eyes to becoming an Australian.

PARTICIPATION IN THE CENSUS

If Māori in Australia do not (or rather cannot) vote in such overwhelming numbers, it is perhaps little surprise that they feel themselves disconnected from the Australian state and political system. This can be seen in how some people I spoke to believed themselves ineligible for multicultural grants or the apparent disinclination of many to make use of mainstream services, as I discuss in chapters 9 and 18. It also might relate to a degree of apathy about or even opposition to filling in the Australian census. While most Māori I met realised the importance of the census, one man at the Waitangi Day festival in Merrylands in Sydney said 'I don't fill in the census – why should I? What's the Australian government ever done for us?', and a woman in Queensland active in Māori community events told me that she had not filled in the census because it simply had not occurred to her that it was important or relevant to do so. Likewise, Paul Bergin was told by a 'prominent Sydney Māori community leader' in 1995 that the accuracy of the Māori population figures in the 1986 Australian census results could not be relied on since 'our people don't bother with such things'.[35]

Survey question 17 asked respondents if they had been in Australia when an Australian population census was being run. For those who answered 'yes', question 18 asked them if they

33 In April 2006, there were approximately 208,000 on the Māori roll and 170,000 on the general roll (see Electoral Commission, '2006 Māori Electoral Option', www.elections.org.nz/news/meo-resource-kit.html – accessed 14 February 2007). In hindsight, survey respondents should have been asked not only whether they voted in the 2005 New Zealand election but also whether they were enrolled to do so (and on which roll – Māori or general).

34 To have used this question to test for eligibility to vote at the 2005 New Zealand election, the survey would have needed to ask whether respondents had been to New Zealand at all during the three years prior to September 2005.

35 Bergin(2001), p 40.

had answered it last time they were present for it. Since census night was 8 August 2006, it came in the middle of the survey period. Both those born in Australia and those arriving before or during 2001 who answered the survey before 8 August 2006, therefore, as well as any respondents who answered the survey after 8 August, would seem the logical subset of responses to use to get a picture of Māori participation in the census. Of these 1024 persons, 259 gave no answer at question 18, which obviously is due to the length of time since many people were present for a census.[36] Of the remaining 765 people, 570 (74.5%) said they had answered the census, 148 (19.3%) said they had not and 47 (6.1%) entered 'don't know'.

The most reliable subset should be, of course, those who answered the survey after census night 2006, but of these 242 people, 58 still did not answer question 18. Of the 184 others, 81.5% said they had answered the census, 14.7% said they had not and 3.8% entered 'don't know'.

While these figures initially appear to indicate a significant undercounting of Māori in the Australian census, they are probably unreliable for a number of reasons. The principal one is that the Australian Bureau of Statistics' post-enumeration survey (conducted several weeks after every census) has shown that, while there is usually above-average undercounting of the New Zealand-born in Australia (partly due to the relatively higher concentration of New Zealand-born in age groups that have a higher undercounting rate, such as 20–29), the figures are certainly much lower than 15–20%.[37] Furthermore, as noted, the Te Puni Kōkiri survey was, for most of its duration, undertaken nearly the full five years after the previous census. Also, many people have the census filled in for them by proxy, particularly by the female head of the household. Of the 175 people who said that they did not answer the last census for which they were present in Australia, 36.8% were men, as opposed to 33.5% of total respondents being men.

It may, of course, be that the undercounting of Māori among the New Zealand-born is higher than for non-Māori, but I would not like to draw such a conclusion on the basis of the survey results. Again, it is a matter that would benefit from further research, especially because of the 'missing' Māori men in the 20–49 age range in New Zealand. As noted in chapter 4, a reason for the missing Māori men in the combined Australian and New Zealand population tallies may be that actual census undercounting has been higher than identified. Certainly, some 2001 Australian census figures seem surprisingly low; despite hearing in nearby Ararat that there was a kapa haka group in Stawell (Victoria), for example, the 2001 census tally in that town was only three Māori. Similarly, although I heard from several people that there were many Māori in the meatworks in Bordertown (South Australia), the 2001 census total there was only 14.[38]

The perception among Māori that many of them do not fill in the census may relate to a common suspicion that the census figures are too low. As outlined in chapter 3, Paul Bergin was given – at a time when no census data on the current Māori population was available in Australia – many estimates by Māori he met in Australia that were clearly excessive. The publication of the 2001 census figures (despite their flaws) has clearly not discontinued this practice. One man in Melbourne told me the figure of 10,800 Māori in Victoria at the 2001 census should have been at least 30,000, and that in reality there were more Māori in Victoria than either New South Wales or Queensland. Similarly, a woman in Melbourne told me there were at least 15,000 Māori living there. Two prominent Māori I spoke to in Sydney said the official figures for New South Wales were much too low. Extravagantly, a man in north Queensland said the 'known' number of Māori in Sydney when he arrived in 1969 was 25,000, while in Melbourne it was 20,000. A man on the Central Coast said about 8–10,000 Māori now lived there. Likewise, a man in Perth said there were 50,000 Māori in Western Australia and a woman in Kalgoorlie said there were 20,000 New Zealanders (Māori and Pākehā) in her town. Most remarkably, a woman in Adelaide said she was sure there were 150,000 *first-generation* Māori in Australia, and a group in Sydney came up with the admitted guess of 180,000 Māori in Sydney. When I queried the basis for the last figure, a woman explained it to me like this:

> Yeah, I think the perception that there are heaps (more than 30,000) of Māori living [in] Sydney is really strong. But in saying

36 As a further illustration of this, of the full 1205 survey respondents, 147 said 'don't know' at question 17 and 32 did not state an answer.

37 In 1986, the estimated undercount of New Zealand-born was 4.5% as opposed to the national average of 1.8%. In 1991, it was 3.5% (as opposed to 1.8%), and in 1996 it was 2.8% (as opposed to 1.6%) (see Australian Bureau of Statistics release 3228.0 – 'Demographic estimates and projections: Concepts, sources and methods', www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/F86A8B5A40CD4735CA25697E0018FC10?opendocument – accessed 20 July 2006). I could not locate any undercounting estimate for the 2001 census.

38 There is, of course, a range of possible explanations for these figures besides undercounting, such as: an influx of people since 2001; a higher proportion of local Māori not having written 'Māori' among their first two census ancestry selections or having entered 'New Zealander' only; or the kapa haka taking place in Stawell because of a tutor living there and Māori travelling there from surrounding towns.

that I think that idea is perpetuated by things like a lot of Maori living in the same areas/suburbs, going to the same social functions, tend[ing] to hang out with other Maori/Kiwis, the fact that most Maori come here cos they already have whanau/friends here, all these things tend to make you think that your community is bigger than it actually is.

Then you have the situation where ... people quite often talk about the Maori population in Sydney when they are actually referring to the NZ population. I think alot of people tend to use Maori and NZ interchangedly without really thinking about it – I mean they are aware of the difference, but sort of say it without thinking.

As noted in chapter 5, the official 2001 figure of 73,000 Māori in Australia is much too low, for a number of reasons. At this point, it only remains to be seen what increase in the official figure will be revealed by the 2006 census. It will also be interesting to see whether the 2001 tightening of access to social security benefits in Australia (and a corresponding fear of further restrictions) has led to more New Zealand-born Australian residents taking up Australian citizenship.

CHAPTER 9: LOOKING TO NEW ZEALAND

Chapter summary

- The Australian Government spends tens of millions of dollars per year helping settle ethnic migrants in Australia, and all the state governments have multicultural funding bodies.
- Despite this, many Māori prefer to look to New Zealand for funding and support, and some do not even believe themselves eligible for Australian funding.
- While it appears that Māori in Australia do not tend to send cash remittances home, they clearly do make tangible contributions to Māori in New Zealand, just as Māori organisations in New Zealand often contribute financial and other support to Māori in Australia.

SEEKING NEW ZEALAND FUNDING

As many Māori in Australia do not become Australian citizens and intend to return to New Zealand to live, generally maintaining a strong sense of New Zealand identity, they tend to look to New Zealand for sources of funding and other forms of support to achieve their personal and community aims.

Likewise, many Māori do not see themselves as immigrants in Australia, and especially not ethnic migrants like the Vietnamese, Greeks and others. As a man on the Central Coast put it to me, 'Māori are not immigrants – we're part of the Anzac family'. Paul Bergin reported that, when some members of a New South Wales group suggested approaching the State Government for funding for a community centre, a kaumātua objected and declared 'We're not bloody ethnics'.[1]

Some express genuine surprise when they learn they might be eligible for community funding. Another man on the Central Coast told me 'I've been here twenty years and I've only just heard that Māori might be eligible for government grants. We've been getting ripped off because no-one knew that, despite everyone paying so much tax'. One survey respondent similarly seemed to suggest something of a conspiracy to keep Māori ignorant on the matter, saying 'I heard that the Australian government has money put aside for polynesians, but they don't make it widely known'.

There are, of course, many Māori who are aware, although usually vaguely, of local sources of funding. Despite this, my experience was often that their first reaction was to look to New Zealand when funds were needed, either to the Government or to iwi organisations. I was often asked whether I thought a request for funding for a particular project would be met favourably at home. My meetings with people around Australia yielded the following examples:

- A woman in Sydney wanted New Zealand Government funding to set up a 'transition support office' for Māori arriving in Australia, since, she explained, 'Many Maori arrive with little or no knowledge of Immigration Requirements, e.g medicare, tax, bank a/c, employment (CV & Covering Letters for application), rental housing etc'. She said she had attempted to access Australian sources of funding without success.

1 Bergin (1998), p 141.

- A woman wanted funding to set up a similar service in Brisbane to help new Māori migrants settle in.
- A woman in Queensland wanted to know if the New Zealand Government would fund an exhibition of her artwork.
- A woman in north Queensland wanted to know if she could obtain New Zealand funding for a survey she wanted to carry out as part of her university studies on Māori health issues in Australia.
- A woman in Adelaide thought the New Zealand Government should put money into Māori suicide prevention in South Australia.
- A man in Sydney thought the New Zealand Government should establish a research institute at an Australian university to study issues affecting the Māori population in Australia, such as rates of suicide.
- A man in New South Wales had unsuccessfully sought New Zealand Government funding to produce a music CD.
- A woman in Kalgoorlie said that Te Puni Kōkiri should help Māori acquire financial skills and establish themselves in business in Australia.[2]

I have no doubt that some of these projects would be very worthwhile, and of benefit to Australia as well as New Zealand. But it would seem inappropriate, for example, for the New Zealand Government to be actively helping its citizens to leave and live in another country or to set themselves up in business there (unless, of course, there were some clear and direct benefit to New Zealand, such as the promotion of New Zealand and its culture[3]).

That said, I do not doubt that there is a genuine transition problem for many Māori who move to Australia. As can be seen in Senator Bartlett's comments quoted in chapter 8, Māori (and other New Zealanders) arrive in Australia in very different circumstances to all other migrants, since no migration approval is necessary. The result is, Bartlett observed, 'The process of migration from countries other than New Zealand usually leads to a greater degree of preparation for migration on behalf of the people involved'.[4] To compound the problem, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship has money for settling new migrants, but I understand this is tagged for groups arriving on permits and other visas, rather than New Zealanders entering on the SCV.

With respect to suicide prevention funding, I have no expertise in the matter but it would seem logical that the biggest strides in dealing with Māori mental health issues are being made in New Zealand. Now that the Māori population has grown so big in Australia, the Australian health authorities might want to take advantage of this knowledge. Once again, however, this appears first and foremost to be a responsibility of the Australian state to its citizens and residents, rather than a New Zealand responsibility. I can only assume, in any event, that there is regular dialogue between mental health experts on both sides of the Tasman.[5]

In setting out these and other requests, Māori in Australia make a number of arguments as to why it would be appropriate for the New Zealand Government to continue to fund them in Australia:

- A woman in Melbourne argued that New Zealand should provide resources for its citizens, regardless of where they live. She made the point that Māori in Australia overwhelmingly remain New Zealand citizens and do not take out Australian citizenship. She also argued that many Māori had been unemployed when they left New Zealand, so had unburdened the New Zealand Government by leaving.[6] Because of this, she said, they were owed something in return. Another woman in Melbourne said funding to keep Māori culture alive was needed from New Zealand: 'I brought being Māori with me – I can't give that away'.
- Many feel that they were effectively forced to leave New Zealand because they could not earn enough money to provide for their families. One survey respondent wrote 'I didn't want to leave, but I felt I had no choice'.
- A man on the Central Coast said 'Māori in Australia have made or saved the New Zealand Government billions through our cultural performances which have promoted New Zealand', while another in Kalgoorlie argued that Māori

2 A number of survey respondents also suggested that the New Zealand Government should fund Māori in Australia. A man in Adelaide, for example, wrote 'All Maori should have same rights as Maori at home with land claims and government funding for education etc'. A woman in Sydney also said there should be 'help financially to bring our tupapaku home'.

3 A survey respondent in Queensland had an interesting idea for mutually beneficial investment by New Zealand in the establishment of Māori businesses in Australia: 'It would be so wonderful if Maori living in Australia could have the same benefits of our whanau back home, with mentorship in new businesses, funding, as well as creating a 2 way path where both can benefit from doing such. Example, being able to tap into the resources back home whilst living here and when our businesses are up and running have that support continued throughout and we giving financial and other contributions back'.

4 See Bartlett (2001), p 22803.

5 See the discussion in chapter 18 of Perminder Sachdev's 1990 doctoral thesis.

6 A survey respondent likewise wrote 'I reckon Maoris in Oz are good 4 NZ in that if we were back home we could be unemployed and a burden to the country'.

keeping a strong Māori cultural profile in Australia was 'an asset in selling New Zealand'.[7]

- I was asked in Melbourne whether the New Zealand Government paid for ethnic community facilities in New Zealand, such as mosques. If so, I was told, the Government should pay for Māori community buildings in Australia. In a similar fashion, a couple in Melbourne said that the Government gave money to countries like Afghanistan, so should definitely do so for its own citizens in Australia.
- A man on the Central Coast was critical of the New Zealand Government's spending priorities in Australia, since, he felt, so little money is put into Māori kaupapa (projects) but $8 million had been 'wasted' on the 'kete [basket] handles' monument in Canberra, which commemorates the unique relationship between Australia and New Zealand.
- Finally, a number of people also said that the New Zealand Government, in assessing their requests for assistance, should bear in mind that Māori in Australia continue to vote in New Zealand.

Of course, not all Māori in Australia believe that the New Zealand Government should provide funding to their community. A man I spoke to in Victoria said he thought 'Māori coming here should lose their rights to iwi scholarships and government support from home. They should live by their new country's rules'. Similarly, a man in Sydney said that the New Zealand Government should offer nothing to Māori in Australia:

> There are Māori in places like Italy and Germany, and no-one's suggesting the New Zealand Government should do anything for them. Māori here just hang on relentlessly to New Zealand as a kind of lifeline. They're so used to the Government helping them at home that they think it should help them wherever they go.

Such a view would probably be in the minority. The first part of survey question 35 asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'The NZ Government forgets about Māori in Australia except at election time'. While the question was designed to test some apparent cynicism towards political parties that campaign in Australia around election time, rather than the Government itself (and I presume it was in this sense that many answered), there was very little disagreement with the statement (even if nearly 40% of respondents were neutral or did not know).

TABLE 9.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 35 (PART 1) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: THE NZ GOVERNMENT FORGETS ABOUT MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA EXCEPT AT ELECTION TIME

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
%	%	%	%	%	%
32.0	*25.5*	*19.7*	*2.5*	*0.4*	*19.9*

Nearly 60% agreed with this statement, with one survey respondent in Sydney writing that he 'would like more commitment from Govts in NZ, yes they want our votes but what's in it for us here ... constantly told just think of our whanaus back home'.

Aside from the varied funding requests listed above, I received a number of funding queries or proposals that I believe need to be put into a separate category, namely ones involving the teaching of te reo Māori and the building of Māori community centres in Australia. Māori will probably receive little support from the Australian state to teach te reo, regardless of the quality of any funding proposals. As I understand it, the money Australia spends on language services for its ethnic migrants is principally targeted at helping those from non-English-speaking backgrounds learn better English, and at providing interpreter services. There would seem little policy benefit, from Australia's point of view, in reviving and maintaining the speaking of te reo Māori in Australia.[8]

Perhaps sensing this, many of those I spoke to had approached agencies in New Zealand directly for funding or resources, such as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), the Ministry of Education, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, but always, they told me, without success. A woman involved in running language classes through a kura reo (language school) in Melbourne, Te Whare Mātauranga o Te Ataawhai, said that the school had been able to access some local sources of funding but needed much more assistance than would realistically be provided in Australia. Her ultimate aim, she said, was to establish kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa (Māori language immersion schools) in Australia.

7 A survey respondent in Sydney wrote that being in Australia is 'an honour, feel like I'm representing New zealand'.

8 A survey respondent in Sydney wrote that one 'of the main things that I think we need here in Australia is [a] Maori based program for Te Reo Maori ... Nowhere by the way is there any way you can get funding from over this way'.

I know of one exception to this rule (and there are probably others). The New South Wales Māori School of Learning, which was established in late 2005 to teach te reo Māori to adults in the Sydney area, successfully secured funding from Te Taura Whiri's 2006 Mā Te Reo funding round. The kura had not previously sought any Australian sources of funding. It argued its case to Te Taura Whiri in part on the basis that:

> the majority of Maaori have considered, or intend to return to New Zealand at some stage of their lives. Therefore the actions and experience of Maaori in Australia will impact New Zealand when these people return.
>
> For the Maaori population in Australia to be largely non-Maaori speaking can only have negative consequences for Maaori in New Zealand. Therefore it is in the best interests of Maaori in New Zealand to do what they can to assist Maaori in Australia in learning Te Reo. We believe that with such large numbers of Maaori in Australia and with the population mobility between New Zealand and Australia, any money spent furthering Te Reo education in Australia is a vital part of the overall picture of Maaori development.[9]

With regard to community centres, several Māori I spoke to in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland felt that the New Zealand Government should build facilities for them in Australia, perhaps in partnership with Australian state governments or local councils (who would, for example, supply the land). The idea that the New Zealand Government might need to help out to achieve these aims partly stems from the fact that building a community centre would require a large capital outlay and could certainly not be met by the usual multicultural grants that are awarded in Australia, which tend to be smaller sums that must be spent on specific projects within financial years, rather than bigger amounts that could be banked away for the longer-term goal of building a whare. It also, of course, relates to the difficulties Māori communities across Australia have in raising funds themselves, which I discuss in chapter 10.

Aside from seeking direct funding or resources, a number of Māori around Australia wanted the New Zealand Government to establish a presence in Australia to support them. A woman in Melbourne, a man on the Central Coast and a woman in Brisbane all said that Te Puni Kōkiri should open an office in Australia. A man in Sydney said what Te Puni Kōkiri really should focus on in Australia was 'finding ways to unify the people'. A man in Perth was not so concerned about Te Puni Kōkiri, but wanted more than anything for the New Zealand Consulate in Perth to be reopened so that there was again a government presence in Western Australia, given its rapidly rising New Zealand-born population.

For some Māori in Australia, the answer to support from home lies not so much with the Government as with iwi organisations. As a man in Western Australia put it to me, 'I expect nothing from the New Zealand Government because I never got anything from Māori Affairs. It's the iwi rūnangas who should be doing more for Māori over here'. Indeed, a number of people complained that iwi organisations were not doing enough to help them. The second part of survey question 35 asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'Iwi organisations in NZ give enough support to Māori in Australia'. While the majority were neutral or did not know, the statement was supported by only a small minority of respondents.

TABLE 9.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 35 (PART 2) – IWI ORGANISATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND GIVE ENOUGH SUPPORT TO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
%	%	%	%	%	%
2.3	*7.7*	*26.6*	*22.3*	*15.5*	*25.6*

Frustration with the lack of support from the New Zealand Government and iwi organisations may slowly be encouraging some Māori to focus more on what Australia has to offer. For example, one survey respondent wrote unfavourably about both the New Zealand Government and iwi organisations. She said that the answer, for Māori, lies not with looking to New Zealand but in looking to Australia. In Australia, she said, Māori:

> are financially secure and not weighed down by the pressure of being at the 'beck and call' of pakeha politics. Such actions as threats to 'cancel our dole' 'make us work for 5 bucks an hour' and all the other bullshit stuff they hand out to Maori at home. We don't have to buy into that. We also don't have to be used numerically to prop up Maori organisations who ascertain Maori statistics to access funding for development that we are still waiting to happen. This is why we leave home

9 New South Wales Māori School of Learning (NSWMSL) application to Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 12 May 2006 (provided to me by the NSWMSL committee).

– a combination of Maori and Pakeha politics that work against us – not for us. We trust that this survey will not be used to benefit an organisation in NZ – unless those benefits are applied here in Australia. I am sceptical that this will happen for the reasons given in the survey – we are considered to be plastic Maori (a deserter type mentality) evolves around Maori in Oz by those at home. The good news really is that we don't need the support from NZ – we can get it here from Australia – this is a government that supports multiculturalism – we are coming of age in Australia and we will soon access those resources and begin capacity building for Maori here.[10]

In the light of this notion – that the Australian Government will help support the practice of Māori culture in Australia – it is worth assessing which Australian organisations offer such funding. The following account is by necessity very general and is not remotely comprehensive with regard to the range of grants that may be available.

MULTICULTURAL FUNDING FROM THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

The Department of Immigration and Culture (DIAC) is the place to start. The department's purpose is to 'enrich Australia through the well managed entry and settlement of people', and a key objective is to 'promote a society which values Australian citizenship, appreciates cultural diversity and enables migrants to participate equitably'.[11] DIAC has a Settlement Grants Programme (SGP) 'to fund services which help clients to become self reliant and participate equitably in Australian society as soon as possible after arrival'. A total of A$31 million was available for the SGP in the 2006/07 year, and an annual assessment of 'changing settlement patterns and needs' determines where it is spent. The DIAC website explains that SGP funding is directed towards those most in need, who are defined as those with low English proficiency and 'communities which require assistance to develop their capacity to organise, plan and advocate for services to meet their needs and which are still receiving a significant number of new arrivals'.[12]

DIAC maintains a 'settlement database' to help 'government and community agencies involved in the planning and provision of migrant settlement services'. The database draws on sources such as the Settlement Details form (Form 886) and 'departmental systems used to process migration applications both in Australia and at overseas posts'.[13]

Various state and federal government officials in Australia advised me that New Zealanders arriving on a Special Category Visa (SCV) 'fly under the radar' of DIAC and are therefore not benefiting from its services. And, while I was told that government officials had become increasingly aware of the fact that groups like Māori and Pacific Islanders were arriving from New Zealand with unique cultural needs and some adjustment problems (as well as some Pacific Islanders having difficulty speaking English), they remained a low policy priority and there had not yet been any broadening of DIAC's coverage to encompass them. Seeking clarification, I called DIAC (at the time, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs) in July 2006 to ask about its policy for settling Māori New Zealanders in Australia, but was told that no more information could be provided than was available on the department's website.

Below DIAC, at state level, there are a series of multicultural affairs departments or commissions with much more limited funds to spend on promoting multiculturalism and helping migrants adjust to life in Australia. In fact, the key objective of Multicultural Affairs Queensland (MAQ), for example, is to encourage mainstream Queensland government agencies to introduce multicultural initiatives and policies, rather than to fund multiculturalism in Queensland itself. MAQ has a total annual budget of around A$5 million, most of which is spent on funding multicultural community workers whose job it is to increase community involvement in government decision making and enhance government awareness of community needs[14] (in 2006, there was a worker contracted to liaise with

10 In late 2006, the Australian Government's support for the concept of 'multiculturalism' was in fact clearly waning. In announcing plans for law changes to lengthen the residence qualification for citizenship from two years to four and introduce a 30-question citizenship test (covering Australian history, English language proficiency and Australian values such as 'mateship'), Prime Minister John Howard said he held reservations about 'zealous multiculturalism. If it means that you emphasise diversity rather than unity, then I do have a problem with it. I prefer to talk of integration. I prefer to speak of a cohesive, integrated Australian society' (see 'Migrant test not racist policy, says PM', the *Australian,* 12 December 2006, www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20915852-601,00.html – accessed 12 December 2006, and 'Multiculturalism is a dirty word', the *Australian,* 4 November 2006, www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20697488-601,00.html – accessed 6 November 2006). (Note: in early 2007, the name of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs was changed to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.)

11 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'Who we are', www.immi.gov.au/about/department/who-we-are.htm (accessed 5 July 2006).

12 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'What is the Settlement Grants Programme', www.immigration.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/settlement-grants/what-sgp.htm (accessed 5 July 2006).

13 Department of Immigration and Citizenship 'Settlement Database', www.immigration.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/settlement-database/index.htm (accessed 5 July 2006).

14 Department of the Premier and Cabinet (Multicultural Affairs Queensland), 'MAQ Funded Multicultural Workers', www.premiers.qld.gov.au/multicultural/MAQ_Funded_Multicultural_Workers/ (accessed 31 August 2006).

the 'Pacific Island' community in Queensland, including Māori). In the 2005/06 year, MAQ allocated about $650,000 to 71 projects under its Multicultural Assistance Programme (mainly for cultural festivals).[15]

MAQ operates out of the Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet. In New South Wales, there is a Community Relations Commission with an independent commissioner, while Victoria has both a Victorian Multicultural Commission and a Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs (within the Department for Victorian Communities). In Western Australia, there is an Office of Multicultural Interests. In the Northern Territory, there is an Office of Multicultural Affairs within the Department of the Chief Minister. In Tasmania, there is Multicultural Tasmania within the Department of Premier and Cabinet, which in turn provides administrative support to the Tasmanian Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs. In South Australia, there is Multicultural South Australia, which includes a Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission.

All these agencies, like MAQ, have annual funding for multicultural community projects, although the amounts available may be quite limited. Multicultural Tasmania, for example, explains on its website 'Grants cannot be provided for Capital Works or related projects' and 'Requests for grants should not exceed $900'[16], while the maximum available to groups in the Northern Territory under the Multicultural Affairs Sponsorship Program is $2000.[17] The Northern Territory Government has a more substantial fund available under its Ethnic Communities Facilities Development Program, although this money ($500,000 per year) is for upgrades to existing facilities, rather than the building of new ones.[18]

There is obviously more money available in the bigger states: in March 2004, the Victorian State Government announced that the South Pacific Foundation of Victoria had been granted $50,000 from the Community Support Fund to produce a feasibility study on plans for a Māori and Pacific Island community centre. The Victorian Government appears to see itself assisting with plans for this centre beyond the feasibility study, with the Minister Assisting the Premier on Multicultural Affairs, John Pandazopolous, stating:

> The centre would provide a focal point for the 20,000 Maori and Pacific Islanders throughout Victoria … Access to the 'Marae' or community centre is a key part of Maori and Pacific Islander life. The cultural and community service centre will help meet community health and social needs through improved services, and also address cultural needs … It would be a place where they could showcase their cultural artefacts and share their heritage with the rest of Australia. We believe it would also increase a sense of belonging and reduce the isolation felt by some members of these communities.[19]

Despite this state government support, however, the leaders of the South Pacific Foundation advised me that they are expected to raise $3 for every $1 contributed by the Department of Victorian Communities to the community centre project. They therefore believe that the New Zealand Government will still need to make a significant contribution.

Aside from the federal- and state-level multicultural funding bodies, there are other agencies that provide grants or facilitate funding for community projects. Local government is an obvious example, but there are also a range of other agencies, such as the Australian Council for the Arts and the Australian Business Arts Foundation (see chapter 10). Funding is also available from philanthropic organisations and corporate bodies, which are often willing to sponsor large events.

With regard to language funding, the focus – as noted – of most multicultural agencies is to provide interpreter services and help those with limited English. There is, however, a degree of funding available from state governments for the teaching of languages other than English. For example, Education Queensland has an After Hours Ethnic Schooling programme that provides some funding for registered

15 Department of the Premier and Cabinet (Multicultural Affairs Queensland), 'Multicultural Assistance Program (MAP)', www.premiers.qld.gov.au/multicultural/grants/map/ (accessed 31 August 2006).

16 Department of Premier and Cabinet (Multicultural Tasmania), 'Grants program – funding guidelines', www.dpac.tas.gov.au/divisions/multitas/grants/index.html (accessed 5 July 2006).

17 Department of the Chief Minister (Northern Territory), 'Multicultural Affairs sponsorship program', www.nt.gov.au/dcm/multicultural/grants/masp.html (accessed 5 July 2006).

18 Department of the Chief Minister (Northern Territory), 'Ethnic communities facilities development program', www.nt.gov.au/dcm/multicultural/grants/ecfd.html (accessed 5 July 2006).

19 Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Office of the Premier (Victoria) (media release), 'Maori and Pacific Islander cultural centre gets feasibility study', 16 March 2004, www.dpc.vic.gov.au/domino/Web_Notes/newmedia.nsf/35504bc71d3adebcca256cfc0082c2b8/68dabe3af2ec4bbdca256e59007b45cb!OpenDocument (accessed 6 July 2006).

organisations to teach languages other than English.[20] Each state government also sponsors Ethnic Schools Associations, which are umbrella organisations for the array of ethnic schools teaching foreign languages.[21]

THE 'VISITOR' MINDSET OF MANY MĀORI

The people I met in Australia generally agreed that Māori are not accessing these services anywhere near as much as they could. In part, it is because of a lack of time, knowledge and confidence[22], but it is probably also because of an entrenched mindset on the part of many that Māori are not eligible for Australian Government services or that the only country that will fund Māori community initiatives will be New Zealand. As a man in Tasmania put it to me, 'We haven't looked to the state government for any funding *because we're not from here*' (my emphasis).

Māori in Australia share some similiarities with 'guest-worker' communities, such as the Turks in Germany,[23] despite the striking differences (for example, unlike German-resident Turks, Māori in Australia are quite socially and economically integrated, have not had the same language barriers or religious differences, have enjoyed almost unrestricted access to the country rather than coming via a structured migration programme and have had much easier access to citizenship). The similarities arise, however, from the way Māori view the country they have moved to, rather than the way it views them.

The German state's assumption was traditionally that guest workers like the Turks would return to their country of origin, and they were therefore viewed as a temporary presence. In Australia, however, it is Māori who see themselves as temporary visitors. Turks have had real obstacles to obtaining German citizenship, even if born in Germany[24], but in Australia it has largely been a conscious Māori choice not to become Australian citizens. Thus, by a different route, Māori find themselves sharing some traits with many German guest workers in not seeing themselves as Australian, not being especially politically integrated, doing hard or dirty work they believe Australians would not do themselves (as noted in chapter 7) and maintaining a stronger connection to their homeland than to their adopted country.[25] I discuss issues of identity and national allegiance in other chapters.

Finally, it should be added that what some Māori in Australia want from the New Zealand Government is not so much assistance to live in Australia but greater support for Māori at home. At one meeting I had, with about 15 Māori present, the overwhelming mood was that surveys and money would better be spent on improving the lot of Māori in New Zealand so that 'everyone doesn't end up in Australia'. Some of the people at that hui said that they would only fill in the survey because they reasoned it would help Māori in New Zealand: as one woman wrote in her survey comments, 'Help our people in NZ so they will not leave, cos we will never come home to live again (only to retire). Improve the wages etc because [otherwise] the NZ Govt is just gonna chase our people away'. Likewise, at another well-attended meeting, many of those present said the New Zealand Government should provide incentives for Māori to return home from Australia.

CONTRIBUTING TO NEW ZEALAND

Unlike other Pacific peoples living in Australia, it would appear that Māori have no particular culture of sending remittances to whānau at home. This probably stems from the fact that New Zealand is a first-world country in which Māori lead predominantly urban lives away from tribal territories, and are thus already potential remitters themselves (and are certainly a far cry from the traditional recipients of remittances in the Pacific). Māori migration to Australia has also never been consciously organised with remittances in mind – it has rather been ad hoc, within the same labour market and for personal betterment instead of out of obligation to kin.

20 See Department of Education, Training and the Arts, 'After Hours Ethnic Schooling (AHES) – Guidelines', http://education.qld.gov.au/curriculum/area/lote/guidelines.html (accessed 31 August 2006).

21 Department of Education and Children's Services (South Australia), 'The Ethnic Schools Association of SA Inc.', www.decs.sa.gov.au/ethnic/pages/default/12895/ (accessed 31 August 2006).

22 As a man on the Central Coast said, 'We need someone who understands the system and can get inside it'.

23 See Özcan (2004).

24 Germany has an eight-year residency requirement before one is eligible to apply for citizenship and foreign nationals must relinquish their own citizenship to become German citizens. A German birth did not confer citizenship for those born to non-citizen parents until Germany introduced a new citizenship law in 2000 (which gave citizenship by birth to those who had at least one parent with permanent residence or who had been living in Germany for at least eight years) (see 'German nationality law', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_nationality_law – accessed 12 December 2006). As noted in chapter 8, it was in 2001 that Australia, by contrast, tightened its rules around citizenship for those born to New Zealand parents (although this tightening and Germany's relaxation had a similar net effect for Māori in Australia and Turks in Germany).

25 Something of the mindset may be summed up by a survey respondent in Brisbane, who wrote 'now that we're here it's time to save save save so we can come home, invest in our country, buy up some land and settle down'.

The motive for moving to Australia of personal or immediate family advancement is partly explained in the following comments from a survey respondent in Brisbane:

> Marae life has to do with the whole iwi – not you as an individual. Our tamariki's [children] and rangatahi's [young people] were 'imitating' this cultural way of living. So most of us sought to escape – to start afresh – to look after ourselves and immediate families – to make our own decisions about who we wanted to be, do and have.

Some Māori in New Zealand resent Māori in Australia for seemingly not contributing to those maintaining ahi kā (fires of occupation) at home. On a www.maori-in-oz.com message board in August 2006, one member wrote 'if you're making enough $ to be as comfortable as you say, then why not send some of the money home for your marae and urupa maintenance? Or do you expect to be buried in an Aboriginal tribe's stolen whenua [land]?'.[26]

It is important, nevertheless, not to take too narrow a view of what 'remittances' entail. There are, clearly, many ways in which the Māori community in Australia contributes to the Māori community in New Zealand, and to the New Zealand economy overall. Elsewhere in this report, I discuss phenomena such as whānau in Australia raising 'at risk' children for their New Zealand kin, or helping New Zealand whānau settle in Australia and find work, or paying board for their own children to return for spells to New Zealand, or even becoming financial members of New Zealand political parties. Many also return to New Zealand to live with increased skills and more savings than when they left. Furthermore, there are many Māori in Australia paying rates on Māori land in New Zealand, not just for the benefit of their whānau but also as investments for themselves for their planned return home.

The traditional view of migration and remittances in the Pacific holds that it consists of two one-way processes – 'workers travelling from the islands to overseas destinations, and sending money and goods back to kin in their countries of origin'.[27] Various studies have suggested, however, that the process is much more complex than that, often involving a two-way or multi-directional flow of money, language, ideas and people.[28] For example, Māori in New Zealand contribute much to Māori in Australia, such as:

- iwi organisation dividends, scholarships for members and support for Australian iwi branch organisations[29]
- te reo rōpū backing for language schools in Australia
- New Zealand-resident experts holding wānanga on matters of cultural importance.

While a substantial literature exists on remittance culture in the Pacific and elsewhere, it would seem that no studies have focused (or even really touched) on the Māori community in Australia. A recent research paper on the issue of transnational family obligation in New Zealand commented 'Little is known about inward flows of remittances from overseas populations of New Zealanders back into New Zealand'.[30] The extent of the overseas contribution to the Māori economy is a subject awaiting important research. What that research may uncover is that te iwi Māori is undergoing a new phase of transnational development. As Manuhuia Barcham has written with regard to 'post-national' Polynesian development, 'We need to … think beyond the nation-state as the unit of analysis for development … What we are seeing … is the creation of "post-national" diasporic communities which are part of a new developmental dynamic'.[31] As the proportion and size of the Māori community in Australia continues to grow, it may be time to start applying this logic to Māori development as much as that of Pacific Islanders.

26 See http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/tereomaori.msnw?action=get_message&mview=0&ID_Message=952&LastModified=4675589132618687592 (accessed 12 December 2006).

27 KE James, 'Cash and kin: Aspects of migration and remittance from the perspective of a fishing village in Vava'u, Tonga', in Grant McCall and John Connell (eds), *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA*, Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales (Pacific Studies Monograph no. 6), 1993, p 372.

28 See, for example, James (1993); Evelyn Marsters, Nick Lewis and Wardlow Friesen, 'Pacific Flows: The fluidity of remittances in the Cook Islands', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 47(1), April 2006, pp 31–44; and Barcham (2005).

29 For example, Te Timatanga Hou o Tainui no Brisbane receives 'an annual Tauraahere (Marae) grant from the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust … to assist with the administration of the organization' (see 'About us', http://tainui.com.au/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=35 – accessed 30 January 2007).

30 Neil Lunt with Meryl McPherson and Julee Browning, *Les Familles et Whānau Sans Frontières: New Zealand and transnational family obligation*, Blue Skies Report no. 1/06, Families Commission, March 2006, p 34, www.familiescommission.govt.nz/download/blueskies-lunt.pdf (accessed 10 October 2006).

31 Barcham (2005), pp 2, 3.

CHAPTER 10: COMMUNITY CENTRES

Chapter summary

- Despite three decades of effort, there are no Māori community centres or marae in Australia.
- This is partly because of the inherent obstacles to pan-tribal representation and governance in Australia, as well as issues around how any community facility would be viably run.
- In the meantime, Māori in Australia use rented or private premises for their gatherings (with some exceptions where ongoing use of a surplus building has been granted for a finite period or with certain conditions).

WHAT IS A COMMUNITY CENTRE?

In this chapter, when speaking generically, I use the term 'community centre' rather than 'marae'. This is because, while many Māori use the latter term to mean an Australian cultural or community centre rather than a traditional Māori marae, some do not believe there can be marae in Australia. Indeed, I have attended hui where people have talked past each other on the subject. By 'community centre', I mean a facility where the Māori community can practise its cultural rites, such as tangihanga, and gather on a communal basis. However, I have retained 'marae' where the people to whom I spoke clearly preferred that term.[1]

WHY ARE THERE NO MĀORI COMMUNITY CENTRES IN AUSTRALIA?

Many of the ethnic groups that have migrated to Australia in large numbers as 'new Australians' since World War II have established their own community centres, some of which are based around their churches or temples.[2] Māori in Australia seem to have been talking about building community centres since the late 1970s, when Māori began to move across the Tasman in large numbers. Yet there remains today, to my knowledge, no centre or facility owned jointly by a Māori community anywhere in Australia. Overwhelmingly, Māori remain a people in Australia who rent premises for community gatherings. In some cases, as if to emphasise their relative lack of progress in the matter, they even hire the halls of other ethnic groups.

There are a host of reasons why this is so. First, Māori who have moved to Australia have not faced the same language barriers that eastern and southern European, Middle Eastern or east Asian groups have done. For the great majority of Māori who have migrated, English is their first language and, to that extent, there has been less imperative for people to group together closely on arrival (and beyond). Indeed, despite the

1 While some believe that marae can only be erected in New Zealand, others point out that urban marae exist for groups that are not tāngata whenua in cities like Auckland and Wellington, and that, traditionally, any place could be 'made a marae' for the purpose of a particular gathering. In choosing to use the term 'community centre', I am in no way doubting the validity of these arguments.

2 See, for example, the entries for different ethnic groups in the Queensland Government publication *Multicultural Queensland 2001: 100 years, 100 communities, a century of contributions*, Maximilian Brändle (ed), Multicultural Affairs Queensland, Brisbane, 2001. Canberra's 4527 (at the 2001 census) Greeks have two churches, a very successful Hellenic Club (the biggest Greek club in Australia), an old folks' home, a pre-school and a weekend Greek school (personal communication from John Mantinaos, President of the Karpathian Progressive Association, Canberra, 9 May 2006).

clichés about large numbers of Māori at Bondi, Māori are reasonably well dispersed both across Australia as a whole and within the major metropolitan areas (as noted in chapter 4). Many Māori also do not see themselves as having made a new life in Australia as permanent settlers. They envisage a temporary stay in Australia while they are working (see chapter 9) and therefore do not want to take steps to anchor themselves to their adopted country.

Church participation is also a much less important focus and cohesive for Māori than for other groups (and this is a particular point of comparison with Pacific Islanders). Furthermore, the fact that active and regular marae participation is only undertaken by a minority of Māori in New Zealand (mainly due to the migration of iwi members from their home areas) makes it unlikely that the opposite should be so in Australia. Finally, for the active participants, New Zealand is close at hand; as we know, many Māori return to New Zealand to attend tangihanga, and the majority of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia appear to want to be buried at home.

Then there is the issue of what kind of centre, culturally speaking, it would be appropriate for Māori to have in Australia. Traditionally, a marae sits on ancestral land, and the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) is adorned with depictions of tīpuna. It is the tūrangawaewae for a particular hapū (sub-tribe) or iwi, usually with an adjacent urupā (cemetery). For many Māori, building a marae in Australia does not sit comfortably with this tradition: every Māori 'community' in Australia is pan-tribal, nowhere are Māori tāngata whenua in Australia and no land is papakainga (settled ancestral land). In this regard, some are concerned about trampling on the status of Aborigines. One woman in Brisbane expressed it to me this way:

> How would I feel about other nationalities in NZ taking up residence that may take a piece from me and my heritage? How does this make me feel to see other nationalities thriving in NZ when my own people are struggling?
>
> In my talks with the Aboriginal elders they expressed one thing. They would like for us to show them full support in all their struggles.
>
> Having our own complexes could make them feel even more inferior as they see this as a threat to their very existence. We are conforming to the Australian ideals and therefore we help to suppress the indigenous people.

Overall, however, it is likely that only a few Māori in Australia would say that not being tāngata whenua means that no community centre should be built. Instead, groups attempting to establish facilities tend to seek approval first from local Aboriginal tribes, and such blessing seems invariably to be forthcoming.[3] Interviewed in the *Poihākena Post*, Central Coast kaumātua Ron Peita remarked 'We need to look beyond the idea that we don't belong to this land. We don't want to take the land, the tangata whenua are the caretakers of the land. We would ask them if we could have a piece of their land so that we can continue to do what we do'.[4] If the word 'marae' is too loaded with meaning, many are instead careful to use the terms 'community centre' or 'cultural centre' (knowing full well that, if their centre is ever built, it will be used in much the same way as a marae).

Community centre projects have tended to come and go in Australia. Looking back through the last 30 years, it is not uncommon to find reference to 'Australia's first marae' being in the works. Writing in 1980, for example, Philippa Merchant (see chapter 2) noted that, in reference to the growing Māori community in Sydney, 'They plan to build a Meeting house and Marae complex in East Sydney, and have begun a fundraising campaign for the project'. Twenty-five years later, in 2005, it was possible to find on the internet details of two separate proposals for 'Australia's first marae', north and south of Brisbane, at Beerburrum and Beenleigh respectively.[5]

Where I have seen references to the existence of marae in Australia during the same period, I do not believe such comments can have been based on accurate information.[6] For example, the then Waitangi Tribunal Chairperson, Chief

3 There are, of course, exceptions to this. In 2004, an attempt to establish a Māori community centre in Redfern by the group Whānau Iwi Incorporated, initially with the support of the Construction, Forestry, Mining, Energy Union (CFMEU), seems to have failed when it became clear there was strong opposition from the local Aboriginal community.

4 'Uncle Ron Peita: A kōrero with our kaumātua, Uncle Ron', *Poihākena Post*, issue 1, November 2004, p 8, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

5 See 'Australian marae', www.alumni.org.au/AustralianMarae.htm, and 'Marae Australia', www.maraeaustralia.com (both accessed 10 November 2005). One optimistic account in 2001 stated that the Beerburrum example would 'be in operation very shortly and will become the very first Marae in Queensland and possibly, Australia' (see Ngahere (Harry) Ngatai, Jacynthia Murphy and Gloria Martin, 'Maoris', in Brändle 2001, pp 266–267).

6 Alternatively, the term may have been being used in a much broader sense, to include even people's homes. A contributor to a www.maori-in-oz.com message board in July 2006, for example, wrote that there had been 'a successful, fully functioning marae here in Yeronga, Brisbane for over 10 years. It was an old church that had been donated to the Maori Community until it went up for sale' (see http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/general.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=782&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=870&CDir=-1 – accessed 19 January 2007). Paul Bergin also noted that, in the 1980s, this hall was often referred to as 'the marae'. As another example of a vacated building serving as a marae, he noted the lease by a Sydney Māori committee at the time of an ex-army hut in Marrickville, which had been named 'Mihi Awhina' (see Bergin 1998, pp 147, 155).

Judge (now Justice) Eddie Durie, would seem to have jumped the gun in writing in 1995:

> Indigenous cultures are not dependent on the maintenance of territorial integrity. While they relate to a place they can survive without it. There are Maori marae throughout Australia for example, and at least one in Melbourne.[7]

For one reason or another, none of the various community centre projects in Australia has yet come to fruition. Asking Australian-resident Māori why this is so – particularly in a city with as many Māori as Sydney – tends to elicit responses such as 'there are too many chiefs', 'Māori just can't get it together', 'there's just too much bickering between iwi' and 'the organisers weren't accountable and made off with the money'.[8] The 'iwi bickering' claim contradicts the commonly expressed view that tribal differences are largely set aside in Australia and people come together on a 'tātou tātou' basis (see chapter 14 for a discussion on this point). But so frequently did I hear reference to tribal spats that it is clear that the 'tātou tātou' mindset goes only so far when issues of the appropriate tikanga are being debated.

On reflection, all the reasons cited for the failure of community centre projects are probably indicative of the inherent obstacles to pan-tribal representation and governance in Australia. In New Zealand, Māori tend to be represented politically by iwi organisations. Sometimes, the mandate of those organisations is in dispute, or there is disagreement about whether the group represented is in fact an iwi or not. By and large, however, the process of fisheries allocations and Treaty settlements and the general 'iwi-isation' of Māori over the last 30 years[9] has created a widely accepted framework for Māori representation. In Australia, by contrast, that accepted framework probably casts a shadow over Māori attempts to work collectively. A valuable study, well beyond the scope of this report, would be to compare the experiences of Māori arriving in Auckland and Wellington in the 1950s and 1960s with Māori moving to Sydney in the 1980s and 1990s. It may well be that those in the former category were able to achieve a more effective practice of 'tātou tātou' than 'iwi-ised' Māori three decades later.

Therefore, while it is straightforward for a chair of an iwi rūnanga to stand and state that he or she represents that iwi, it is impossible for someone to make a similar claim with respect to Sydney Māori or Newcastle Māori: there will always be those who deny that that person represents them. The Māori population of any Australian city is also a shifting mass, with people moving on in search of work and moving outside the community in the process. By contrast, the members of an iwi can choose not to identify with it or participate in its affairs, but they cannot change their whakapapa: their membership is untransferable. To that extent, it is clear – through a descent-based definition – just whom the iwi organisation represents. Again, Māori in Australia attempting to fundraise for a community centre project have no such certainty to fall back on. In the context of all these difficulties, it is perhaps unsurprising that, when disagreement arises, the community can splinter along iwi lines. Iwi allegiance may appeal as being more straightforward.

An iwi organisation will also have assets that can create revenue, which can in turn be put to use on projects benefiting the tribal community. Māori communities in Australian cities own no collective assets and any funds raised will depend on the efforts of individuals or their direct financial contributions. In such circumstances, fundraising is very slow. As I suggest in chapter 9, Māori in Australia probably do not make anywhere near as much use of local funding streams as they could. This is because many believe that Māori are not eligible or because they are often too busy with work to explore funding options and make applications. They might also feel that they lack the professional know-how to develop the necessary business and management plans. In any event, it is likely that Māori are a relatively low funding priority for Australian government expenditure, given both their English-speaking ability and their high degree of labour force participation. As one Australian government official put it to me, policy priorities are to deal with the likes of refugee African communities, with 30%

7 ET Durie, *United Nations or United Peoples?* – a paper presented to the 50th Anniversary Conference of the Australasian Teachers' Association, 1995, http://beta.austlii.edu.au/au/special/alta/alta95/durie.html (accessed 23 May 2006).

8 In 1991, in response to the push by the editor of the *Kiwi Cooee* for a licensed club in Coogee to be established as a New Zealand (and Māori, in particular) community centre, a reader asked whether the editor was 'aware that for at least the past couple of decades their [sic] have been attempts to establish community centres – call them what you like? And, tha[t] each effort ends in the self-destruct syndrome, where the Maoris in particular rip themselves apart' (letter to editor from John Edmonds, *Kiwi Cooee,* 4(3) March 1991, p 4).

9 Manuhuia Barcham argues that, when Māori urbanised after World War II, they often lost their traditional kinship ties and support. To compensate for this, they mixed with other young Māori migrants removed from their tribal homes and, collectively, developed a sense of pan-Māori community. When young, city-raised Māori became much more politicised in the 1970s, Barcham says that the Government became increasingly forced to think in terms of tribes rather than undifferentiated Māori. This change in approach by the State, which involved the Government-sponsored re-development of tribal structures, has entrenched what Barcham calls the 'iwi-isation' of Māori society (see Barcham 2004, pp 163–183).

unemployment and major social problems, or with initiatives to prevent a repeat of the 2005 Cronulla riots, and in such circumstances, Māori are inevitably on the 'backburner'.

Nonetheless, many Māori are adamant that community centre construction is crucial for the health and well-being of their people. Perhaps the most common reason cited to me as having motivated marae committees to form is the need for a place to hold tangihanga (instead of in people's homes). Some said that they were also fed up with renting halls for hui and other gatherings (for example, kapa haka practices, twenty-first birthday parties or wānanga) and decided it was time to put that money into something of their own. A number of others have said that rates of youth suicide and juvenile offending convinced them that a community centre was a vital means of giving younger people a place to learn about their culture, gain a stronger sense of identity and take pride in themselves. An organisation leader in Melbourne told me that young people are disconnected from their culture and that the creation of their own 'cultural space' was the key to stopping them getting into trouble.

Ron Peita of the Central Coast has put it this way:

> The biggest thing at the moment is that we don't have a tūrangawaewae, a place that we can call our own, that we can actually go to and celebrate whatever we are going to celebrate, or to welcome our people, or to take our dead. We don't have that. They are trying in different areas. It's just a matter of somebody saying let's stick together … let's do something. Not for us, but for our kids, our mokos.[10]

The absence of fully fledged and Māori-owned centres does not, of course, mean that Māori are without community facilities to use. Around Australia, Māori are using a wide range of buildings, with varying relationships with their landlords. There are also plans to build community centres in every state or territory. While the information assembled here cannot be guaranteed to be totally up to date, complete and accurate (as much of what is happening is obviously a matter of perception, and time did not permit exhaustive interviews on the subject), it provides an approximate picture of what is going on.

FUNDRAISING SPORADIC BUT ONGOING

Fundraising to build community centres is sporadic yet ongoing throughout Australia. Kapa haka groups such as Ngā Hau e Whā in Wollongong and Te Rere o Te Tarakakao in Canberra told me that they have building funds that have been accumulating over 12 and 20 years, respectively. But, in both cases, progress is very slow – the Canberra fund stands only at $10,000 and the Wollongong fund still has a 'long way to go'. A problem for groups if they do raise a more substantial sum is that, if a centre is not established, there will inevitably be accusations of lost money. Sydney group Te Aranganui, an organisation set up to establish a community centre in the early 1990s, has a more substantial pūtea (fund) after many fundraising efforts. But it is still not enough; a committee member told me that they need to raise three million dollars.

Aside from Te Aranganui's efforts, there have, down the years, been many fundraising attempts in Sydney. For example, an organisation called the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society – also conceived with the purpose of establishing a community centre – was reported to have raised A$50,000 towards this goal by 1990, after a decade of effort. Its president, Richie Mihaere, wrote that year:

> our success rate to date is well short of expectations, in fact it has been pretty dismal. The search for a facility that will cater for all our community needs continues. In the meantime much use is being made of mainstream facilities such as Police-Citizens youth clubs. If anyone has any suggestions about how we can break the cycle, the [Maori Aroha] committee will be only too happy to listen.[11]

A new group, called Te Iwi Māori, was formed in 1989 by some Sydney Māori who felt fresh impetus was needed to achieve the goal of building a community centre. But this group attracted some criticism for what was seen as its excessive focus on securing government funding, with some members of the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society arguing such an approach would encourage a 'dependency syndrome'. According to Paul Bergin, Te Aranganui arose out of concern that the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society had become too preoccupied with the Sydney Easter Festival and that Te Iwi Māori was too focused on the state government, rather than Māori community fundraising.[12]

10 'Uncle Ron Peita: A kōrero with our kaumātua, Uncle Ron', *Poihākena Post*, issue 1, November 2004, p 8, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).
11 'Maori Aroha Co-op Society: extract from the annual president's report', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(11), November 1990, p 2.
12 Bergin (1998), pp 140–145.

One community leader told me that there is currently 'not much happening on the marae front' in Sydney, which has 'a lot to do with the past'.[13] He said that there had been big plans but nothing had come of them. Furthermore, in some cases, money genuinely had disappeared. As a result, he said, people had become disillusioned or disinterested. Several people told me they were supportive of a centre being built in Sydney but – because of failed ventures and lost money – their attitude could be described as 'once bitten, twice shy'.

Methods of fundraising have also been a bone of contention. In Melbourne, some people (for example, the leaders of the South Pacific Foundation) prefer to align with existing government policy (which would, for instance, mean a shared centre with other Pacific peoples), in order to access the funding on offer. By contrast, others (such as those involved in the Polynesian Community Federation of Australia) would prefer to fund something entirely from the Māori community's efforts so that Māori would be beholden to no-one and in full control of their own facility.[14] One suggestion was for every working Māori family in Melbourne to contribute a dollar a week, although no-one could say how this could be implemented in practice. At present, the South Pacific Foundation is focusing on building a centre in central Melbourne, perhaps at the Docklands. The Polynesian Community Federation, by contrast, has owned a piece of land earmarked for a marae since 1984 (at Digger's Rest near Tullamarine Airport in the city's north-west). Funds have been raised for constructing a whare there, but momentum has been lost on more than once occasion.

Elsewhere, some innovative ideas have been found for securing funds. For example, someone connected to a group based on the Gold Coast, Wahine Māori of Queensland Inc, was investigating funding for a marae via the Australian Business Arts Foundation, or 'AbaF'. This is a government agency set up to bring philanthropists and businesses keen to invest in the arts as a tax write-off together with the 'artistic' community for funding arts projects. Those I spoke with were hoping that building a whare whakairo (which was planned for a site at Jacobs Well south of Brisbane) would qualify as a suitable artistic project and secure the necessary contributions. Around Australia, others focus on more traditional sources of community funding, such as local councils. Some groups I spoke to had not yet investigated federal or even state funding.

WHAT PEOPLE CURRENTLY DO IN THE ABSENCE OF A COMMUNITY CENTRE

In the meantime, Māori around Australia make do with what is available.[15] For example, a kapa haka group in Melbourne, Ngā Hoe Waka, was renting a scout hall in Altona for its gatherings. When I visited and was welcomed there, it was impossible not to see the cultural aspects of a marae: shoes were left at the door; the pōwhiri (formal welcome) was held; a kitchen off to the side was full of ringawera (kitchen workers) attending to a boil-up; the chairs were all marked with the name of the hall and big wooden boxes of cutlery marked with Ngā Hoe Waka's name were brought out at meal-time. Yet this masked the reality that the building was rented, and that the pictures on the walls were not of tīpuna but rather the Queen and Baden Powell.

Another whānau-based kapa haka group in Melbourne, Te Matau a Maui, told me they rent a hall for $55 for four hours. In Merrylands, in Sydney, I was told that a local group also rents a scout hall. In Canberra, Te Rere o Te Tarakakao currently rents an Aboriginal community centre for its gatherings, after previously hiring the local Greek community hall for $20 per night.[16] Te Rere was granted a former childcare centre to use as its own by the Australian Capital Territory Government some time ago, but a previous committee baulked at the $700 rental per month and let it go. Te Rere owns bains-marie, 100 mattresses and so on, but at present they sit in a container at the club president's work yard.

In other places, groups enjoy very good terms with local councils, and the facilities they use are a result of those relationships. In Wollongong, Ngā Hau e Whā currently has a five-year lease from the city council to run the Fairy Meadow Community Centre. I was told that the council would prefer not to run such centres itself, and has thus been very happy to

13 In mid-2006, a new Sydney marae committee emerged from a debate on the www.maori-in-oz.com message board about whether a marae should be built in Australia. One proponent of this new initiative wrote 'i will go back to my whanau but it's hard – they've worked hard over the years with nothing to show for it so I don't know if they will be up for all that disappointment and heartache again ...' (see http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/general.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=782&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=899&CDir=1 – accessed 6 March 2007).

14 This divide matches that described above in Sydney between Te Iwi Māori and the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society. Also see chapter 14 on the subject of the founding of new committees and chapter 18 on the debate about accessing local sources of funding.

15 A woman in Hobart made the point to me 'There's always somewhere to meet'. In her city, Māori gather at the netball centre, where one of their number runs the tuck shop. Before that, it was the swimming pool, which a man in the group managed.

16 Bergin noted that Māori community centre fundraising events in Sydney were often held in a Greek hall in Five Dock, with those involved recognising 'a certain irony that a substantial part of their fundraising for a Māori centre ends up in the hands of the Greek community' (Bergin 1998, pp 145–146).

transfer responsibility to the Māori community (and has given Ngā Hau e Whā the necessary training). Ngā Hau e Whā must attend to the cleaning, take bookings and make the centre available to the wider community, but is otherwise free to use the centre when and as it needs it. It is quite a significant facility, with various offices, meeting rooms and kitchens, and playing fields nearby. The council does not allow tangihanga to be held, however, or anyone to sleep overnight on the premises. There are apparently some Māori in the local community who see these as fundamental drawbacks, but the members of Ngā Hau e Whā I spoke to said they were conscious that they had something Māori in other cities would probably envy.

The committee seeking to establish a marae on New South Wales's Central Coast may also benefit from a council wish to offload a property. The Wyong Shire Council has an abandoned country music and rodeo venue on its books at Warnervale, with an old stage and an existing toilet block, and the committee sees it as an ideal venue to establish a marae. Members told me they would ideally like to be near to Tangaroa (the sea) but they had to be realistic, given the expense of coastal property. Many in Melbourne told me seaside Altona would make an ideal venue for a marae, but knew this was probably out of the question for much the same reason.

In Geebung, a suburb in Brisbane's north, the reo-focused group Te Kōhanga o Te Whenua Hou also has a five-year lease from the city council over what were formerly soccer changing rooms and a tuck-shop, which became surplus to the council's requirements when the adjacent playing fields were retired and planted over. It required six months of weekend working bees several years ago to transform the building into its current state. It is used as a whare kōhanga for local Māori children on the weekend and for adult reo classes during the week and – until recently – by a local kapa haka group for its practices. While the whare is small, sleep-over wānanga are permitted and Te Kōhanga o Te Whenua Hou does not have to share the building with anyone else. This contrasts with the situation of Ngā Puāwai o Te Timatanga Hou in Geelong (and doubtless many other groups besides), which uses the local ethnic community centre for kapa haka and te reo on the weekends, but feels the frustration of having to pack up each week and not keep anything permanently on display.

In Brisbane's south, in Woodridge, the group Te Puāwaitanga rents a house off the Logan City Council for its weekly kōhanga reo. The house had sat empty for years before Te Puāwaitanga began using it. It is used for other Māori community gatherings, and the rōpū has a set of mattresses for overnight stays. But the main challenge is the rent, which keeps increasing and now stands at $95 a week, which I was told is a challenge for a small not-for-profit group that operates on a koha (donation) basis.

One thing those in Woodridge, Geebung and Geelong have in common is an intention to focus on their core function. Neither Te Puāwaitanga nor Te Kōhanga o Te Whenua Hou has ever envisaged trying to use its whare for tangihanga or as a proper community centre; the focus has instead been kept on the kōhanga reo. In Geelong, while Ngā Puāwai is keeping an eye out for suitable halls, it wants to 'start little' and not try and establish a community centre that is beyond the scope of the local Māori community to operate (the 2001 census records 201 Māori in Geelong).[17]

There are also individual Māori across Australia with large properties, including outbuildings that can serve as marae. A woman in Brisbane, for example, has a number of large sheds on her property, one of which she refers to as a marae. It hosts community gatherings such as tangihanga, hui and church services, and she even has a storeroom full of mattresses for accommodating larger groups (on one occasion, 40 children from a New Zealand kura kaupapa stayed there when their motel accommodation fell through). While others greatly appreciate this whare, however, someone also pointed out that it is ultimately private property, not neutral ground, and thus no substitute for a true community centre.

A unique situation may exist at Newcastle. There, the old bowling clubrooms sat vacant after the Tomago Bowling Club built a new clubhouse. Members of the Poi Turaki group approached the bowling club and, in 2002, local Māori were granted ongoing use of the old building for themselves.[18] The whare has been

17 For the population figures in this chapter, I have decided to use the Australian Bureau of Statistics' 'urban centre/locality' figures. This arbitrarily resolves the difficulty of deciding where a particular city stops and starts (for example, is Mandurah part of Perth? is the Sunshine Coast part of Brisbane?). In theory, it also means the figures are for actual towns and cities rather than part of their hinterland that would be included if using a 'statistical district' population figure or even a local authority figure. However, there are flaws in this approach. The Australian Bureau of Statistics 'urban centre/locality' boundary for Darwin does not include nearby Palmerston, but for community centre purposes it would be inconceivable for Māori in Palmerston and Darwin to tackle the issue separately. And it is perfectly likely that Māori as far away as Maitland and Cessnock would make regular use of a Māori community centre in Newcastle.

18 Depending on whom I spoke to, this was described either as an act of community-minded generosity on the part of the club or a clever way for a struggling club to sign up more members and have more patrons in its bar.

named Poi Turaki. In some ways, the arrangement with the bowling club gives Poi Turaki greater autonomy and control than any other group using a building in Australia (that I am aware of). Tangihanga can be held there (although tūpāpaku cannot lie inside the whare itself), which immediately gives Newcastle Māori something that other Māori communities around Australia do not have. Sometimes, when venues for wānanga in Sydney are difficult to find, the Poi Turaki whare is used. Indeed, I am aware of important hui taking place at Poi Turaki rather than in Sydney itself, and thus it has become one of the key gathering places for Māori in New South Wales. Despite all this, the Poi Turaki community knows that the situation is temporary and still aspires to a whare that is truly its own.

NEED FOR 'CRITICAL MASS' BEFORE ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY CENTRE

Before any Māori community in Australia can think about establishing its own community centre, it probably needs to have reached a certain critical mass in terms of numbers. Obviously, this is not an issue in the major centres of Māori population of Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth, which each has many thousand Māori residents (according to the 2001 Australian census, Sydney had 18,617 Māori, Brisbane 11,403[19], Melbourne 8649 and Perth 5758). The very size of these cities, however – both in terms of the Māori population and the sheer travelling time from one side of town to the other – makes it hard to view them as distinct and coherent Māori communities. As one prominent Sydney Māori told me, the city's Māori community 'has always been very fragmented'.

Sydney Māori radio broadcaster Koro Riki has set out the issues facing the Sydney Māori community in this way:

> My hopes for the Māori community here are that eventually they will be able to settle their differences and decide what direction they want to take. Whether they want to pull together and have a community centre or just have a whole heap of community centres all over the place with different kaupapa. Have them spread out in the different areas of Sydney – one in Penrith that can be used for the people there, one in Wollongong, etc. A lot of people don't like to travel so having different ones in different areas might work. You could have little marae – although some people believe we would be tramping on the mana of the tangata moemoeā [Aborigines] because they feel it isn't our land. These community centres would be a great way for all of us to keep in touch and to get to know who's who.[20]

The same kind of fragmentation is evident in Melbourne. Most people I met there commented on what they saw as the 'dormant' state of the local Māori community and the tendency of many to be tribal rather than collective in their efforts.[21] But, like Sydney, Melbourne is vast and people's lives can be hectic; it is little wonder, therefore, that some Māori in Dandenong will be reluctant to throw their lot in with plans for a marae at Digger's Rest, when it would take as much as an hour and a half to get there. In Brisbane, many told me they seldom moved between the north side and the south side of the city, while the Sunshine Coast and the Gold Coast are, to some extent, separate spheres of their own that stretch 100 kilometres north and south of Brisbane respectively. Similarly, in Perth, the two groups I am aware of actively seeking to raise funds for marae construction (the United Māori Cultural Association and the New Zealand Sports and Cultural Centre Association) are based on different sides of the Swan River. It is little wonder, therefore, that those on the Central Coast north of Sydney are seeking to establish their own marae; the Māori population of the Central Coast urban centre was recorded in 2001 as 1173, which would seem to be a sufficient number on its own.

Ironically, therefore, the cities with sufficient Māori populations to make community centres happen are often beset by splintering of effort. In some ways, in this regard, smaller communities may have a much better chance of success. Examples of an easier size of population to work with might include Adelaide (1315 Māori), Canberra-Queanbeyan (727), Wollongong (669), Newcastle (621), Cairns (591), Kalgoorlie-Boulder (542), Darwin and Palmerston combined (494) and Townsville (411).[22] Some told me that people in these places know that they have to pull together to achieve anything, and their attitude is therefore very 'tātou tātou'. But others told me their communities were too transitory, fragmented or dominated by only a couple of iwi who really did not get on, and the small size actually worked against them.

19 With another 3729 in the Gold Coast-Tweed Heads urban centre and 790 in the Sunshine Coast urban centre.

20 'In profile: Koro and Nellie Riki', *Poihākena Post*, issue 1, November 2004, p 5, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

21 As long ago as 1990, a Māori clergyman in Melbourne was reported as urging Melbourne's Māori population to exchange a 'tribalistic view' for 'the big picture' (quoted in Bergin 1998, p 151).

22 Below this are centres where critical mass may be a little more in doubt, such as Toowoomba (269), Bunbury (250), Mackay (246) and Geelong (201).

It should be borne in mind too that the Māori population of the cities named above will probably be 20–30% (or even more) higher due to lost Māori ancestries, the incidence of Māori entering only 'New Zealander' on their census form and increases that have occurred since 2001 (see chapter 5). However, the overall numbers are ultimately not the crucial factor. The success of any community centre project will certainly depend on the number of individuals with the commitment and drive to turn plans into reality.

MAKING A COMMUNITY CENTRE WORK

Fundraising is only half the problem. Once achieved, the dilemma might well become how a community centre can be made to work – for example, what kawa (protocol) will apply, how it will pay for itself, who will run it. Such a quandary seems to have stalled the completion of the marae at Beerburrum on the Sunshine Coast, north of Brisbane. There, in the late 1990s, one whānau provided land and money to establish a marae. A marae committee was enthusiastically formed, but then the original benefactor pointed out to the others involved that the marae would have to pay its way, on a commercial basis if need be. The whānau and those who had joined them in the project parted company, and now the marae, as it takes shape, will be a whānau venture that hosts weddings and the like rather than a true community facility.

The potential need for a community centre to be run on commercial terms, if local or state government funding or koha and other contributions from the local Māori community are not sufficient, is an issue that may yet scuttle other projects. A Māori woman and her Australian husband recently proposed to build Australia's 'first marae' at Beenleigh, mid-way between Brisbane and the Gold Coast. They sought feedback on their plans, which were unabashedly commercial. They hoped to cater for large groups of New Zealanders visiting the area who wanted 'marae-style accommodation', and planned to offer 'packages' that included transfers to Gold Coast theme parks. They envisioned six-day tours, with the marae being kept free on Saturday nights for local whānau to hire for weddings, birthdays and the like.[23]

Some feedback can be seen on the www.maori.org.nz website. This included a number of encouraging comments, but also cautions about departing from tikanga and inappropriately using the word 'marae'. One woman suggested that a marae was usually open to all, with no maximum stays, was used on a 'koha only' basis and tangihanga would take precedence over any other events. Another person said 'Well I have never heard in my life of one couple funding a marae! … Maoridom is such a funny thing and I have to accept that the times have changed. But for one to take ownership shows me how vulnerable our culture is to colonisation!'. Another said they strongly objected to the use of the word 'marae' in the context and suggested that it was another case of Māori culture being exploited for commercial gain, even by Māori themselves.[24]

The Beenleigh proposal will certainly not be the only of its kind. One rōpū leader hoping to set up a marae in her area told me she planned to have a restaurant, glow worms and a tree-top walk there to encourage tourists to visit. It seems clear that the tension between tradition and financial viability will continue as long as Māori communities around Australia can neither access enough government funding nor come together with sufficient agreement and purpose to pay for the establishment and running of community facilities themselves.

One final prospect remains: wealthy and community-minded Māori entrepreneurs willing to fund community centre projects themselves. In one state capital, I met a Māori businessman with plans to raise money through various business ventures and put $15 million into the construction of a centre, with one of his businesses providing it with an ongoing income stream. He told me he was determined to build a centre because of what he saw as the desperate local need and because he had become convinced that, if he did not act, nothing would ever be accomplished.[25]

Inevitably, Māori community centres will be constructed around Australia. One can only hope that the process of getting there will bring Māori in Australia together more than divide them.

23 'Marae Australia January 2005', http://home.iprimus.com.au/johnvirtue/marae%20australia.html (accessed from cache on 24 May 2006).

24 www.maori.org.nz/papa_panui/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=333&FORUM_ID=13&CAT_ID=4&Topic_Title=Marae+in+Australia&Forum_Title=Information%2C+Questions%2C+Requests (accessed 24 May 2006).

25 In similar fashion, a man in Darwin, Wiremu Tahapehi, who tired of waiting for a community venture to work, organised the construction of a traditional whare nui. The house, called Tāwhirimātea, was formally opened in 1999 on the grounds of the Northern Territory Parliament, where it was erected. Since then, it has sat in storage, awaiting the establishment of a planned Northern Territory multicultural village where it will sit alongside traditional buildings of a range of Asian and Pacific ethnic groups.

CHAPTER 11: BEREAVEMENT

Chapter summary

- The time of bereavement for Māori in Australia presents particular cultural challenges, largely because of the lack of communal cultural space and the loss of traditional knowledge.
- Approximately half of all tūpāpaku are repatriated to New Zealand, but cremations are becoming much more common in Australia.
- Tangihanga insurance schemes are popular among Māori in Australia, while relations with the coroner's office, although improving, could still be better in the eyes of many Māori.

THE USE OF PRIVATE HOMES FOR TANGIHANGA

One of the biggest cultural challenges for Māori in Australia is the practice of the tangihanga. The absence of marae – the traditional venue for tangihanga – in Australia means that funerals and mourning invariably take place in people's homes, and as we have seen, this is a major impetus for many of those striving to establish marae or Māori community centres. A man in Melbourne prominent in the push to build a marae told me how sad it was that homes had to be used. Another in Melbourne said the tarpaulins would go up at a different home most weeks: Altona one week, Broadmeadows the next, then at Dandenong and so on. He said the equipment needed was very expensive to hire – or, if it could be borrowed, it might be an arduous task to bring it from the other side of town.

The stress this places on families at the time of a mate (death) has prompted a group in Sydney's west called Roro Rangimārie ('Peace of Mind') to collect equipment that can be loaned to grieving whānau on a koha basis for use during a tangihanga. This includes mattresses, cookers, tables, chairs, cutlery, tents and so on. They were motivated to offer the service when they had a mate of their own and realised they had none of the equipment they needed. Similarly, in Perth, the New Zealand Sports and Cultural Centre Association has, in a shed at the house of one committee member, a large collection of catering equipment such as bains-marie, cookers and utensils, as well as a large supply of mattresses. It can be used by the local Māori community on a koha basis for all manner of functions, although those hosting a tangihanga take priority. I was told that the equipment is enough to feed 350 people, and that families who are struggling are not expected to pay a koha.

In tropical Australia, I was told in Cairns, holding tangihanga in homes is simply not an option unless the homes have air-conditioning. Māori in Alice Springs, which can be fiercely hot in summer, had not heard of such a regulation, but then most homes in Alice Springs have air-conditioning and tūpāpaku only tend to lie in state for one night before they are taken to the airport for the flight home to New Zealand.

Raina Smith, chair of the South Pacific Foundation in Melbourne, described the situation of families hosting

tangihanga to a Victorian Government legislative committee reviewing the (Victorian) Coroners Act 1985 in 2005:

> Here in Australia ... we do not have the marae or the central meeting place. Therefore it is not uncommon for our people to gather at the home of a loved one for the purpose of awaiting the return of a body. As such, cooking and sleeping facilities are put in place within the family home in preparation for the two or three-day mourning period prior to the day of internment. In regard to that, I have been to many tangihan[g]a ... in which the backyard of the house has become the gathering place for literally hundreds of people.[1]

Many tangihanga in Sydney used to be held at the Church of Te Wairua Tapu in Redfern, but Reverend Kaio (Malcolm) Karipa told me he had had to discontinue the practice because it had become more than the church could cope with. Nor was there space on the surrounding streets for all the car-parking needed. Sometimes, the tangihanga would last two to three days and the church would only get a koha of $50, he said, which would hardly cover its costs. Now, he said, many tangihanga are taking place at the Next Generation Pentecostal Church in Mortdale in the city's south, which is larger and can cope with the numbers. To emphasise Sydney's sheer size, however, some I spoke to in western Sydney had not even heard of this church.

BURIAL, REPATRIATION AND CREMATION

Burial in Australia

Burial in Australia varies widely in price, but it seems that the cost of a plot in Sydney is now well over $2000, while Brisbane prices seem to start from around $900 and, on the Central Coast, I was told it is still possible to pay as little as $360.

The vast Rookwood cemetery in Sydney (known by many locally as the 'dead centre of town') is reputedly the largest multicultural necropolis in the southern hemisphere, with more than one million burials within its nine square kilometres. It has a dedicated Māori section, which is still quite a way off capacity, and there seem to be a regular number of Māori burials there.[2]

Returning tūpāpuku to New Zealand

For many Māori, however, there remains a strong desire to return home to New Zealand to lie in state on home marae and to be buried in tribal urupā. As Raina Smith put it:

> Hoki wairua mai e tama, hoki mai ki te wa kainga, ki to iwi, hoki wairua mai! – return to us in spirit, son, return to your birthplace, to your people, return to us in spirit. This is a cultural prerequisite for our people upon dying in another country. We must attempt all possible avenues to get our loved ones home ... We are transient people here. If we bury them here we do not know whether we will be here tomorrow, so we are thinking always in a futuristic way ... take them back to the home that will never shift. So it does not matter whether we end up in living in Victoria or in Perth, we cannot leave our remains in Victoria and go off somewhere else. That is another reason why we do that.[3]

A Rātana Church minister in Sydney, Monty Te Moni, told the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1991:

> It's not our land to be burying people ... Our land is back in New Zealand ... If they are true Maori they will refer to their culture wherever they are. When they are finished with Australia then they'll all go home to die at home instead of dying here. If you're a true Maori you will stick to your culture and go back home. If I died now there is no way my family is going to leave me here. They will never let me [be] buried here, that's for sure.[4]

It is impossible to know with certainty what proportion of tūpāpaku return to New Zealand, but several people have suggested that it may be at least half of all Māori who die in Australia. Between October 2003 and May 2005, Sydney funeral directors Mitacare Funeral Services placed death notices on the www.maori.org.nz website for 39 Māori. Of those, 23 bodies were returning to New Zealand for burial and 16 were being buried in Australia. Almost all of the latter were lying in state at their homes before being taken to the cemetery (and, in several cases, the funeral service itself took place in their homes).

The number of bodies being repatriated was a key reason for the opening in November 2006 of a marae at Auckland

1 Raina Smith, oral submission to the Law Reform Committee inquiry into the Coroners Act 1985, 20 September 2005, Victorian Government Hansard, p 159, www.parliament.vic.gov.au/lawreform/Coroner/Hansard/20%20September%202005/Corrected%20South%20Pacific%20Foundation%20of%20Victoria%20p158-166.pdf (accessed 30 May 2006).

2 Paul Bergin reported that this block dates from the 1980s when the Anglican Church decided to dedicate a part of its Rookwood land for Māori burials (Bergin 1998, p 247).

3 Smith (2005), pp 160, 164.

4 Quoted in Bergin (1998), p 244.

International Airport. The marae – a partnership between Tainui and the company that operates the airport – was a project supported strongly by the late Māori Queen. A key objective is to provide comfort and shelter to bereaved families who have come to receive the body of a deceased relation from overseas, and to give the deceased a dignified arrival home.[5]

The cost of returning a tūpāpaku to New Zealand can be high: at least $5000. Many people had stories of a particular set of circumstances – extra embalming, a crate to get a large person home and so on – that saw the price to ship home a friend or whānau member skyrocket to well over $10,000. The base cost, as well, is obviously proportionately more the further away from major centres the death occurs, yet bodies are still routinely returned home to New Zealand from Darwin, Kalgoorlie and places in between.[6] Sometimes, whānau bring bodies home to New Zealand against the deceased's wishes. In August 2005, the ABC television network aired a documentary entitled 'Far From Home', about the death in Sydney of a hard-living Māori scaffolder in his early 60s. As the undertakers prepare him to be cremated, his daughter arrives from New Zealand to take him home with her, and a battle ensues between her and his two Australian partners.[7]

Cremation becoming more common

The possibility of cremation appears to motivate some whānau to intervene to ensure a tūpāpaku is brought home. Cremation is becoming increasingly common in Australia because of the high cost of burial in places like Sydney or because the cost of shipping a body to New Zealand is prohibitive. Once cremated, the deceased instead returns home in an urn. However, as Melbourne kaumātua George Hallett told the recent Victorian Coroners Act inquiry:

> I am a minister of religion and cremation is one thing that is not allowed in my custom. That has been handed down from generation to generation. Since my arrival here I have had to go along with what the families suggest; I cannot go against them. This is because the only way they can get their loved ones home is in an urn; the reason being that to take an individual home whole is very costly.[8]

While cremation is at odds with tikanga Māori, it is clearly a practice that is here to stay. As one woman in Brisbane said to me, 'it's a simple matter of economics'. A man in Sydney felt it represented a significant cultural shift, and suggested an interesting topic of research would be to ascertain what proportion of deceased Māori are being cremated in Australia compared to New Zealand. He was quite open to the prospect that tikanga could change in the light of Australian circumstances.

Changing attitudes to burial in Australia

Some people think that more urupā in Australia (other than Rookwood) would address the rate of cremations. Some I spoke to on the Gold Coast said they had been attempting to get government agreement to establish a Māori cemetery in their area. Most of those seeking to establish community centres, however, did not appear to link the creation of burial grounds to their proposals. The imperative seemed much more on establishing the right cultural space to conduct tangihanga rather than a place to inter the dead.

Of course, there are also, now, growing numbers of Māori who would prefer to be buried in Australia because they see it as their home. Central Coast kaumātua Ron Peita has put it this way:

> I think of Australia as home. I've been here for 30 years. I've spent most of my time here actually and I've always said to my family that they are not allowed to come and get me, they are to leave me here.[9]

Similarly, leading Sydney Māori figure Tom Poata said, in 1991:

> If I was to die, my elder brother would come over to take me and unless there was some strong objection from this end he would win the argument. Somehow, though, with each passing year it

5 See 'Dawn ceremony to bless Auckland Airport marae', Auckland International Airport media release, 10 November 2006, www.auckland-airport.co.nz/NewsHistory/press_releases.php?rid=164 and 'Auckland Airport marae opens', *One News*, 12 November 2006, http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/425824/888225 (both accessed 23 November 2006).

6 An exception may be Tasmania, where local Māori said it was rare for a body to be sent home for burial. Perhaps this reflects the demographic differences in the Tasmanian Māori population, noted in chapter 3.

7 See 'Dust to Dust: Far from home', ABCTV, http://abc.net.au/tv/guide/netw/200508/programs/ZY7701A002D2082005T200000.htm (accessed 30 May 2006). I was told of a recent case in Brisbane where a deceased man wished to be cremated but was instead taken home by his New Zealand whānau to be buried. An Adelaide woman told me she would be happy to be buried in Australia, but she realised 'my family might try and come and take me home'. Bergin cited a number of similar examples (see Bergin 1998, pp 243–247).

8 George Hallett, oral submission to the Law Reform Committee inquiry into the Coroners Act 1985, 20 September 2005, Victorian Government Hansard, p 159, www.parliament.vic.gov.au/lawreform/Coroner/Hansard/20%20September%202005/Corrected%20South%20Pacific%20Foundation%20of%20Victoria%20p158-166.pdf (accessed 30 May 2006).

9 'Uncle Ron Peita: A kōrero with our kaumātua, Uncle Ron', *Poihākena Post*, issue 1, November 2004, p 8, www.poihakenapost.com (accessed 15 June 2005).

> becomes clearer to me that perhaps I belong here. We've moved on now.[10]

Those who prefer the idea of an Australian burial tend, from my experience, to be elderly; several pākeke (older people) proudly told me that they had already taken care of things to the extent of buying their own plot. A key message conveyed to me was that your whole attitude changed when you had grandchildren in Australia. As a man in Brisbane said, until such a point there is no debate: you wish to go home. But once Australian-born grandchildren arrive on the scene, returning to New Zealand for burial begins to seem much less desirable.[11]

It is certain, in any event, that Māori in Australia have mixed emotions on the subject. Such is the case with Harold, one of Roger McDonald's protagonists in his novel *Shearers' Motel*:

> Harold said he wouldn't even mind being buried here, that was how attached to Australia he had become. But then he told Rosie (when they didn't think anyone was listening) that the one thing he wanted most if he died was to have his body shipped home.[12]

TANGIHANGA INSURANCE

Many Māori in Australia, I was told repeatedly, do not plan for their death. Indeed, some Māori come to Australia to get away from their responsibilities or whānau back home, and this naturally causes some complications when they die. I was told by a community leader in Kalgoorlie that there are a fair few Māori in this category in town, and when one of them dies it can be quite time-consuming to track down their family. Others may simply have lost touch: I was told by a man on the Central Coast that elderly Māori often die in hospitals in Australia and no-one knows who they are.

A woman in Brisbane told me she was always encouraging people to take out some kind of death or bereavement insurance because of the costs involved. There are indeed a number of tangihanga insurance schemes around, aimed both at providing cover for Māori in Australia who abruptly need to fly to New Zealand because of a death within their whānau and as insurance for individuals to have their own remains repatriated. Probably the best known of these schemes was Te Puna Roimata, which operated from Sydney. It seems to have folded some time around 2000. It worked on the basis of a set fee, which in 1990 was $20 per year for a 25 year old, which provided a pay-out of $10,000 in the case of a death.[13] In 1989, it apparently had 600 financial members.[14]

Some schemes may be quite local and small in scale. For example, a number of kapa haka or community groups will keep money aside to help bereaved members. Writing in 1989, the president of the Aotearoa Māori Club in Adelaide said that money earned from hāngī (meals cooked in an earth oven) and kapa haka performances was used to assist 'those in need if they found it necessary to return for events such as illness or "tangi". A "koha" would be given for the "tangi" of a member who passed away in Australia'.[15] In 1990, a correspondent of the *Kiwi Cooee* reported that a tangihanga insurance scheme was operating at Dysart, a small mining town 250 kilometres inland from Mackay:

> We have formed a Maori club, consisting of 15 family members to which we subscribe a monthly donation. This money is used to assist any member who sadly experiences the loss of a family member either here, or in New Zealand, with expenses. This is what we like to call 'KOHA' money.[16]

Another scheme operating in Sydney in 1989 was the Kohi Tapu Tangi Fund Association.[17]

People who suffer losses may also receive the spontaneous and informal giving of koha within a Māori community. A man in Adelaide told me his rōpū had investigated setting up a tangihanga fund in the past, but nothing was in place. 'We koha whānau faced with getting bodies home anyway', he told me.

Funeral insurance schemes still exist in Sydney (operated by financial services companies such as Tower) but the people I spoke

10 Quoted in Bergin (1998), p 247.

11 Some may have other reasons for preferring an Australian burial. A survey respondent in Brisbane suggested 'divisions in whanau and iwi [in New Zealand] are reasons for many of our people not even wanting to return for burial'.

12 McDonald (2001), p 278.

13 'Te Puna Roimata', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(3), March 1990, p 2. A man in Sydney told me his family eventually paid in about $300 per year.

14 'Readers worry about new organisations', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(6), June 1989, p 2.

15 'Aotearoa Maori Club of S.A. (inc.)', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(8), August 1989, p 11.

16 Letter to editor from Henry Hautonga, *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(3), March 1990, p 4.

17 'Kohi Tapu Tangi Social', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(5), May 1989, p 12.

to were not aware of any aimed specifically at Māori. In other centres, however, Māori-specific schemes do operate. In Canberra, the Te Āwhina Trust insures people for both taking bodies home and flying home to attend tangihanga. It costs $25 per month per family or $15 per single person, with the number of current memberships around 50. Apparently, the accumulated funds have reached more than $45,000. In Perth, a scheme operates called Whānau Koha, which also operates on the basis of a set fee.

In Melbourne, I was told in great detail of a scheme called Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu. Under this, members are insured against the travel costs arising from the death of an immediate family member (parents, siblings and children, but not in-laws). There are six Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu rōpū within Melbourne, and the one I learnt about covered the Hampton Park-Doveton area. It comprised 70 people divided into seven teams of 10, each with an elected team leader. When a mate occurs, the affected team leader rings the other team leaders, and the seven of them get koha off their members within 24 hours. The bereaved member then receives a plastic bag full of envelopes with the contributors' names on them. The sum is often as much as $1500. Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu has no written rules or membership fees and operates on an honesty basis. When it becomes apparent that members are failing to enter into the spirit of the scheme, they may be asked to resign.

An Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu member posted the following praise on the group's website:

> Through lots of tears and heartache we dealt with the practical aspects of getting home to the whanau for dads tangi. (such as passports, flights and who's looking after the dogs/house). Edith called Frank our Team Leader who delivered all the KOHA envelopes to us within 24 hours, (we both fell asleep from exhaustion so Edith and Martin waited up for him). On Sat morning Annette and I sat on the couch staring awkwardly at the envelopes in front of us. "What do we do?" Annette said, I said "I will open them". I was in tears as I opened them one by one. I was overcome from the strongest feelings of kind thoughts and aroha [love] in every [envelope] opened. I cried even harder when I opened those envelopes that had coins in them knowing that it was what families were able to give at the time. We thank-you not only for the physical koha but the aroha that overflowed through every single envelope. No rule making, minimum payments or exclusion from Awhi Mai Awhi Atu can determine how much aroha is given when we send our thoughts to those who are grieving with death, heartache and tears. It was the aroha that kept us safe and calm when we travelled home.[18]

Those involved in Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu told me that it appealed to them more than other schemes in Melbourne (which had mandatory payments via internet banking) because the giving of a koha was more in keeping with tikanga. Awhi Mai, Awhi Atu's success has led some to suggest that it should be used as a vehicle for general community fundraising, but those involved are apparently reluctant to entertain that possibility until the scheme has become much more established.

It seems that a version of the scheme (called Te Ringa Aroha) is also operating in Sydney, with another being planned for Brisbane.[19]

DEALING WITH CORONERS AND FUNERAL HOMES

There are also significant challenges at the time of a death in dealing with Australian authorities, who may be ignorant of Māori cultural practices. In Perth, a woman told me that, when a family member had died on a weekend, her whānau was told there would be a delay in the body's release as the coroner would not work on the weekend. She was able to get the body released only after calling the New Zealand Consul-General in Sydney and the Minister of Māori Affairs' office in Wellington. As Raina Smith has put it:

> The greatest thing that challenges our people in dealing with the coroner's office is the huge gap that we see existing between the coroner's office here – as a structure, this grey building – and us down here as people in a backyard somewhere trying to arrange a funeral. There is this huge distance. Quite often for our people the challenge is how do we talk to a coroner who is at that level when we are here. It is a personal confrontation and challenge for our people to, firstly, engage with the coroner.[20]

Raina Smith describes Māori as a 'suffer-in-silence community'[21], although a kaumātua in Adelaide told me that he had 'kicked up a haka boogie' when told that tūpāpaku could not lie in state in people's homes. As a result, he said, the authorities had relented.

18 'Testimonials', www.kohagift.com/index_files/Page542.htm (accessed 23 January 2007).

19 See www.kohagift.com, as well as 'Koha group', www.maori-in-oz.com/News%20PDF/Jan%20Feb%20Hui%20Festivals/news-Koha_Group.html (accessed 23 January 2007).

20 Smith (2005), p 164.

21 Ibid, p 166.

In Melbourne, the South Pacific Foundation has been trying hard to make coroners aware of Māori cultural concerns. After a number of instances where bodies of deceased Māori were not returned to grieving whānau for as much as two weeks, foundation chair Raina Smith – as noted – made a submission to the Law Reform Committee of the Victorian Government's inquiry into the state Coroners Act. What she asked was that the Act be amended to include a requirement for the coroner to give due regard to cultural practices in the fulfilment of his statutory duties. As she explained, the timely release of the body was vital in terms of the cultural practice of the tangihanga:

> the return of the body to the family who is now waiting becomes the key issue for all concerned. Those concerned are not confined to the immediate family but include the logistical team at the back of the family home who are preparing to stay, to take time off work, to cook meals for the next 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7 days on some occasions and sometimes even longer while the mourning takes place at the house … If the body is not returned within a two or three-day period, the waiting can become an added stress in the already burdensome process of grief, not just for the immediate family but also for those involved in the cooking and the running of the household at the back. Added pressure is also brought to bear as the economic cost of hosting the whanau or family members – as our tikanga, our protocol, dictates that family members may not leave the family of the deceased person – starts to take its toll in terms of money, days off work et cetera. Other family members will also start arriving from overseas … in preparation for taking the body back home.[22]

Cultural sensitivity at the time of death is certainly taken seriously in some Australian government offices. The Sydney West Area Health Service, for example, which operates the Blacktown and Mount Druitt hospitals, has guidelines on its website for the appropriate care of Māori patients. In the case of death, these state 'The release of the deceased to the family as early as possible is essential to the traditional grieving process of the Maori family'.[23]

In keeping with this, a number of Māori around the country said that their own experiences with coroners had been very good, and that the degree of cultural awareness from officials had grown significantly. I could contrast this with the recollections of a man who had worked for the coroner's office in Melbourne in the 1980s, who said he had observed no cultural sensitivity around deaths at the time.

Despite generally positive statements about Australian funeral directors, many Māori prefer, where they can, to use businesses run by expatriate New Zealanders because they sense that such funeral homes will have the right experience. A woman in Perth told me that, when her father died unexpectedly when visiting her, she used a local funeral home only after an assurance that they knew what was involved in a tangihanga. However, with her father lying in state in the funeral parlour, she and her assembled whānau were told they would have to leave for the night as the owners were closing up, which left them livid. She also thought the embalmers had done a very bad job. A Māori clergyman in Queensland told me that New Zealand morticians were the best in the world, and that many Māori families had suffered anguish over poor work from Australian practitioners. It is perhaps little wonder that a woman I spoke to in one town saw a niche business opportunity of setting up a funeral home, since she thought a Māori-run parlour would easily attract all the Aboriginal, Pacific Islander and Māori business in town.

THE TANGIHANGA AS A CULTURAL EVENT

Finally, it should be mentioned that the tangihanga remains, in many ways, the most important gathering for Māori in Australia. Many people told me that it is the one time that the Māori community in Australia truly comes together: a typical comment was 'You don't see any Māoris for ages, and then there's a tangi and they all turn up'.[24]

Inevitably, many of the traditional protocols associated with the tangihanga are being lost in Australia. While attending a tangihanga is a 'time of cultural home-coming' for many Māori, Paul Bergin described how a lot of Māori in Australia feel 'profound culture shock' when experiencing one: 'some are overwhelmed by their inability to understand what is said in Māori or to grasp the significance of particular points of protocol'.[25] A woman in an isolated Australian town described the lack of knowledge in her community in this way:

22 Ibid, p 160.

23 Sydney West Area Health Service, 'Religious Needs of Patients in Sickness, Dying and Death', www.wsahs.nsw.gov.au/services/pastoralcare/relneeds.htm (accessed 30 May 2006).

24 A survey respondent in Melbourne wrote 'unfortunately this [the tangihanga] seems to be one time when we do all come together but we are unable to cater for such an occasion'.

25 Bergin (1998), p 255.

There are about 10 Maori families in residence here. We have 6 kohanga aged tamariki, 4 primary school tamariki and 4 secondary school students. We have about 3 Maori families that do korero [talk] Maori (basic 101 stuff) but many people have lived here for so long that they have forgotten their reo, kawa and tikanga.

You know, shortly after I arrrived here last year, there was a tangi. One of the kaumatua invited me along so that I could also meet other Maori. I was shocked to see that the women were just wearing shorts, boots and singlets. They were doubly shocked to see me in my blacks with taonga [treasure], heru [comb] and my finest kete. Alot of them started to make excuses to me about their attire, but hey I wasn't there to judge. The whole tangi was sad tikanga wise, as no one knew what to do. I helped this kaumatua along as I knew what had to be done. I was sadden[ed] by my observation, it was like they were a lost 'tribe'.

Despite this, the rituals of the tangihanga are possibly better understood and more practised than most other aspects of the culture: as one survey respondent put it, 'Tangihanga is the only time Maori really begin to identify with being Maori'. Many said to me, in this regard, that they hoped the community could begin to gather regularly for all sorts of other reasons, and not only when prompted by a death. In a similar fashion, many told me that the main reason for their return visits to New Zealand is to attend tangihanga. When I asked one man how often he went home, he said 'Once every two years – that's how often a relative dies on average'.

CHAPTER 12: TE REO MĀORI

Chapter summary

- The revival of the Māori language in New Zealand over the last 20 years has benefited Māori in Australia only indirectly.
- While many Māori in Australia feel the need to learn te reo more than they ever did in New Zealand, interviews, census results and logic all suggest that use and knowledge of te reo Māori in Australia has been steadily declining.
- A range of formal opportunities exists for learning te reo in Australia, from pre-school to adults, but skilled teachers are scarce and there are various other impediments to successful learning.

Over the last 20 years in New Zealand, there have been great strides made in revitalising the Māori language. Following the publication of the *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim* in 1986[1], with its recommendations for Government action, a number of measures have been adopted, including:

- Māori becoming an official language of New Zealand
- the founding of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission)
- new broadcasting initiatives being developed, including iwi radio stations and the Māori Television service
- a national system of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and tertiary wānanga being established.

As noted in chapter 3, Jeremy Lowe observed in his 1990 report on Māori in Australia that, 'if steps now being taken to increase the use of Maori are not parallelled in Australia, then migration to Australia will tend to become a factor in language loss'.[2] It seems fair to conclude that this has indeed been the case. While the advent of the internet will have helped somewhat (iwi radio stations in New Zealand, for example, are broadcast over the net, and there are many Māori language resources available online), the other initiatives have, of course, not been implemented in Australia. We can therefore presume that the two-thirds of the Australian-born Māori population who are aged under 15 (in 2001) have quickly become the cultural 'poor cousins' of their whanaunga (relations) in New Zealand.

THE PICTURE GIVEN BY THE CENSUS RESULTS

The Australian census has limitations as a tool for gauging the health of te reo Māori in Australia. The language question posed in the census has not been concerned with how well any secondary languages are spoken but simply about whether any languages other than English are spoken 'at home'. This is complicated further by the significant number of Cook Island Māori likely to be included in the statistics for those speaking 'Māori' at home. As noted in chapter 3, Lowe deduced from his research that, in 1986, 20–25% of Māori aged 35 and over

1 *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim*, Waitangi Tribunal, Department of Justice, Wellington, 1986, www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/scripts/reports/reports/11/2580F91B-5D6F-46F4-ADE0-BC27CA535C01.pdf (accessed 10 August 2006).

2 Lowe (1990), p 17.

spoke Māori to some degree at home, whereas only 5–7% of those aged under 15 did. He concluded that there were 'indications of significant use of Maori by Australian Maori who were born (mostly in New Zealand) up to around 1966, but substantially less use by Maori born since then'. He felt there was 'an obvious basis … for concern on the part of people who value Maori language and culture', but added 'At the same time, the picture shown … could well have been much more discouraging, given the scope for loss of cultural ties through emigration to Australia'.[3]

As noted in chapter 4, the Te Puni Kōkiri fact sheet that summarised the 2001 Australian census results stated that 'approximately 6% of Māori living in Australia spoke te reo Māori in the home'. It seems that this statistic was based on 'Māori' being entered for the census language question for 4156 people. Regardless of the official Māori population tally of 72,956 being too low (which would make 4156 an even lower percentage), and the complicating factor of Cook Island Māori speakers[4], it is clear that this result represented an enormous drop in the proportion of those speaking Māori in the home in Australia since 1986, when the grand total (without screening out Cook Islanders) was 3979 people[5] (out of a total population that was probably less than a third that of 2001).

It is difficult to compare the 2001 Australian census result with the 2001 New Zealand census result because of the markedly different form of the question. In the New Zealand census, the question posed was 'What languages are you able to hold a conversation in about a lot of everyday things?'. Those answering 'Māori' numbered 160,527, of whom 130,485 were of Māori ethnicity.[6] This was thus somewhere around a quarter of the census total for the Māori ethnic group of 526,281.

The 2001 Australian census returns beg the question as to the reason for the large decline, in proportionate terms, of te reo speakers (in the home) in Australia from 1986 to 2001. It seems logical to conclude that many of the 1986 te reo speakers had, by 2001, either died or returned to New Zealand. They were being replaced, it would seem, by growing numbers of Australian-born Māori without knowledge of te reo, as well as by new Māori arrivals from New Zealand who had not had the opportunity themselves to benefit from the measures adopted from the mid-1980s to revitalise the Māori language.[7] The change probably also reflects growing numbers of Māori intermarrying with a wide variety of ethnic groups (see chapter 16) and therefore seldom speaking te reo in the home.

The 2002 Ipswich research asked a question about languages spoken in the home (in a mirroring of the Australian census question). Of the 60 Māori households surveyed in the 'Inala to Ipswich corridor', 50% reported that they spoke 'English only' in the home, with – presumably – the rest speaking also some Māori. This figure seems rather high compared to the 2001 census result, although it can be contrasted with the 101 Samoan households surveyed, all of which reported that Samoan was the only language spoken in the home.[8]

THE PICTURE GIVEN BY THE SURVEY RESULTS

It is also difficult to compare the census and survey data because the questions posed were quite different. Survey question 37 asked respondents 'Can you speak the Māori language / te reo (more than greetings and a few phrases)?'. Of the 1195 respondents who answered, 425 (35.6%) said 'yes' and 766 (64.1%) said 'no' (with four people saying 'don't know'). At first sight, this appears somewhat at odds with the 2001 Australian census results, but it can be reconciled to some extent through the conclusion that many census respondents will have had some ability to speak te reo but simply did not tend to do so in the home.

A better (although still imperfect) comparison of the survey results can be achieved with the results of Te Puni Kōkiri's *Survey*

3 Ibid, pp 16–17.

4 The Australian Standard Classification of Languages has separate codes for 'New Zealand Maori' and 'Cook Island Maori', but includes any census response simply of 'Māori' within the 'New Zealand Maori' code. For this reason any Cook Islanders entering 'Māori' in the 2001 census question about languages spoken at home will have appeared among the 'New Zealand Maori' language total (see Australian Bureau of Statistics, release 1267.0 - 'Australian Standard Classification of Languages (ASCL), 1997', www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/448D728CE55AED05CA25697E00184BE7?opendocument - accessed on 23 May 2007). A 2003 report by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs gave a figure of 5504 'Maori (New Zealand)' speakers in Australia in 2001, up from 4154 in 1996, and 3217 'Maori (Cook Island)' speakers (up from 2024). I am unsure why the discrepancy exists with the data relied on by Te Puni Kōkiri in its fact sheet (see Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2003), p 22).

5 Lowe (1990), p 16.

6 See Statistics New Zealand tables, 'Official language indicator and sex by age group for the Māori ethnic group census usually resident population count, 2001', www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/2BC2AEBB-91CC-43CF-BA59-C8DFA2B32A8D/0/Table16.xls; 'Language spoken (total responses) by sex for the census usually resident population count, 1996 and 2001', www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/AE206501-0E75-4B38-84C9-9C06A05EA9D2/0/CulturalTable12.xls; and 'Language spoken (total responses) by sex for the Māori ethnic group census usually resident population count, 1996 and 2001', www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/52FB6414-EC76-4DF7-A9D6-12EE84019828/0/Table15.xls (all accessed 15 February 2007).

7 One survey respondent, for example, wrote that 'when I left New Zealand [in 1975] the Maori language was not used in the home or in other words not encouraged'.

8 Shehata (2003), p 31.

of the Health of the Māori Language in 2001, which found (from a survey of nearly 5000 New Zealand-resident Māori aged 15 and over in May and June 2001) that 42% of Māori adults could speak Māori 'to some extent' and 58% could speak 'no more than a few words and phrases' (which is close to the wording used in Te Puni Kōkiri's 2006 survey of Māori in Australia).[9] Despite the similarity of the questions, however, I do not believe it is possible to conclude from the 2006 survey that Australian-resident Māori are close behind Māori in New Zealand in their knowledge of te reo. This is because it is almost certain that a fair proportion of those filling in the Australian survey will have been Māori actively connecting with their culture in Australia, including learning the reo. Those I met were often active in the community because of their knowledge of te reo me ōna tikanga (language and culture), and people without that knowledge were almost certainly more likely to remain apart and not come into contact with the survey.

Furthermore, the Australian-born – who are likely to have the lowest ability in te reo Māori – did not fill in the survey in proportionate numbers, even when the exclusion of those under 15 is taken into account. Of those 56 Australian-born Māori who completed the survey, only 21.8% answered 'yes' to question 37, as opposed to 36.2% of those born in New Zealand.

A breakdown by the age range of the survey respondents who could speak te reo is informative.

TABLE 12.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 37 – CAN YOU SPEAK THE MĀORI LANGUAGE / TE REO (MORE THAN GREETINGS AND A FEW PHRASES)?, BY AGE RANGE

Age range	Yes	No	Don't know
	%	%	%
15–24	*33.8*	*66.2*	*0.0*
25–34	*34.7*	*64.7*	*0.6*
35–44	*30.7*	*69.3*	*0.0*
45–54	*33.6*	*65.9*	*0.4*
55–64	*48.0*	*52.0*	*0.0*
65+	*60.0*	*37.5*	*2.5*

Clearly, a significant number of older Māori in Australia retain an ability to speak te reo. What is most interesting is the near lack of any difference in the figures for the first four age groups spanning the ages 15–54. If anything, the figure for the 35–44 age group may be slightly lower because it will contain few who have benefited as children from the language revival of the last 20 years in New Zealand and few old enough to have been raised in a more traditional environment, but this cannot be concluded with any certainty.

As a point of comparison. table 12.2 contains my calculation from published 2001 New Zealand census data[10] of the rate of ability to speak te reo Māori across the same age ranges. While the survey percentages may be a somewhat inaccurate reflection of the reality for most Māori in Australia (for the reasons stated above), the overall trends are similar.

TABLE 12.2: 2001 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS RESPONDENTS WHO CAN SPEAK TE REO COMPARED WITH SURVEY RESPONDENTS, BY AGE RANGE

Age range	2001 NZ census respondents able to speak te reo	Survey respondents able to speak te reo
	%	%
15–24	*24.2*	*33.8*
25–34	*23.1*	*34.7*
35–44	*24.7*	*30.7*
45–54	*30.1*	*33.6*
55–64	*43.3*	*48.0*
65+	*53.1*	*60.0*

Survey question 38 asked 'Do you think you will (continue to) learn the Māori language / te reo in the next 12 months?'. The response for the 1184 who answered the question is set out in table 12.3.

TABLE 12.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 38 – DO YOU THINK YOU WILL (CONTINUE TO) LEARN THE MĀORI LANGUAGE / TE REO IN THE NEXT 12 MONTHS?

Response	%
Definitely	*30.9*
Probably	*20.1*
Don't know	*7.3*
Probably not	*37.3*
Definitely not	*4.4*

9 Te Puni Kōkiri, *Survey of the Health of the Māori Language in 2001* (Part 1), Wellington, 2002, www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/docs/part1.pdf (accessed 10 August 2006), pp 6–7.

10 See Statistics New Zealand, 'Official language indicator and sex by age group', www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/2BC2AEBB-91CC-43CF-BA59-C8DFA2B32A8D/0/Table16.xls (accessed 15 February 2007).

This overall response can be broken up into those who answered 'yes' to question 37 and those who answered 'no'. Those who reported that they could speak te reo were much more likely (50.8%) to say they would definitely learn (or continue to learn) the language, while non-speakers were much more inclined (44.9%) to say they probably would not. There was also a marked difference between young and old speakers: 67.7% of speakers aged 45 and over said they would definitely (continue to) learn the language, compared to only 40.3% of speakers aged 15–44.

The figures seem to show that a large proportion of Māori in Australia want to learn or maintain their reo, but non-speakers are much less motivated than those who already have some command of the language. Furthermore, those speakers in the younger age brackets are much less certain that they will (continue to) learn te reo than older speakers, which may well reflect their busy working lives or what they perceive as their limited opportunities for practising or learning the language, or even the limited point in using it.

In sum, therefore, the survey and census figures together appear to indicate that the ability to speak te reo Māori is in steady decline in Australia. There may possibly be a small arrest in this decline in the younger age brackets through the ongoing migration of Māori from New Zealand who have benefited from the resurgence in te reo Māori over the last two decades, but it is clear that this alone will not be enough to reverse the overall trend.

Te reo and iwi groups

It is also possible to use information from the survey to compare iwi groups, and in turn to compare these figures with data complied by Statistics New Zealand (SNZ) in an unpublished 'iwi profiles' series based on the 2001 census results.[11] This series recorded, among other things, the percentage from each iwi who said they could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori. Since the number of survey respondents from some iwi was low, I have restricted the comparison to the 16 largest survey groups that can be matched with the SNZ data. SNZ combined some iwi groups into one profile (such as all three Gisborne iwi and all three 'Far North' iwi) and I have done the same.

TABLE 12.4: PERCENTAGE OF TE REO SPEAKERS ACCORDING TO 2001 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS AND TE PUNI KŌKIRI SURVEY, BY IWI

Iwi	2001 census – speakers of everyday Māori		Survey – 'Yes' responses to question 37	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Te Whānau a Apanui	*44*	*1*	*33.8*	*11*
Tūhoe	*42*	*2*	*51.7*	*2*
Ngāiterangi	*38*	*3*	*42.9*	*6*
Tūranganui a Kiwa[12]	*38*	*4*	*53.6*	*1*
Ngāti Awa	*36*	*5*	*46.2*	*3*
Waikato	*35*	*6*	*45.6*	*4*
Far North[13]	*34*	*7*	*41.2*	*7*
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	*31*	*8*	*43.0*	*5*
Te Arawa[14]	*31*	*9*	*41.1*	*8*
Ngāti Maniapoto	*29*	*10*	*25.3*	*16*
Ngāti Kahungunu	*29*	*11*	*37.4*	*10*
Ngāti Raukawa[15]	*28*	*12*	*29.2*	*15*
Ngāti Whātua	*28*	*13*	*36.7*	*12*
Ngāpuhi	*26*	*14*	*33.0*	*13*
Te Atiawa[16]	*20*	*15*	*37.5*	*9*
Ngāi Tahu	*13*	*16*	*29.5*	*14*

The survey figures need to be treated with caution. First, the sample sizes were small (for example, only 28 members of the Tūranganui a Kiwa iwi, 35 members of Te Whānau a Apanui and 40 of Te Atiawa). Secondly, the respondents

11 Te Puni Kōkiri is permitted to use these profiles but not further distribute them. Some iwi did not allow their profiles to be passed on by SNZ. Presumably, that is why there are no figures available for either Ngāti Porou or Te Rarawa. For the record, the survey results for Ngāti Porou and Te Rarawa were 35.1% and 51.4% answering yes to question 37, respectively.

12 Includes Te Aitanga a Māhaki, Rongowhakaata and Ngāi Tāmanuhiri.

13 Includes Te Aupōuri, Ngāi Takoto and Ngāti Kurī.

14 Includes all Te Arawa iwi in the Rotorua area, as well as Te Arawa/Taupō (region not further defined) and Te Arawa.

15 Includes Ngāti Raukawa from Waikato and Horowhenua-Kapiti and those who did not specify.

16 Includes Te Atiawa from Taranaki, Kapiti, Wellington and the northern South Island and those who did not specify.

were not chosen randomly, but selected themselves in accordance with their knowledge of or interest in the survey. They also included no individuals aged under 15, and an overrepresentation of those aged 45 and over. That said, we can observe a general correlation between the 2001 census and the survey, with – Te Whānau a Apanui aside – five of the top six ranked in each case being the same iwi.

KŌHANGA REO AND KURA REO

Children

So, what formal opportunities are there in Australia for learning Māori? For a start, there are a number of kōhanga reo. It would be wrong, however, to equate them in any way with kōhanga reo in New Zealand, which are a kind of Māori language immersion childcare from Monday to Friday. I attended a number of kōhanga reo around Australia, and they conformed to a general pattern. They are held usually on a Saturday for no more than two hours, although so depleted do the numbers of children become during the winter sports season that they are sometimes shifted to a Friday evening (which probably creates its own problems in terms of the attentiveness of the children). There tends to be a great variety in the ages of the children, from pre-schoolers through to those in their early teens, and as a result the children's knowledge and abilities vary greatly.[17] Sometimes, the classes are for adults as well (either parents of the tamariki or not), although the adults are often no more advanced in their knowledge.

The kōhanga seem to be open to all, with parents contributing a koha (which pays for venue hire or buys some resources). Some kaiako (teachers) said they lacked resources, and many survey respondents said that more support was needed for kōhanga reo in Australia. The kaiako and organisers are dedicated volunteers, with the kaiako sometimes being the parent with the greatest degree of ability in te reo co-opted into the role.[18] Sometimes the teachers have little ability in speaking Māori themselves, and the children may inadvertently be taught minor mistakes. The kōhanga take place in people's homes, hired rooms in community centres or, in some cases, in whare used mainly for that purpose. Class sizes tend to be around 10 children, who are sometimes divided into younger and older groups for activities. Organisers I spoke to agreed that the children were not gaining much more than a very basic exposure to the reo, but they hoped that the children would at least gain an awareness of their culture and carry with them something into adulthood that they could rekindle if they chose to learn the reo properly later in life.

Other than kōhanga reo, I was not able to gather much information about the teaching of Māori to school-age children. A survey respondent in Sydney did report, however, that she had 'children in a government funded Maori language school', and another wrote that 'Reo has now been incorporated in 2 (of what I know) state primary schools within NSW'. A respondent in Melbourne also wrote that her son's primary school was the only one with a government-funded Māori language programme in Australia. A typical statement, though, was 'unlike our schools at home where Te Reo is available to learn our children's schools do not cater for that'.

Adults

For adults, there are a variety of Māori language classes, which tend to vary from tuition run out of people's homes to more organised 'schools'. One example is the New South Wales Māori School of Learning in Sydney, whose parent school is Te Reo Maioha ki Ōtaki in New Zealand. This kura holds classes in the offices of the Construction, Forestry, Mining, Energy Union in both the city and Lidcombe and charges students $275 per 10-week term or around $900 per year for two two-hour classes per week. Another example is Te Whare Mātauranga o Te Ataawhai in Melbourne, which holds classes in community buildings in St Albans and Endeavour Hills and costs $400 per year for two two-hour night classes each week (an organiser explained that the school's ethos was to charge the 'bare minimum' to cover the venue hire and kaiako fees).

The following are examples of reo classes run by individuals rather than by schools:

- A woman in Sydney was teaching via the Community Colleges of New South Wales, with night classes at Parramatta. In 2006, she was running eight-week courses (with one two-hour class per week) that cost $110 (or $100 for pensioners).
- In Brisbane, a woman was offering a 10-week beginners course in her spare time (one three-hour class per week), charging $200 for the course. She was fortunate to be able to use a meeting room in a hotel free of charge through a personal connection. A significant proportion of her fees, in any event, was spent on teaching resources, such as textbooks.

17 Paul Bergin's experience of kōhanga reo seems to have differed somewhat – he described the norm as classes for pre-schoolers held on weekdays (see Bergin 1998, pp 183–187).

18 Bergin noted that kōhanga reo in Australia were very susceptible to folding if the kaiako or a key supportive family moved away (ibid, p 184).

Most kaiako – and certainly all of the very few teaching full time – will supplement their incomes with private, one-on-one teaching. Such tuition is likely to cost A$35 an hour or more, with some kaiako probably charging extra for travelling time and petrol costs.

A number of kaiako and kōhanga reo organisers said they were so short of teaching resources they routinely resorted to photocopying the textbook *Te Rangatahi* or other publications. Many were probably unaware of the range of free online publications, such as those at www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/subject/default.asp#language. One kaiako relied heavily on the internet, however, telling me that the resources she used were:

> things like Te Karere (the Maori news) online – encouraging people to subscribe to magazines like Mana, iwi newspapers like Pu Kaea (Whakatane), the internet's also a good tool – most if not all of my students found out about the classes through panui on websites. Also communicating constantly with other tutors and Maori language speakers at home so as to 'keep up with the play' so to speak, as the language is ever evolving.

Survey question 39 asked respondents whether they participated in te reo classes. Some 191 respondents (15.9% of the overall total) said they did. Given the strong likelihood that many of those motivated to learn the reo would also have been the kind of people motivated to fill in the survey, it seems reasonable to conclude that the actual proportion of adult Māori attending te reo classes in Australia is rather lower.

A problem with most reo schools is that they are single-teacher operations. The lack of teachers and teaching space can therefore mean that first- and second-year students may be combined into the same evening class. Slowly, though, the schools are attempting to expand. A key objective of the New South Wales Māori School of Learning, for example, is to train students up to be able, one day, to take over as te reo teachers themselves.

REASONS WHY TE REO IS BEING LOST IN AUSTRALIA

Beyond the biggest cities – and even within them – a major problem for Māori in Australia wanting to learn the reo is the lack of kaiako. I was told in places like Wollongong and the Central Coast that there is no local teacher and instead a kaiako travels from Sydney one day a week. In some places, there will be no prospect of even a visiting kaiako, and indeed very few people who can speak the reo at all. In towns like Albany, Cairns and Townsville, I met people who said they were either the only reo speaker in town or one of only two. In one case, where there were two, the speaker I met said that the only other reo speaker in town preferred not to kōrero Māori.

Another problem may be that language tuition tends to cater largely for beginners (the lowest common denominator). A survey respondent in Sydney suggested that 'someone who has some knowledge already won't pay to go to a beginners class and there are no advanced classes available'.

When I asked how they kept their reo alive, some people said they made sure they returned to New Zealand regularly, or spoke to other Māori speakers around Australia on the phone. One reo teacher in Melbourne said that, before he began teaching, he could only speak Māori to the cat. Now, he said, he listens to iwi radio stations on the internet every morning to keep his reo 'current'. A woman whose first language was te reo said she did not see another Māori for four years after arriving in South Australia in the late 1960s, and she found she had become 'tongue-tied' in her own reo when she finally did meet another Māori speaker. This caused her so much distress that she immediately went home and immersed herself in the reo for three months.

In a number of towns I visited, it seemed that use of the Māori language had all but disappeared (if it were ever practised). In one town, there seemed to be no-one (out of 15 people) who could or would recite a karakia (prayer) to open the hui I attended. The use of te reo as a language of ritual and performance is probably the main way it survivies in Australia, so where it is absent on such occasions, it is doubtless well lost to that community. Indeed, at a nearby town with several hundred Māori, a long-time resident told me that 'Māoritanga is basically non-existent here'. In other places, I frequently heard reference to the reo being lost and the younger Māori brought up in Australia having no knowledge of Māori language or tikanga. (Māori migrants marrying Australians obviously contributes to this.) I suspect it is also only in the largest centres that a range of options exist for learning te reo (although, even in Perth, I was told that it is hard to find any kaiako). There are complications in the biggest cities, however: in places like Sydney and Melbourne, Māori are likely to have less spare time and will need to spend more time travelling to attend classes. And they will, of course, have to be able to pay for what they receive.

A further barrier to language learning I was told of is that many people will not accept a kaiako from another waka

(canoe). The New South Wales Māori School of Learning is aware that some people want to learn a particular dialect or fear they will learn another iwi's form of the reo because of the teacher they end up with. The kura thus encourages those who wish to learn the reo of their iwi or hapū to return to New Zealand to do so, and endeavours to teach students commonly used language, rather the dialect of any one iwi.

There are also some who believe that learning te reo Māori in Australia is somehow inauthentic, or at least a rather second-best option to learning in New Zealand. A contributor to a www.maori-in-oz.com message board in July 2006 wrote 'I honestly have no problem with people learning the reo over [here in Australia] it just wouldn't be as advanced as being home … being home and learning te reo feels so much better you know'.[19]

In terms of Māori radio broadcasts in Australia as a means of language transmission, it seems that the reo component of these shows depends to a large extent on the presenters. From my experience, many presenters have some reo skills and try to mix in a bit of the language, but others have little Māori-speaking ability. Sometimes, the station requires its ethnic broadcasters to speak a minimum amount in their own language, but for Māori this will have drawbacks because many listeners would not be able to understand and would switch off. For example, I was told by the Te Puna Waiora presenters in Alice Springs that, during a show they did in te reo Māori, their audience dropped right away. I discuss Māori radio programmes in Australia more in chapter 14.

THE FUTURE OF TE REO IN AUSTRALIA

Many survey respondents indicated that they wanted their tamariki in Australia to have access to kōhanga reo. Many others are hungry to learn the reo. Some I spoke to even harbour an ambition to bring the use of te reo in Australia up to a level similar to that in New Zealand. As noted in chapter 9, a woman in Melbourne told me her ultimate aim was to establish fully fledged kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori in Australia.

The New South Wales Māori School of Learning hopes to 'normalise' the use of te reo Māori in the local community. Through encouraging students to use te reo outside of the classroom as often as possible – in emails, text messages, at home and at social functions – it hopes that this language use will then be adopted by the students' whānau and friends until, eventually, Māori is being spoken by the New South Wales Māori community as often as possible.

Others, however, are less sanguine. A woman in Adelaide told me that New Zealand-like kōhanga reo could never work in a city like hers, because Māori are simply too spread out. A kaumātua in northern Queensland cautioned that people should stop and consider what the actual need is for learning te reo in Australia. When I suggested it might be for an enhanced sense of identity and community, he said that was correct, 'but it must be real identity – not just learning how to say a few things'. A woman in northern Queensland went further and contended that the reo is not necessary in Australia 'because it won't last'. She said 'you can be Māori and say it all in English – it's what's in your heart that counts'. Similarly, a survey respondent in Sydney wrote 'the language to me is not relevant while living in Australia'.

A kaumātua in Adelaide had a different vision for the future. His goal was one day to take Australian-born Māori back to New Zealand and impress those at home with the quality of the reo the children had been able to learn. He said this would give him much satisfaction, given what he perceived as the superior attitudes of Māori in New Zealand (for more on this point, see chapter 17).

One cause of optimism for the future of te reo Māori in Australia is that there are so many Māori who want to learn. A typical survey response was 'I have felt that all other areas have improved in my life such as finances etc however I feel there is a lack of resources for educating Maori in Te reo'. It seems that many Māori are relieved to step away from Māori culture when they move to Australia, but, after a number of years away, they feel a strong urge to reconnect. They begin to thirst after the things they took for granted at home, such as easier access to learning the reo. One te reo teacher said:

> the main reason I've found why Maori here want to learn Maori is a lot to do with the social aspect – i.e meeting other Maori, also the 'away from home' aspect, re-connecting with that which is unique to them as Maori, regardless of whether they were born or brought up in Aotearoa. And knowing that they don't have to necessarily go home to learn.

19 http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/tereomaori.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=919&ShowDelete=0ID_CLast=965&CDir=1 (accessed 13 December 2006).

This perspective can be clearly seen in the answers to the fourth part of survey question 32, which asked whether Māori in Australia felt 'the need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage' more or less than Māori in New Zealand. Only 18.0% answered that Māori in Australia felt this need 'less' or 'much less', as opposed to 45.7% who said that Māori in Australia felt it 'more' or 'much more'.

One final matter to note is that I was told by Māori in a number of different places around Australia that their nieces, nephews or mokopuna coming out of kōhanga reo or kura kaupapa Māori in New Zealand could not speak or write English well enough, and this was creating a real problem for them when their whānau shifted to Australia. A woman I met in northern Queensland had gone as far as taking a grandson out of kura kaupapa in New Zealand and putting him into a private school in Australia because she felt his academic skills were not being sufficiently advanced. Regardless of the justification for these views, they do illustrate the growing gulf between the New Zealand and Australian situations, with Māori children starved of their language in Australia, and some Māori children in New Zealand receiving what some see as too much instruction in te reo.

CHAPTER 13: THE PRACTICE OF TRADITIONAL MĀORI CULTURE

Chapter summary

- The lack of kaumātua who can pass on their knowledge in Australia is a key contributor to the dwindling exercise of traditional culture in many communities.
- Inevitably, Māori culture is often adapted to Australian circumstances, with the apparent prevalence of non-kin definitions of whānau being one likely example.
- Knowledge and practice of traditional Māori culture in Australia will decline further unless various initiatives such as communal cultural centres can be realised.

In this chapter, within the limitations of my own knowledge and understanding, I attempt to comment on the continued practice in Australia of traditional Māori culture and the retention of knowledge of tikanga Māori. I emphasise the word 'traditional' because 'culture' can, of course, be singing 'Ten Guitars' as much as it is learning mōteatea (a pre-European style of song), or playing rugby as much as it is performing haka poi (a dance).

Similarly, the loss of tikanga is not quite the same thing as the loss of culture. As one kaumātua put it to me, 'Tikanga is more involved than hāngīs and waiata [songs]. It's about being humble, knowing your whakapapa, having the right wairua [spirit]'. I understand 'tikanga' to be the laws or rules governing everyday life and Māori cultural interaction handed down from ngā wā ō mua (olden times).[1] To equate it with 'culture' would be incorrect, because while many Māori in Australia have lost knowledge of tikanga, it would be nonsense to suggest that they have thereby lost any semblance of culture. They have a culture, but it is simply one that retains fewer traditional elements.

THE PICTURE GIVEN BY THE SURVEY RESULTS

Survey question 22 asked respondents 'How do you feel about this statement: To get ahead in Australia you have to let go of Māori culture'. The response was one of overwhelming disagreement, with nearly 85% of respondents either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing.

TABLE 13.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 22 – HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS STATEMENT: TO GET AHEAD IN AUSTRALIA YOU HAVE TO LET GO OF MĀORI CULTURE

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
%	%	%	%	%	%
2.0	*2.5*	*9.2*	*27.3*	*58.0*	*1.0*

1 The subtitle of Hirini Mead's recent book on tikanga Māori is 'living by Māori values' (see Hirini Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*, Huia, Wellington, 2003).

Table 13.1 shows that Māori in Australia do not believe that they must abandon their culture to prosper in their new land. But if that is the theory, what of the reality? Are they able to maintain their customs and knowledge of tikanga Māori? The answer to another survey question tells a somewhat different story. Question 47 asked, in part, what had become of respondents' 'cultural life' since they moved to Australia (those born in Australia were asked not to answer this question). Table 13.2 shows the responses of the 1149 people not born in Australia.[2]

TABLE 13.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 5) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR CULTURAL LIFE? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN RESPONDENTS)

Become much better	Become a bit better	Stayed the same	Become a bit worse	Become much worse	Don't know/no opinion/not applicable
%	%	%	%	%	%
22.4	*14.7*	*29.4*	*20.6*	*8.4*	*4.4*

The question was intended to measure the impact of living in Australia on (traditional) Maori cultural life, but respondents may have interpreted 'cultural life' in vastly different ways and many will doubtless believe that their exposure to an array of cultures and food and entertainment options, in a city such as Sydney, has actually enriched their cultural lives. I suspect, however, that those who reported that their cultural life had become worse or much worse were indeed relating the question to their access to and practice of traditional Māori culture.

Survey question 39 asked respondents whether they were involved in kapa haka, waka ama (outrigger canoes), te reo classes or 'other Māori cultural activity' (which they were asked to describe). Just over half answered 'none of these'. Care is needed when considering this result. While the survey respondents seem likely participants in cultural events (which could lead us to conclude that the actual proportion of Māori in Australia who do not participate in Māori cultural activities is even higher), many may have thought the question referred only to formal, organised cultural activities. In any event, of those who named an activity, the biggest number (270 people) by far ticked kapa haka, while only 34 named waka ama. Apart from te reo classes, which I discussed in chapter 12, other cultural activities entered by respondents included Waitangi Day event participation, carving, mirimiri (massage), weaving, Māori radio broadcasts, Māori sports events, multicultural festivals, participation in church services or karakia, attending tangihanga, putting down hāngī, gathering seafood and so on.[3]

The 2002 Ipswich research seems to have revealed a higher rate of participation in cultural activities than the Te Puni Kōkiri survey. Of the 252 Māori living in the 60 households surveyed from Ipswich to Inala, 80 (31.8%) were said by household heads to be involved in 'traditional craft', 101 (40.1%) in 'traditional dance', 104 (41.3%) in 'traditional music' and 16 (6.3%) in 'traditional story-telling'. Nearly 40% of Māori said that music was the most important form of cultural learning, followed by dancing at 35%. Only 25% of Māori interviewees said 'the family' was the main place of cultural learning, compared to 90% of Samoans. Instead, 43.3% of Māori said the main place of cultural learning was 'cultural groups'.[4]

REASONS WHY KNOWLEDGE IS BEING LOST IN AUSTRALIA

I was frequently told about the loss of knowledge of tikanga Māori and the dwindling exercise of traditional culture among Māori in Australia. An example of this can be found in the survey comments of a woman in Sydney, who wrote 'even the older ones who have been here for 20–30 years have lost their culture, their reo and their children have lost the ability to connect with their whanau back home'. I heard from many people that the majority of Māori in their community – especially the young – had little understanding of basic marae protocol or the rules governing the tangihanga.

This problem is partly created by the lack of communal cultural space, but is certainly exacerbated by the absence from many Māori communities of anyone knowledgeable in tikanga. A clear example regarding tangihanga is contained in chapter 11. Similarly, a man in Melbourne wrote 'There is a shortage of knowledge of protocol with the Australian-born. Some tangis I have been to over here are sad (behind the closed doors in the kitchen). Youth over here just don't know, but we are not living in Aotearoa but Australia'.

2 Sixty-eight of these people gave no answer. This large rate of non-response presumably relates to a number of people having arrived in Australia as children and not feeling they had a comparative perspective.

3 The treatment of te reo as a separate chapter in this report in no way represents a view on my part that language can easily be distinguished from 'culture'. Indeed, I would accept that knowledge of te reo is, by necessity, a cornerstone of retention of traditional Māori culture.

4 Shehata (2003), pp 63–65. The graph showing the percentage of Māori naming 'the family' as the main place of cultural learning on p 64 contradicts the text by appearing to show the proportion as just over 10%.

A large part of the problem is the lack of kaumātua who can pass on their knowledge. In many smaller towns, there are no kaumātua, while in bigger places, like Adelaide, I was told there are simply too few. In one city, where several hundred Māori live, a kaumātua told me he had been one of four elders, but two had died and one had gone back to New Zealand. As a result, he said, he needed to attend every hui and every tangihanga and it was becoming quite hard work for him.

To deal with the isolation of smaller communities, kaumātua sometimes travel from bigger centres of Māori population to hold wānanga in the smaller towns. In Albany and Esperance, for example, I was told that kaumātua and kuia (female elders), like weaver Wai Payne, occasionally visit from Perth or Kalgoorlie to teach carving, weaving and other traditional arts. But, equally, there were many parts of Australia where I heard of no such arrangements. Even in Perth, a survey respondent went so far as to say 'there is a great need for Te Reo, Tikanga and Wananga in the Western Australia region. The teachings that they have here are the blind leading the blind which is not very good as things are getting lost and mistranslated'.

The isolation of certain states can be seen in how frequently respondents visit New Zealand. Unsurprisingly, Māori in Western Australia, Tasmania, the Northern Territory and South Australia make considerably fewer visits to New Zealand than Māori in the populous eastern states of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

TABLE 13.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 36 – IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS [HOW OFTEN] HAVE YOU BEEN TO NEW ZEALAND, BY STATE (RESPONDENTS ARRIVING IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE 2006)

State in which respondents live	Not at all	Once or twice	Three or more times	Don't know
NSW + ACT	*32.0*	*52.0*	*16.0*	-
Victoria	*37.2*	*48.9*	*13.9*	*0.4*
Queensland	*39.0*	*50.9*	*10.1*	-
WA	*48.4*	*45.3*	*6.3*	-
NT/SA/Tas.	*52.7*	*36.4*	*10.9*	-

Of course, I should add that some Māori have no interest in pursuing their culture in Australia. Some even suggested to me that many Māori had come to Australia to get away from Māori culture, as I noted in chapter 6. When I explained, at a meeting I attended in one town, that I was interested in the extent to which Māori culture was being maintained in Australia, I was told by one man that 'sometimes Māori don't want to be handcuffed to their culture', and that we in New Zealand should just leave Māori in Australia to get on with working, saving money and creating a more comfortable life for themselves.

MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA ADAPTING TO CIRCUMSTANCES

The term 'kaumātua' is applied more flexibly in Australia, it seems, than in New Zealand. A woman in Melbourne explained to me that many who have grown old in Australia had no experience of marae life in New Zealand but suddenly, simply because of their age, they are looked to in Australia for guidance and regarded as kaumātua. A man in Melbourne said 'kaumātua choose themselves because there are so few pākeke'. Some resist this path. For example, the Elders Council of Victoria (affiliated to the cultural and te reo group Te Rōpū Atawhai in Melbourne) refers to itself as such, and not as a 'kaumātua council', in acknowledgement that its members are not all steeped in tikanga.

Those who know their tikanga also tend to receive 'kaumātua' status young. In New South Wales, I was surprised upon meeting a highly knowledgeable kaumātua, whose reputation had preceded him, to see that he was still relatively youthful. He explained to me that people simply had to 'step up to the mark' earlier in Australia than they would in New Zealand both because of a lack of pākeke generally and because many Māori do not understand tikanga. This presents some opportunities for younger Māori. A kaumātua in one town said he could not whaikōrero (formally speak) on his marae in New Zealand because he was not senior enough within his whānau, but, in Australia, he was the acknowledged expert on tikanga and the one called on to speak for his community. With some approval, he said 'The younger ones who come here are free to express themselves'.

In other ways, tikanga may change more quickly in Australia than in New Zealand. As noted in chapter 11, the rise of cremations in Australia is an example of a challenge to the traditional way of doing things born of economic necessity. A man in Melbourne said that it was reasonably well accepted that tikanga needed to be 'applied with some flexibility' in Australia. He thought that one key area of change might involve the role of women. Other more minor examples might include new hāngī techniques to meet local circumstances

(as I discuss below), weaving with plants other than flax, carving in camel bone, keeping pito (the umbilical cord) in a safe rather than burying it, incorporating Aboriginal creation stories into mihimihi (greetings), carving taiaha (a kind of weapon) from customwood, buying synthetic materials from Spotlight to make piupiu (a traditional garment), using Australian plants as rongoa (traditional medicine) and so on.[5]

This situation can be contrasted with other ethnic groups in Australia who have retained a more traditional form of their culture: members of the Greek community in Canberra told me that their practice of Greek culture was more traditional than back in Greece, where it had moved on since their parents emigrated in the 1950s and 1960s. That said, one kaumātua I spoke to said he thought tikanga changed more quickly in New Zealand and Māori in Australia usually 'just caught up later'. For example, he said that some of the best carvers in New Zealand now were women, but he was yet to see such a development in Australia. Furthermore, a survey respondent suggested 'the Maori that are spread all over the world are more inclined to keep traditions alive. So many changes have been made in NZ. Maori don't seem to care anymore'.

The example of keeping pito in a safe reflects something of a dilemma for Māori in Australia. Afterbirth and umbilical cords are returned to the earth in New Zealand, and often in Australia. But, in New Zealand, the burial customarily takes place on land where the child has an ancestral connection. In Australia, by contrast, the Māori relationship with the land is not much different to that of Pākehā with New Zealand: you can live in a place and come to love it, but at some stage you might sell up and move somewhere else and sever your connection. For Māori who have buried their children's pito and whenua (placenta) in the back garden in Australia, therefore, moving house is a bit difficult to come to terms with. A woman in Brisbane told me that she had had to dig up her first mokopuna's whenua, along with the tree planted on top of it, and move them to her new garden when she shifted. By contrast, a woman in Melbourne had buried her son's whenua in Sydney but had left it there when she shifted south. 'Tikanga has to adapt', she told me. Many others, of course, take pito and whenua home for burial to New Zealand, explaining the contents of their chilly bin to understanding New Zealand customs officers.

The need for some flexibility in the practice of tikanga often arises when Māori are mixing at functions with their Australian hosts. At a Waitangi Day event I attended, the Māori community was in the process of welcoming manuhiri (visitors), including various local body and state-level politicians, to whom the protocol had been well explained. Before the speech-making was complete, one of the guests chose to leave and so crossed to the other side of the marae ātea (open meeting place), hugged one of the hosts and walked off. At another event, the host was an Australian dignitary, but because she made an entrance once all were assembled, the Māori group acted like hosts and karanga'd (called) her on and spoke first. I have also observed Australians unfamiliar with the hongi (pressing of noses in greeting) react unusually. I address the issue of how Māori perceive Australian attitudes to their culture in chapter 14.

KAPA HAKA THE MOST POPULAR CULTURAL ACTIVITY FOR MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

The results of survey question 39, as well as the results of the 2002 Ipswich research, appear to confirm the status of the kapa haka group as the place Māori most often turn to when seeking out their culture in Australia. The majority of towns with 100 or more Māori seem to have a kapa haka rōpū (although many are probably community groups first and foremost, with kapa haka being one of their activities). Some are very strong, with excellent tutors and outstanding performances at kapa haka festivals like those in Sydney at Easter and in July. In fact, the July festival serves as the Australian regional qualifying competition for the biennial Te Matatini performing arts festival in New Zealand. In 2006, the Australian (Whenua Moemoeā) regional winner was the Blacktown rōpū, Te Huinga Waka (although the only interstate rōpū competing was one from Melbourne).[6]

There is probably some tension within kapa haka groups in Australia between those who take it very seriously and those who see it as more of a social outlet. One survey respondent said that kapa haka groups in her city were of 'a very low

5 Paul Bergin commented on the tendency to incorporate Australian things into oratory and song: 'One of the striking aspects of some recent Māori song compositions in Australia ... is the way in which features of the Australian landscape and environment have indeed been included in a traditional Māori format of extended greetings to the local mountains and rivers and also to the local people of the land, notably the Aboriginal people ... Such features may be necessary to appeal to Australian-born Māori teenagers some of whom say that they would like to learn Māori songs and haka which speak to their Australian experience. Indeed, the teenage boys in one Sydney family said that they were reluctant to perform haka from New Zealand, and so had decided to try to compose their own haka with kangaroo actions and noises.' Bergin (1998), pp 194–195.

6 Te Matatini, regional competition results, www.tematatini.org.nz/editable/Regionals/RegionalCompetitions.shtml (accessed 8 September 2006). Te Huinga Waka has been perhaps the leading kapa haka group in Sydney for over a decade. After the 1990 Easter Māori Festival, the *Kiwi Cooee* wrote '"Te Hui Nga Waka" once again proved they were the dominating force in cultural activities throughout Sydney' ('Twelfth Sydney Maori Festival', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(5), May 1990, p 1).

standard so i'm disappointed culturally'. A woman in one town who had run a local kapa haka group for years told me that she had asked parents not to bring their tamariki and treat the kapa haka session 'like a child-minding service'. In another town, I was told a rōpū had split over whether the kapa haka should be adults only or also for children. Australian-resident Māori also react badly to 'new mohios' (know-alls) joining a rōpū straight after arrival from New Zealand and disrupting the group with their insistence about 'the right way of doing things'. In one town, a woman involved in kapa haka related such a story and said the lack of a kaumātua attached to her group had made the situation much harder to deal with, as members had lacked the confidence to tell the newcomers to 'back off'.

Kapa haka groups, like marae committees, tend to come and go in Australia. Many survey respondents complained that there were no kapa haka rōpū in their neighbourhood, or at least none that they could find. A number of people who had been running groups told me their rōpū had gone into recess to give everyone a break. In Ipswich near Brisbane, a woman told me that kapa haka was 'sadly missing' and people were losing their culture. Her perception contrasts with the recollections of a Brisbane kaumātua who arrived in 1980. At that time, he said, the strongest kapa haka group in Brisbane by far was the Kia Ora Kiwi Club in Ipswich. He said that it only ever took one or two key families to move away and a kapa haka club could fold, which he said had happened in Ipswich. A woman in Cairns gave me much the same account of what had occurred in her city.[7]

Disputes can arise within kapa haka groups, of course, when the issue of the correct application of tikanga arises and those from different iwi have different points of view. On the other hand, some told me that iwi in Australia cooperate much more than in New Zealand. I return to this issue when discussing community cohesion in chapter 14, but suffice it to say here that pan-tribal kapa haka probably comes with as many challenges as pan-tribal efforts to build community centres.

On a positive note, the performance of kapa haka is immensely popular among Australians, who seem particularly fascinated by the haka. Māori cultural performances are sometimes used in Australia to promote particular events. A man I spoke to in Brisbane was in the middle of negotiating (on behalf of a kapa haka group) with the Australian Rugby Union for an on-field performance prior to the 29 July 2006 Bledisloe Cup match at Suncorp Stadium. He said that, in the case of such high-profile events, 'the days of free cultural performances are over'.[8] Similarly, a Māori events promoter in Perth said that he would arrange for paid cultural performances at events like the 2003 Rugby World Cup or a product launch for a New Zealand company, such as the inauguration of a new Air New Zealand flight into the city. Indeed, when some Māori speculated to me about how a community centre could pay for itself in Australia, they considered that the staging of regular cultural performances would be a potential income stream.[9]

Others told me how they would take cultural performances into the community, at no cost, because of the great joy it gave people. In Bunbury, those involved in the local kapa haka group said they would put on performances at schools and old folks' homes, and took great satisfaction from the obvious pleasure in the faces of those watching. On the Central Coast, a man said that kapa haka was not taught in any schools in Sydney, although recently it had been introduced at Merrylands High and Parramatta High. As a result, problems with Māori students there, including truancy and bullying, had dissipated significantly. The kapa haka group from Merrylands High performed in front of a big audience at the Bondi Waitangi Day festival in 2006.

Brisbane group Te Kōhanga o Te Whenua Hou also uses kapa haka to bring about a shift in attitude on the part of wayward youngsters. It runs a programme called Takahia Whakamua Puutahi at the Brisbane Youth Detention Centre at Wacol, in which juvenile offenders are taught te reo and kapa haka over a 16-week course that concludes with a performance at a graduation ceremony for those who have passed. The aim of the programme is to 'empower people through a sense of belonging and develop confidence and maturity. In turn it is hoped that these traits can help young offenders cope with detention'.[10] I attended a class at the detention centre in May 2006 and was impressed by the way young people with Māori,

7 The 2002 Ipswich research seemed to indicate a more vibrant Māori cultural scene in the area, but the situation may have changed in recent years.

8 As it transpired, the performance did not take place.

9 The Australian fascination with Māori cultural performance could be said to date back as far as Dr McGauran's 'Maori Warrior Chiefs' in the 1860s (see chapter 2) or even earlier.

10 'Cultural classes earn positive report card for police', *Police Bulletin*, 303, pp 28–29, www.police.qld.gov.au/Resources/Internet/services/reportsPublications/documents/Bulletin_303_p28-29.pdf#search=%22%22brenda%20cookson%22%22 (accessed 6 September 2006).

white Australian, Aboriginal and Pacific Islander backgrounds revelled in the opportunity to learn aspects of Māori culture. Māori policewoman Brenda Cookson, who teaches te reo to the class, told me that there are always twice the number of young offenders wanting to participate than the course can take, and that the Māori kids in particular feel a great pride and sense of purpose in the sessions.

BROADENING DEFINITIONS OF WHĀNAU

The whānau is the core unit of Māori society. In recent times, Te Puni Kōkiri has undertaken a programme of 'whānau development' on the basis that, if whānau are strong, then Māori society as a whole will also be strong. This has prompted the question, of course, of whether 'whānau' should be defined strictly in kinship terms or have a broader application.

Many Māori in Australia commented either to me personally or in their survey responses that they missed their extended family structures. Some said that, in the circumstances, they had taken on new notions of 'whānau'. A woman on the Central Coast wrote 'I have been involved in Maori Culture from the time I arrived here. It was important for me to fill the void of my whanau back in NZ'. Similarly, a woman in Brisbane said that local Māori served as her 'immediate whanau' at her mother's tangihanga, while a woman in Melbourne wrote 'My Maori friends are my whanau' and another in Bowen wrote 'when I meet another Maori we tend to adopt each other as whanau'. A woman in Perth summed it up this way:

> I have found whilst living here that the Maori you associate with become your whanau. Even if they are from different iwi. Everyone is aunty, & uncle, and cousins. In a way you can call it an iwi of our own, that continually grows bigger, either through extending the whanau, or new ones coming over.

In anticipation of such answers, survey question 23 asked respondents, whether they thought of 'whānau' as their immediate family only, their immediate family and a broader group of relatives, or 'family and relatives plus other Māori who you live and/or work and/or socialise with here in Australia'. My suspicion was that the Australian experience might have led to an equally high incidence of the first and third responses as the (more usually anticipated) second.

As it happens, only 59 people (or 4.9% of the 1200 who answered this question) chose the first option, and 324 respondents (27.0%) chose the second. By contrast, a very large number of people said that 'whānau' to them meant something much more than a kin-based connection: 725 (60.4%) selected the third option and, interestingly, a further 52 people ticked 'other' and broadened their concept of whānau beyond even Māori. Examples of this included workmates, friends, other indigenous people, all New Zealanders and so on. One person said that who was whānau 'depends on what circumstances are at the time'. It is certainly likely that 'whānau' will mean different things to people in different contexts, and that they can consider themselves members of multiple whānau simultaneously. A Sydney kaumātua told Paul Bergin:

> Here in Sydney I have a number of whānau. There is my own immediate whānau including our children. Then there is the wider whānau which would probably number over a hundred, comprising my children's children and my children's spouses, my first cousin and her family, another cousin and his family, my wife's relatives and quite a few other relations. Then there's my whānau of Te Huinga Waka, our whānau of Te Waka o Hato Petera [the Catholic Māori community], and my whānau from Sydney Kiwis [a rugby club], and so on. So there are all kinds of whānau.[11]

I am not aware of a similar survey of Māori living in New Zealand with which to compare these results. A useful comparison would have been with the attitudes of urban Māori in New Zealand living far away from their tribal homelands. Any conclusions, therefore, must remain speculative. But it may well be that 'whānau' has begun to mean new things for Māori in Australia.[12]

Question 24 asked respondents whether they had whānau in Australia. The non-kin definitions selected at question 23 were quite possibly put to one side when respondents answered this and other whānau-related questions, although this is unknown. In any case, 95.4% of the 1184 respondents to this question said they did have whānau in Australia. These respondents were then asked at question 25 whether their ties were stronger with their whānau in Australia or New Zealand. A majority (655 or 59.1% of the 1108 who answered this question) said there was no difference, while identical numbers (221 or 19.9% in each case) chose whānau in Australia and New Zealand, respectively.[13]

11 Quoted in Bergin (1998), p 22.

12 Despite this, Bergin may well have been right when he suggested that Māori continue to gain their identity more through their belonging to whānau kin-groups than through being ethnically or culturally different from the majority of other Australians (see ibid, p 273).

13 Forty-one hard-copy respondents ticked both 'whānau in Australia' and 'whānau in New Zealand'. They were counted as having selected 'no difference'.

Question 44 asked respondents to rate the importance of regular contact with their whānau in Australia. Over 94% said regular contact was important or very important. At question 45, 59.4% of those responding said they met up with their whānau in Australia at least once a week. While these questions were not tested in terms of the definitions of 'whānau' at question 23, they nevertheless confirm the importance of close kin to Māori in Australia.

CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF KAI

Food is an important aspect of most cultures, Māori included. Many survey respondents were quick to state that one of the main things they missed about New Zealand was the kai (food). Those I met often became most animated when discussing the local kai or how they maintained their traditional cuisine.

The practice of the hāngī is almost universal among Māori in Australia, but techniques differ. The main problem is that Australian rocks tend to crack or explode when heated, although a man in Newcastle was adamant that the stones in the Stockton breakwater at the entrance to Port Hunter were ideal. Bricks can be used, but break up over time. Most people resort to railway irons, such as engine brake shoes or track ties, and a man in Bunbury said he would use any old hunks of steel. In a regional variation, one South Australian Māori swore by Stobie pole irons.[14] The disadvantage of all these forms of iron, however, is that they do not hold their heat quite as well as rocks, but this does not appear to present a significant problem. The next issue is how to heat the irons. Many said they would never resort to using a gas blowtorch and would only build a wood fire, often with old railway sleepers, although in some places the fire risk could make a gas flame a safer option. Gas is certainly often used, and was at a hāngī I attended in Townsville. In another variation, some cook their hāngī inside a beer keg kept heated with a gas burner, although one purist insisted that food cooked this way ends up tasting much like a boil-up.

Of course, it is not only in Australia that traditions are departed from, and all of these techniques will be familiar to Māori in New Zealand. Perhaps the difference is that, in Australia, people have less choice about whether to uphold aspects of the tradition than Māori do at home.[15]

I came across several hāngī businesses in Australia. In Adelaide, Jim Tapara runs 'Dial a New Zealand Feast: Hangi', a part-time family business that caters mainly for summertime events such as weddings and parties and offers the Adelaide public another ethnic food option. Aside from using railway irons, Jim cooks in the traditional way, eschewing the use of gas and finding the mallee root by far the best wood. He explained that the business grew out of him putting down many hāngī for the Aotearoa Māori Club of South Australia, until one day someone suggested he start doing it as a business. He said he was initially reluctant, since it went against the grain to commercialise the traditions of his ancestors. But kaumātua gave him their blessing, and he has been in operation for 18 years. He said it does not make him rich, but he gains great satisfaction from being able to promote Māori culture in this way.

Some Australians have latched onto the earth oven business concept. When searching for Māori to meet in Ballina in northern New South Wales, where I was passing through, I came across a business there called 'Hot Earth Hangis'. But when I rang the number, I found it was not a Māori business at all, the man explaining that they were 'just Australians cooking in a Māori style'.

Roger McDonald's *Shearers' Motel* climaxes with the Māori shearers laying down a hāngī. They gather volcanic rocks from Mortlake in south-western Victoria, which one of them acknowledges not to be perfect but claims are 'the closest in Australia to the ones used in New Zealand'. They are heated in a fire of gidgee logs. One character reminisces about a hāngī at Wanaaring in north-western New South Wales, where there were 'no suitable rocks, so they went to the dump and got old metal car parts, engine blocks and gear boxes, and set them on top of the fire like a crazy plane wreck'. McDonald's shearers' cook watches in fascination, studying the technique. Eventually, the food is raised from the ground:

> The baskets were swung up, absolutely plain food steamed in the heat of the ground oven, the chicken falling to pieces at the touch, the pork delicately soft, the mutton a different food altogether from the mutton in the sheds, without the same strong, fatty, urinous reek. Rocco said a Maori prayer, and the crowd fell on the food.[16]

14 The Stobie pole is a South Australian icon. It is just a power pole, but one made in a particular way, with concrete inside an iron frame.

15 One of Bergin's informants had a different angle on the tikanga of the hāngī in Australia. He said that he showed 'his respect for the Aboriginal affinity with the land by refusing to put down a hāngī in the Australian soil "because in my heart I know it's not my whenua to stir up"' (Bergin 1998, p 120).

16 McDonald (2001), pp 276, 283, 286.

Another key aspect of Māori cuisine in Australia is the boil-up. One of the shearers issues McDonald's cook with a warning not long after he starts: 'I won't be awarding you any cooks' premiership, Cookie, till you master the boil-up'.[17] Several people told me that they had found a butcher who supplied excellent pork bones, with the consensus being that Australian pork bones have much more meat left on them than those in New Zealand. In Hobart, I was told that the supermarkets would put the price of pork bones up when they became aware that Māori were regularly shopping there, so people made a point of constantly switching from one supermarket to another. Similarly, people had often found a farmer who grew watercress or a shop where they could buy it. At survey question 39, one respondent wrote 'having boil-ups' under 'other Māori cultural activity'.

Kai moana (seafood) also remains a staple of the Māori diet, although I heard differing views on the quality of Australian seafood – some thought it perfectly good, while others thought it quite inferior. Most agreed, however, that Australian abalone was not a patch on pāua. A number of people I met told me that, on the day of their flight back to Australia from a visit home, they would fill a chilly bin with kina (sea urchin), pāua and other seafood. No-one said they had had any problem with customs.

Where Māori may occasionally have some trouble is with Australian fisheries inspectors. The Melbourne *Herald-Sun* reported the suggestion by fisheries inspectors in February 2005 that 'Maori and Pacific Islanders flout shellfish laws and are aggressive and abusive when caught by fisheries officers'. In six months, the report said, 33 Māori and Pacific Islanders had received court summonses for offences, usually involving abalone and sea urchins. Raina Smith, of the South Pacific Foundation, said that part of the problem was cultural: 'It is part of our makeup to think the seafood is ours to take. We have the assumption it is there for us. And we transfer that cultural thinking to Australia'.[18] In *Shearers' Motel,* the Māori shearers make straight for the sea when they at last have a shed near the coast:

> Twelve cars and the Hi-Lux slid between pine windbreaks on a dusty track, and snaked across lumpy green cow pasture ... There was no one else around. A run-down farmhouse stood on a low ridge. Dogs barked in pens. Cattle morosely licked mineral supplement blocks. The idea of a fishing inspector hung in the air, a man within siren-reach somewhere, all his malice centred on Kiwis, who were holding their breath, hardly believing the day they had for themselves at last.[19]

There are also a number of businesses that cater for the palates of expatriate New Zealanders, and Māori in particular. Examples include 'Tino Pai Foods' in Sydney, a delivery operation 'with an aim to providing the Maori community of Sydney with good quality and affordable food to your doorstep ... with our focus being on supplying Pork bones, Bacon bones, Fish heads, N.Z. Mussels etc', and 'Kai Moana Seafood' in Redcliffe in Brisbane, which offers 'Kina, John Dory, Mutton Birds, Prawns, Ling, Gurnard, Hapuka, Oysters, Mullet, Snapper, Kahawai'.[20]

THE FUTURE OF MĀORI CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA

While there are many things Māori do in Australia that make them quintessentially Māori, from language (in either English or Māori) and song to food and humour, there are very few people who were raised under tikanga. Indeed, the dwindling number of kaumātua In New Zealand is a problem that is only magnified in Australia. As such, the few kaumātua scattered around in Australia are key people in the retention of traditional Māori culture. They are, however, often busy with their own working lives or families, and a number doubtless no longer have the energy. Some would, I suspect, prefer to move back to New Zealand to live, but stay on in the knowledge that the community relies heavily on them for guidance. In places where there are no kaumātua, knowledge of marae kawa, funeral rites, rongoa, traditional arts, and concepts and principles such as mana, mauri (life force), tapu (sacred, prohibited), noa (free from tapu), utu (revenge, payment), rāhui (closed season) and others, will not easily persist and may already have been lost.

A kaumātua expressed frustration to me that Māori 'want to become Māori for five minutes – doing the haka or going to a tangi – and then live like Pākehā the rest of the time'. But, in reality, the lack of knowledge many Māori in Australia have of tikanga seems an inevitability of their migration. It is also

17 Ibid, p 45.

18 'Fights over shellfish spark talks', *Herald-Sun*, 5 February 2005 (Factiva).

19 McDonald (2002), p 202.

20 For both businesses, see 'Mahi 2 mahi (business) directory Australia', www.maori-in-oz.com/mahi2mahi.html (accessed 6 September 2006).

symptomatic of the fact that many Māori left New Zealand – in a decade from the late 1970s to the late 1980s – without ever having been raised in a marae environment or taught the reo or traditional knowledge.

In terms of their ongoing affiliation with their cultural heritage, Bergin suggested in 1998 that Māori in Australia exist along the following continuum:

- the culturally bereft – those who have lost contact and do not identify as Māori (although they have made no conscious rejection)
- the culturally indifferent – those who know they are Māori but choose to identify in other ways
- the cultural boundary riders – those first-generation migrants who participate in Māori events (such as tangihanga) but do not get involved in traditional cultural pursuits, and who choose to mix with other Australians and identify as Māori depending upon the situation
- the cultural pilgrims – those who are finding their taha Māori, learning the reo and seeking out cultural activities
- the cultural experts and tribal advocates – those, mainly elderly, Māori who form a kind of cultural elite.[21]

Looking forward, Bergin speculated that it would become increasingly difficult for future generations of Māori in Australia to maintain links to particular New Zealand marae or a sense of tribal identity, and that 'a different sense of Māori identity and belonging may emerge'. He added, however, that some adult Māori raised in Australia were 'reclaiming a deep sense of Māori identity' and that, overall, Māori in Australia were a much less 'homogenous and uniform group' than popular stereotypes suggested.[22]

From my own perspective, it seems likely that, particularly without Māori community centres, knowledge and practice of traditional Māori culture in Australia will decline further with the passage of time. This decline will surely become more pronounced when the Australian-resident Māori population eventually becomes dominated by those born in Australia. This fatalistic outlook, however, should in no way detract from the current efforts of countless people to keep Māori customs alive in Australia and to pass on knowledge to the children. If these efforts can continue, and Māori community or cultural centres can be established around Australia, then there may yet be a different outcome.

21 Bergin (1998), pp 287–289.

22 Ibid, pp 286, 289.

PLATES

Personalised number plates can be expressions of Mäori identity.

Brisbane

Plate 1

Alice Springs

Plate 2

Julie Kohu and her three Ausltralian-born sons, (left to right) Callan, Jamie and Regan. Altona, Melbourne

Plate 3

Koro Lyell-Kaaho and his sons Duane (bottom) and Dri (right), with friend Tammy-Lee Beazley (left) and Dri's Aboriginal girlfriend Chantal Hennley (centre). Redwood Park, Adelaide

Plate 4

Bronwyn Hadife, Mäori Families Worker. Campsie, Sydney

Plate 5

Dionne Paki, university researcher. Churchlands, Perth

Plate 6

Gloria Shelford, tomato picker. Bowen

Plate 7

Mike Potae, road train driver. Esperance

Plate 8

Poi Turaki player, Taki Toa Shield. Matraville, Sydney

Plate 9

Billy Ngawini, Bulldogs rugby league player. Tempe, Sydney

Plate 10

Te Puna Waiora radio presenters Anahera (Angel) Akarana, Terati (Gerry) Lyons and Taurua (Hone) Reweti. Alice Springs

Plate 11

Te Korowai Aroha Waitangi Day organisers Kira Broughton and Nga Bartlett. Kingston, Brisbane

Plate 12

Jenny and Aubrey Smith. Jerrabomberra, Canberra

Plate 13

Chrissie and Clarkie Simon. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 14

Children, parents and teachers of Te Köhanga o Te Whenua Hou. Geebung, Brisbane

Plate 15

Tainui children at Koroneihana Day picnic. New Farm, Brisbane

Plate 16

Harry Tamihana and Garry Reid preparing a hängï. Kirwan, Townsville

Plate 17

Māori women filling in the Te Puni Kökiri survey. Wanguri, Darwin

Plate18

Waitangi Day celebration. Kingston, Brisbane

Plate 19

Waitangi Day celebration. Merrylands, Sydney

Plate 20

Central Coast Marae Committee members Loopy Wilson and Brownie Takiari. Bateau Bay, Central Coast

Plate 21

Hone Brown and Tipene Keenan at the Easter kapa haka festival. Lidcombe, Sydney

Plate 22

The Maori Chief Hotel. South Melbourne, Melbourne

Plate 23

The Poi Turaki whare (and former Tomago Bowling Club clubhouse). Tomago, Newcastle

Plate 24

Reverend Kaio (Malcolm) Karipa, Church of Te Wairua Tapu. Redfern, Sydney

Plate 25

Dr Benjamin Pittman, *academic. Lilyfield*, Sydney

Plate 26

Glenda Simpson and Teepu Temple. Point Cook, Melbourne

Plate 27

Des Joe and Ivy Young. Cedar Grove, near Brisbane

Plate 28

United Mäori Cultutal Association members Bob Kihi and Bob Kingi. Maddington, Perth

Plate 29

Poi Turaki rugby club members Hori Purukamu and Tom Ngaheu. Matraville, Sydney

Plate 30

Ernie Berryman, earth-moving contractor. Scarborough, Perth

Plate 31

Abie Poharama, handyman. Albany

Plate 32

Ngä Hoe Waka kapa haka group members Julie Kohu, Jude Taiawa and Tiaki (Toto) Taiawa. Altona, Melbourne

Plate 33

Devon Strickland, Sonny Hoete and Eru *Nathan. Huntfield* Heights, Adelaide

Plate 34

Brigham Tarawa with, from left, his sister Julia, his wife Mary-Anne and his neighbour Chloe Pennington. Waratah, Newcastle

Plate 35

Karen and Kahu Wineti, sons (left to right) Rick and Josh, and friend George Ferris (at rear). Hallam, Melbourne

Plate 36

Huritau (Harry) Poutapu. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 37

Harry, his children, their partners and his mokopuna. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 38

The Poutapu grandchildren take on the adults in a game of rugby. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 39

(left to right) Matahi Poutapu, Kalani Fellows, Tamoko Fellows, Kinaia Poutapu, Haromi Poutapu, Tame Poutapu and Te Pouakai Wara (in front). Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 40

CHAPTER 14: COMMUNITY

Chapter summary

- The Māori community in Australia is served by a range of community organisations, churches, festivals, radio programmes and online and printed news sources.
- Many Māori believe a 'tātou tātou' mindset of mutual support and pan-tribalism exists in Australia.
- In spite of this, Māori in Australia lack much of the social and cultural discipline that orders Māori society in New Zealand, and this in fact creates some fundamental challenges for community cohesion.

WIDE RANGE OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

In chapter 13, I touched on the role of kapa haka groups as the focus for Māori participation in cultural activities. In my experience, particularly outside of the biggest cities, these groups also tend to serve as the main point of contact for Māori communities in general.[1] As an example, a member of the kapa haka rōpū Ngā Hau e Whā, in Wollongong, told me that the group was 'the link between everyone in town'. He said that, while not all participated in it, everyone certainly knew about it.

As I noted, kapa haka groups are often as much about meeting and mixing with other Māori as they are about cultural performance: in some cases, I was told that the kapa haka aspect was 'in recess', but people still met and socialised under the rōpū's name. For this reason, these groups are probably better described as community groups, with kapa haka simply one of the group's activities.[2] There are, of course, communities where kapa haka, community centre planning, sports and te reo are all addressed by different organisations (an example is the Central Coast, with its separate marae committee, kapa haka group and Māori-dominated rugby club), but it was not uncommon for at least two of these activities to be pursued by the one group. Quite often, when I was seeking contacts in a smaller town, people would confer and ask 'What's the name of the rōpū there?', indicating that there was likely to be one main point of contact.

Some groups actively try to make the most of the shared Māori community focus on sports and cultural activities. Examples are the New Zealand Sports and Cultural Centre Association in Perth and the Southside Crusaders Sports and Culture Club in Cairns. Both of these groups are attempting to use sport as a means of drawing more people into contact with Māori cultural activities. Indeed, broadening a group's focus is a common tactic to get more Māori to participate. In one town, a man in the local kapa haka group said to me 'You need a shotgun to get them to kapa haka, but put on a social event and 300 turn up'.

1 Some rugby clubs, like North Lakes United on the Central Coast, might vie for this status.

2 There is probably a difference between the biggest cities and the smaller centres. In places like Sydney, some rōpū will be solely focused on kapa haka, but this will seldom be the case in towns with much smaller Māori populations.

There are certainly many Māori organisations that are not focused on kapa haka at all. Some focus more on charitable or community work. For example, the New Zealand, Māori, Polynesian Welfare Support Group in Melbourne provides social services for youth at risk, the elderly and families undergoing difficulties or conflict. In Sydney, the Māori Network of Women (Māori NOW) supports Māori women by assisting them to get established in business or helping those who are experiencing domestic violence. A branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League also operates in Sydney.[3] Its main focus, a committee member told me, is to work with Māori in prison. Similarly, Te Kōhanga o Te Whenua Hou has its cultural programme for those in youth detention in Brisbane (as mentioned in chapter 13).

There are also, of course, a number of functioning tribal organisations in Australia. A good example is the Tainui group in Brisbane, Te Timatanga Hou o Tainui no Brisbane, which gathers occasionally during the year for social events and celebrations, such as Koroneihana Day (Coronation Day).[4] There are similar Tainui groups in other major cities, such as Ngā Marama o Tainui in Melbourne. In Sydney, there is a Te Arawa Association, and I am aware of Ngāti Porou groups in both Sydney and Brisbane. There are bound to be others besides. Members of other iwi, if they do not have any formal structures, will certainly gather regularly on an informal basis. Rongowhakaata, for example, were organised enough to hold Treaty settlement mandating hui in Gosford and Brisbane in 2003.

There are a number of groups that are set up more specifically for women. I have already mentioned Māori NOW. On the Gold Coast, there is a group called Wahine Māori of Queensland Inc, which aims to build a network of Māori women across the state to teach and maintain an understanding of Māori 'cultural and traditional arts'.[5] Attached to the New South Wales Council of Pacific Communities in Sydney (see below) is the Pacific Island Women's Advice and Support Service. Some women's groups are more localised in their reach: in Altona, in Melbourne's west, a Māori women's support group convenes for a couple of hours once a week.

There have been various attempts to set up bodies to represent Māori at a state-wide level. The Queensland Māori Society (QMS) was established in the mid-1980s, although its focus was apparently restricted more to the south-east of the state. I was told that it was intended as a support body for the various Māori groups operating in that area, although it did take on one big project itself, which was leading the drive to establish a marae (which, in keeping with its kaupapa, was to be of equal benefit to all Māori groups in the area). The QMS theoretically still exists, although I understand it has been inactive for some time. In Melbourne, I also heard of a Victorian Māori Council. I was not able to gather much information about it; in any event, it seems to have been defunct for some time.[6] In 2001, the Pacific Islands Association of South Australia was formed with the aim of establishing a community centre for Māori and other Pacific peoples.[7]

One body attempted to operate on a national basis: the Australian National Māori Council (ANMC) was begun in the 1980s to represent the interests of the Māori community in Australia (the QMS, for example, was an affiliated organisation[8]). It seems to have attempted to forge some ties with the New Zealand Māori Council, with Sir Graham Latimer attending one of its meetings in Melbourne in 1989. The Melbourne meeting was described at the time by Richie Mihaere, president of the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society (see chapter 10), as 'the first time that representatives of Maori organisations from every state/territory had gathered together to discuss future directions for Maori people living in Australia'.[9] Once again, the ANMC does not appear to have been active for some time.

There are some organisations currently endeavouring to represent Māori at the state level and one other that was, in 2006, being set up. For example, in Victoria, the South Pacific Foundation (SPF) was established in March 2003 with the express purpose of facilitating 'the longstanding vision of establishing a cultural centre for the peoples of the Pacific who live in Victoria'. Despite this primary agenda, SPF chair Raina Smith has inevitably become a spokesperson for the

3 Paul Bergin also referred to branches in Perth, Tuggerah, Minto and Doonside (as well as the main Sydney branch in Redfern). Bergin (1998), p xii.

4 See www.tainui.com.au.

5 'Introducing Wahine Maori of Qld Inc', *In the News*, issue 1, March 2005, p 10, www.wahine-maori.org.au/WahineMaoriOfQldIncNewsletterWeb1.htm (accessed 9 March 2007).

6 Bergin noted a 1990 newspaper account about attempts to set up the Victorian Māori Council having 'repeatedly failed' (Bergin 1998, p 151).

7 'Pacific Islands Association of South Australia Inc. (PIASA)', *Kohi Korero: Australian Maori Magazine* (Adelaide), no. 3, 2001, p 11.

8 '"Kia ora" from Queensland Maori (Sports) Society Inc.', *Kiwi Cooee*, 4(2), February 1991, p 20.

9 'Australian National Maori Council report', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(7), July 1989, p 7.

Māori and Pacific community in other areas, as can be seen in her comments on Māori and Pacific funeral rites and shellfish gathering quoted in other chapters.[10]

The New South Wales State Government, through the Community Relations Commission, has established the New South Wales Council for Pacific Communities, which 'aims to facilitate a whole of government and whole of community approach in response to the strategic issues affecting Pacific communities, including; youth crime, health issues, school outcomes, and family and community violence'.[11] Local media stories in 2005 reported that consultation meetings were being held around New South Wales about the formation of this body and the election of council members.[12] In Brisbane, in 2006, a Pacific Islands community liaison worker was attempting to establish a body to represent all Pacific peoples in Queensland, called Pan Pacific Queensland. The difference in the latter case, however, was that the State Government was not backing the proposal. There may have been another attempt to set up such a body several years ago: one of the groups participating in the 2002 Ipswich research was the Pacific Island Communities Council of Queensland, although I was unable to find out what had become of this body and it may, despite its title, have been focused specifically on the Ipswich area.

In any event, the establishment – at any level – of some kind of representative structure for Māori in Australia, particularly in combination with Pacific Islanders, would seem inherently problematic. I have discussed some of the reasons for this in chapter 10. Ultimately, state-sponsored bodies will be seen by some as being in the pockets of government, while independent groups will inevitably meet resistance from those who will not give a mandate to that group to represent them. Past disappointments with those presenting grand visions can also make people reluctant to participate. When I asked one rōpū in a part of Brisbane whether they would take part in Pan Pacific Queensland, the chair said that they would keep their focus and operation local because 'the bigger groups all fall over and the money goes west'.

WIDE RANGE OF FESTIVALS

In most Australian cities, there will be some kind of Waitangi Day celebration each year, on the weekend that falls closest to 6 February. These range from the three large festivals in Sydney (in 2006, the events were at Bondi in the east, Dee Why on the north shore and Merrylands in the west) to a 'get-together at Archie's house' in Geraldton. They are, by common consensus, not quite like Waitangi Day events in New Zealand, in that they are a day for expatriate New Zealanders (and predominantly Māori) to gather and socialise, with little discussion of politics or the Treaty's meaning. In Perth, the main celebration is known as 'New Zealand Day' in an attempt by its organisers to make it more 'inclusive' and steer it further away from 'politics'.[13]

There are some tensions about how these festivals should be run. A good example is the issue of whether alcohol should be available. Many festivals are alcohol-free, but at others it can be purchased or the events themselves take place at or alongside pubs. Sometimes, when there is disagreement with the methods of festival organisers, new events are started up in a kind of direct competition. In one city of around 100,000 people, I was told that, in 2005, there were no fewer than four Waitangi Day events around the city, although organisers of one of these events suggested to me that there was no 'competition' involved if all were well attended.

Others had different objections. One man I met at the 2006 festival at Kingston in Brisbane opposed the use of the word 'celebration', since he felt there was no equality in New Zealand to celebrate. A woman in Alice Springs told me that they hold a 'whānau day' rather than Waitangi Day because there is nothing to celebrate about the Treaty of Waitangi. A man I met in northern Queensland maintained that, as his iwi had not signed the Treaty, he could not participate in his town's event. Some I spoke to also disagreed with the Perth name change to New Zealand Day, seeing it as an inappropriate distancing from the true significance of the day.

In any event, the Waitangi Day festivals, whatever they are called, tend to have a predominantly Māori flavour. I attended two in 2006, in Merrylands in Sydney on Saturday 4 February and Kingston in Brisbane on Sunday 5 February, and a further two on a return visit in 2007 on 3 and 4 February respectively at Carrara on the Gold Coast and, again, at Kingston in Brisbane. All were attended by thousands of people, the

10 I was unable to ascertain whether the Polynesian Community Federation (see chapter 10) in Melbourne had ever played a similar role.

11 Community Relations Commission, 'Pacific Islanders list', www.communilink.org.au/list_community.asp?cn=Pacific%20Islanders&category_key=214 (accessed 14 September 2006).

12 See 'Council for Maori-Pacific communities', *Illawarra Mercury*, 8 September 2005; and 'Meeting for islanders and Maoris', Manly Daily, 13 October 2005 (Factiva).

13 In Bunbury, there was also until recently a 'New Zealand Day', although it was held two weeks after the event in Perth in order to enable people to attend both.

great majority of whom would have been Māori. Some even believe that only Māori should run these events. In one city, I met several people keen to start a new event because they were unhappy that the main existing celebration was 'run by Pākehā' who made money out of it, including through the sale of alcohol. They described their desire to 'reclaim it as a Māori day'. Another illustration of this Māori influence is the New Zealand Community Festival that is held annually in Rockdale in Sydney the weekend after the Waitangi Day events. Like the Waitangi festivals, this event (which is organised by five Māori women) is undoubtedly Māori in nature, with the stalls, patrons and music all being dominated by Māori.

One major city with less emphasis on Waitangi Day seems to be Melbourne. While there are Waitangi Day events (there has usually been something on at the Maori Chief Hotel in South Melbourne), they do not appear to be on the scale of those in Brisbane, Sydney and Perth. Instead, the focus seems to be more on the annual Māori cultural festival the weekend before Melbourne Cup day each year (either at the end of October or start of November). In 2006, the upcoming Commonwealth Games in Melbourne was another reason for a quiet Waitangi weekend.

Melbourne may well have staged the largest New Zealand festival in Australia, however. On 3 September 2005, Festival New Zealand was held to raise awareness about the large New Zealand-born population in the city. Aspects of the day included the launching of the first Australian-built waka (*Te Karangatahi*) on the Yarra River, and the televising of the All Blacks–Wallabies Bledisloe Cup test on a giant screen in Federation Square. The crowd was organised into the performance of a mass haka (with over 2000 registered participants) at the same time as the All Blacks performed theirs on screen. Overall, it was estimated that as many as 50,000 people passed through Federation Square on the day.[14]

Like Waitangi Day, Bledisloe Cup matches seem to be one of the main catalysts for the Māori community to come together in celebration. In Perth, for example, the first Bledisloe game each year is celebrated with a Kiwi Day at Gosnells Hotel in the city's south-east, where many Māori live.

Another key date in the calendar is Matariki (the beginning of the Māori year). Examples of recent celebrations to mark Matariki include: a formal dinner evening at the Grand Ballroom at the Sydney Superdome (organised by Ngāti Porou in 2004); a day-time event – with entertainment, a hāngī and food and craft stalls – at Pizzey Park on the Gold Coast in 2005; and a hāngī and music night at the Vauxhall Inn Hotel in Sydney in 2006.

'New Zealand' festivals in Australia, therefore, are essentially Māori festivals. The Waitangi events, as a subset, are not so much a commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi but – along with the other festivals – a celebration, more or less, of being Māori. The actual numbers attending these events cannot be known with any certainty, but estimates given to me were in the order of between 5000 and 10,000 people at Perth, Kingston, Merrylands and Carrara and as many as 15–20,000 over two days at Rockdale. Even if the numbers are not quite as high as some people thought, it cannot be doubted that Māori are drawn to these events in large numbers.

There are also the annual kapa haka festivals, such as those in Sydney at Easter and in July. The Easter festival dates back to the late 1970s, and has in the past been a much bigger event. Whereas, in 2006, it was just a day-long kapa haka competition, in 1991, for example, it ran over all four days of Easter and included (in addition to the central cultural competition): an opening dinner; sports, including netball, touch and an interstate rugby league tournament; a talent quest; a social evening; and a hākari (feast). It was run at the time by the Māori Aroha Cooperative Society.[15] Even at that time, there were references to the festival being 'not the attraction it has been in previous years' and the crowds being 'considerably down on previous years'.[16]

Aside from specifically 'New Zealand' events, there are a range of other festivals that Māori participate in. The main 'secondary' festivals for Māori are the Pacific Island community events, such as the annual Pacific Unity, Pacific Flava and Pacific Wave festivals in Sydney. While the former two are day-long festivals (held at Tempe and Blacktown, respectively), the latter runs over two weeks at a variety of venues and includes art exhibitions and film screenings. In March 2006, I attended the Pacific Unity festival (which, like the February festivals mentioned above, was estimated to have had an attendance of around 10,000). Despite its multicultural nature, it seemed to

14 'Waka', www.ataawhai.org.au/waka.php (accessed 18 September 2006).

15 See 'Itinerary for the 13th annual Sydney Maori festival', *Kiwi Cooee*, 4(3), March 1991, p 2.

16 'Twelfth Sydney Maori Festival', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(5), May 1990, p 1.

be more influenced by Māori than any other one Pacific Island group, which doubtless reflects the higher numbers of Māori in Sydney. These Pacific festivals also take place in other cities, although doubtless not on quite the scale. Each November, I was told, there is a Polynesian community festival at Gosnells Oval in Perth.

There are also annual multicultural festivals across Australia held by state governments, municipalities or independent organisations. Māori groups occasionally participate in these, sometimes putting on a cultural performance. Some of these events are connected with the annual Government-sponsored Harmony Day of 21 March, which promotes multicultural harmony in Australian communities.[17] Māori groups also perform in other local festivals, such as the flower festival each spring in Canberra.

Public liability insurance can inhibit people from holding community festivals. Some organisers cover this through the insurance of local bodies that own the venues (such as parks) where the festivals are being held. Others recoup these costs through admission charges ($15 per adult at Bondi, $10 per carload at Rockdale) or through stall holders' fees ($150 at Pacific Flava, with stall holders liable for their own insurance).

Some festival organisers are regular Māori event promoters, such as the organisers of the Merrylands (Whānau Iwi Inc) and Perth (Dove Promotions) Waitangi Day events. Whānau Iwi Inc also organised and promoted a tribute night to the 28th Māori Battalion on Anzac Day 2006 in Sydney, with entertainment by Sir Howard Morrison and others.

EXTENT OF MĀORI MEDIA IN AUSTRALIA

While there is not (and never has been) a 'Māori radio station' in Australia, Māori regularly have shows on ethnic, community or Aboriginal radio stations. Examples of the latter include the Te Puna Waiora show hosted by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) Network in Alice Springs and Te Reo Irirangi o Poihākena on Koori Radio in Sydney. Most cities of a reasonable size have a community radio station (and there are several in Sydney), and the bigger cities have ethnic stations. Whether these include Māori shows will largely depend on there being dedicated members of the local Māori community who want to make it happen. Examples of such shows include Te Karanga o Te Kōwhai on 4EBFM in Brisbane, Moana Pasifika on 6EBA in Perth (both ethnic stations), Te Reo Irirangi o Te Hau Tonga on 2SSR in Sydney, Te Whānau Puoro o Poihākena on 2RSR (Radio Skid Row) in Sydney, Te Puna Waiora (again) on 8CCC in Alice Springs and Te Hukawhenua on 4CRM in Mackay. I am also aware of Māori shows on 2CCC on the Central Coast and 5EBI in Adelaide. In Melbourne, on Casey 3SER (a community station), there is the Cher Bro Show, a weekly broadcast of contemporary music from the South Pacific (particularly New Zealand).[18] There was also a long-running Māori show on Melbourne community station 3CR until several years ago.

Ethnic stations such as 4EBFM often run on a subscription basis, with the allotted airtime for Māori corresponding to the number of financial members they bring to the station.[19] In 2006, there were about 65 Māori members (at $25 per year), which placed Māori well down the list below the well-organised Italians, Greeks, Samoans, Chinese and others. In Adelaide, 5EBI had only seven paid-up Māori members and only one half-hour show per week. People I spoke to there felt that the radio show was not well supported by the Māori community.

The content of these shows tends to be interviews, community pānui about forthcoming events, music, death notices, news from New Zealand and 'shout-outs' and greetings to listeners. At 4EBFM, the Māori show is probably the only one at the station mainly in English (there is an expectation that a certain component will be in the ethnic group's own language, but presenters seem to agree that this simply will not work with the Māori community in Australia). The experienced Te Puna Waiora team (whose show on the CAAMA Network is broadcast across large parts of the Northern Territory, South Australia, New South Wales and Victoria) has been able to secure some government funding for purchasing CDs and for on-air giveaways to encourage more listeners.

In terms of printed media, the main source of New Zealand news for many Māori in Australia is the *New Zealander*, a Fairfax publication of news stories from the likes of the *Press* and the *Dominion Post* that is assembled in New Zealand and printed in Australia. It is not at all, in that sense, a community

17 See www.harmony.gov.au.

18 See Cher Bro Show, www.3ser.org.au/sun06.htm (accessed 9 March 2007). During 2006, I was interviewed on all the shows named in this paragraph, except for those in Melbourne, the Central Coast and Adelaide.

19 By contrast, the Moana Pasifika show on 6EBA in Perth (which is for all Pacific peoples) buys its airtime from the station as an independent association, with financial members of its own.

newspaper for New Zealanders in Australia. The *New Zealand Express*, which was published in Sydney from 1989 for a year or two, was a similar kind of publication. At around the same time, however, there was also a truly New Zealand community newspaper, the *Kiwi Cooee*. This paper carried New Zealand news stories but its primary focus was on local New Zealand (and particularly Māori) community issues. It was published in Sydney from about 1988 to 1992.

In 2004, a new Sydney Māori newspaper – the *Poihākena Post* – was launched. So far, it has produced only two editions, in November 2004 and February 2005, but both were full of excellent community news and information as well as thought-provoking opinion pieces.

There has also been a number of Māori community newsletters or magazines produced around Australia. One example was *Kohi Korero*, which was published in Adelaide from 2000 to 2004, while a recent Sydney publication is *Tagata Moana*, which 'aims to highlight the diverse achievements of young people from Pacific backgrounds'. There are also email newsletters: in 2006, two examples were *eTake Maori*, produced by Rewa McGhie in Perth for the Western Australian Māori community, and Christel Broederlow's *MIO [Maori-in-Oz] e Panui.*

Online, the www.maori-in-oz.com website is the main 'online hub' for Māori in Australia, with around 15,000 visitors a month. Created and maintained by the Broederlow whānau of the Gold Coast, the site contains community pānui and contact details for kapa haka groups, te reo classes and so on, along with a wealth of other information for Māori in Australia. But what struck me as remarkable was that many Māori around Australia were unaware of this website. The following comment was received from a survey respondent in Sydney:

> What about putting a website for Maori people in Australia to see upcoming events/support activities that are happening throughout the whole of Australia. I give up because you only hear about the news the next day.

Several other respondents made similar comments. It seemed odd that these respondents had found the Te Puni Kōkiri survey online, but had not strayed upon www.maori-in-oz.com. Likewise, a lot of people I spoke to had not come across www.poihakenapost.com.

The www.maori-in-oz.com site has only been operating since October 2004, and seems to have potential to be better used in the future. While there are a number of community groups named in the contacts section, there are many groups that have not listed. Perhaps if Māori in Australia took better advantage of this website, there would be fewer making comments like this, from a survey respondent in Sydney: 'It is very hard to get to know about Kapa Haka and other Cultural events in the area that I live in. I am desperate to get involved with some other maori groups'.[20]

PARTICIPATION IN RELIGION

The best known Māori church in Australia is the Church of Te Wairua Tapu on Elizabeth Street in Redfern, Sydney. The former Apostolic Catholic church has been used by the Sydney Māori Anglican Fellowship for its services since the early 1980s, with the late Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka serving as the first Māori minister there. Services are open to all denominations; indeed, when I visited in March 2006, I met a Catholic member of the congregation. Initially, the church was supported by the Sydney Anglican Diocese but that funding ceased in 2000 and the fellowship has had to be entirely self-supporting since then. Thus Reverend Kaio (Malcolm) Karipa and the church's supporters must constantly fundraise through sponsored calendar sales, social evenings and so on.[21]

When I visited, the congregation at Te Wairua Tapu was about 20 people, which Reverend Karipa described as his 'core' group. He said that it was not unusual for there to be 40 or 50 people, but that, on the whole, church participation was a rather low priority for Māori in Sydney. An Anglican chaplain I met in Brisbane agreed, and observed that people today had many other options on a Sunday morning, such as waka ama. Many Māori contrasted themselves with Pacific Island communities such as Samoans and Tongans, whose church participation tended to make them better organised, more unified and easier to spread information to. Others worried that being grouped with Pacific Islanders for administrative purposes often left

20 Similarly, a survey respondent in Melbourne wrote 'Need to have links to find kapa haka groups, sporting groups, festivals etc', and a woman in Adelaide wrote 'Where are all the South Australian Maoris? Where are some support and community groups? There is no Maori organisations or anything similar in South Australia, it seems to be only active in the eastern states, surely there are other Maoris in SA??'.

21 In fact, the church has had to resort to fundraising efforts for many years. A story in the *Kiwi Cooee* in 1990 covered church supporters selling kai moana around Sydney pubs once a week to pay for essential church maintenance ('Fund-raising for Church', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(3), March 1990, p 17).

Māori at a relative disadvantage, since Australian officials thought that the way to contact their target groups was via the churches. As a survey respondent in Sydney put it, 'because at a Community/Governmental level most Islanders are Religious Leaders or church based, the Government here thinks we are all religious which isn't true, and that the only way to distribute information is through the Maori Churches'.

At the 2001 Australian census, 35.2% of Māori reported being of no religion (compared, for example, to only 9.8% of Samoans and 6.3% of Tongans), with 16.5% being Catholic, 18.3% Anglican, 25.4% 'other Christian' and 4.7% 'other religions'.[22] The 'other Christian' respondents will have included 3044 Rātana affiliates (up from 2346 in 1996).[23] Of the 60 Māori households surveyed in the 2002 Ipswich research, 15% reported Rātana affiliation, while 20% said Methodist, 15% Anglican, 13% Catholic and 8% Mormon.[24]

Despite the relatively low church attendances compared to other Pacific groups, however, religion is evidently important for many Māori in Australia. At survey question 39, where respondents were invited to name an 'other Māori cultural activity', 25 said church participation or karakia. Moreover, where people were asked to name which aspects of their lives (financial, social, cultural and 'other') they thought of when considering 'success' for them or their family, 77 wrote 'spiritual' or something related to religion in the 'other' line (26.3% of all 'other' responses stated).

Aside from the Anglican ministers mentioned above, I also met or spoke to a variety of other Māori clergymen around Australia, including those from the Rātana, Ringatū and Uniting Churches and those from newer Christian fellowships. I was told of services being held not only in churches but also in scout halls and people's homes. I am unsure of whether some of the newer churches have larger Māori congregations than Te Wairua Tapu in Sydney, but they are likely to have more mixed congregations (Māori and non-Māori) than, say, the Mihinare (Anglican), Ringatū and Rātana faiths. Rātana and Ringatū Māori undoubtedly have the greatest challenges in terms of access to clergymen. A woman in Ipswich told me of her desperate struggle to find a Rātana āpōtoro (apostle) when her aunt was dying, while a woman in Cairns told me that what she wanted more than anything from New Zealand was for more āpōtoro to be sent to Australia.

COHESION AND A SENSE OF SHARED 'COMMUNITY'

It is common to speak of 'the Māori community' in Australia: indeed, the phrase is used throughout this report. A survey respondent in Wollongong even remarked 'In every suburb there is a maori community'. The question is, however, what sort of 'community' is being referred to in such statements. On reflection and despite the various community groups, festivals, religious congregations and radio stations, many factors undermine the development of Māori 'community' in Australia.

It is not facile to say that proof of the existence of true community would be found in the successful establishment of community centres. The absence of such centres in Australia suggests that a strong sense of community is lacking. As a man in Alice Springs suggested to me, 'before you can have a community centre you must first have a proper community'. Another man in the same town said to me that it would be 'pointless to put up a whare where it'll only be a shell.'

I have already discussed in chapter 10 many of the issues working against community cohesion in the larger cities, but some are worth repeating here. Most Māori live in vast cities like Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth. They have not clustered together in ethnic enclaves, and therefore their attempts at 'community' in these places must battle against traffic and travelling times and infrequent meetings. Māori do not attend church in large numbers and are spread, in any case, across a range of denominations, thus often attending church in largely non-Māori congregations. Furthermore, the types of jobs in which Māori tend to work and their low rates of home ownership both promote residential mobility.[25]

Many Māori who move to Australia have an overriding ambition to better the lot of themselves and their whānau, not to immerse themselves in community causes. A man in Perth explained the lack of a marae to me by saying 'Māori can't come together as a community here because they're too busy building family infrastructure to help build community infrastructure'. Similarly, another man said 'The Māori focus when they arrive here is to better themselves, not to be "tātou tātou"'. The organisers of a community group in Western Australia said that lack of support from the local Māori community – particularly at the annual

22 Khoo and Lucas (2004), p 95.

23 Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2003), p 44.

24 Shehata (2003), p 33.

25 As can be seen from the research of Bedford et al (2005) cited in chapter 4, only 26% of Māori in Australia were living at the same address in 1996 and 2001.

Waitangi Day celebration – was disheartening. They said more Australians would turn up than Māori. In another West Australian town, I was told that wānanga are sometimes held but that it is very hard to get Māori to attend – and that, in fact, more Pākehā turn up.

Many said to me that the community spirit was stronger in the 1980s, with more participating in kapa haka or involved in community radio, for example. The late 1970s and early 1980s were indeed a time of new beginnings and enthusiasm. Cultural groups such as Ngā Hau e Whā (Wollongong) and Ngā Waka e Whitu were born, and tournaments and festivals such as Harry Bartlett, Taki Toa (see chapter 15) and the Easter Māori festival were started. Now, though, a kaumātua in Sydney told me, 'There's a new breed of Māori in Australia who just come to make a life for themselves and aren't into supporting the community'. Perhaps 20 years ago, Māori were more inclined to create a sense of community in Australia since there were fewer of them, or maybe it is just that people now lead much busier lives. In any event, community groups often seem to depend on the efforts of one or two families. The organisers of one group expressed their frustration: 'There are just fewer and fewer people prepared to get involved in running clubs, even though there are more Māori people here than ever'.

Another factor to bear in mind is the extent of Māori intermarriage with other ethnic groups. This was something that many people commented on to me. I have no data on this, but many people commented on it to me. For example, when I was trying to find Māori to meet in the area of New South Wales north of Newcastle, I was told there were few Māori there and most were married to Australians, which made them even harder to locate. In my experience, second-generation Māori in Australia are most likely to begin to lose touch with their taha Māori if they have one Australian parent.[26]

Many Māori in Australia claim that they, unlike Māori in New Zealand, put aside their tribal differences and operate on a 'tātou tātou' basis. It was not uncommon for me to hear comments like 'We're very tātou tātou – it's Ngāti Central Coast [or 'Ngāti Bowen', et cetera] here'. This view leads many community groups to use names that signify the pan-tribal complexion and what they see as the 'tātou tātou' outlook of their members. Examples include Te Whānau Tahi ('The One Family', Alice Springs), Te Huinga Waka ('The Meeting of Canoes', Sydney), Ngā Hau e Whā ('The Four Winds', Wollongong and Newcastle), Te Tirairaka o Ngā Hau e Wha ('The Fantail of the Four Winds' – a reference to the performance of warriors – Cairns), Te Whānau Whānui ('The Broad Family', Adelaide), He Iwi Kotahi Tātou ('We Are One People', Sydney), Ngā Waka e Whitu ('The Seven Canoes' – a reference to the legendary seven canoes that voyaged to New Zealand – the Central Coast) and Te Whānau a Iwi ('The Family of People', Bowen), as well as now defunct groups such as Te Wairua o Ngā Hau e Whā ('The Spirit of the Four Winds', Townsville) and Te Kotahitanga ('Unity', Cairns).[27]

However, I just as regularly heard the completely opposite view. One man told me that 'People talk about "tātou tātou" but it doesn't happen – they impose their tribal ways, or try to'. A survey respondent in Melbourne wrote:

> Being a Maori in Australia has been difficult in some respects, there is no concept of whanau, whanaungatanga [family relationships], tatou tatou (helping one another) etc. The Maoris from home who have been here a long time get busy in their own lives and dont often have the time to associate, ie you have to ring up before you call in for a cuppa, you cant just arrive on the doorstep.

In one town, I was told that participation in kapa haka had fallen right away because of a recent inter-tribal spat, while in another I was told that the predominance of two iwi, who did not get on, had split and weakened local kapa haka.

One woman suggested to me that a community centre would never happen in Australia because different iwi could not get on. Her outlook, however, bought into the idea of inter-iwi raruraru rather than condemned it. She tended, for example, to explain away the actions or views of certain people on the basis of their tribe. She also said, in reference to conflict between clans on Aboriginal housing estates, that placing such groups alongside

26 At the 2001 Australian census, 64.3% of 'first-generation' (overseas-born) Māori men and 60.8% of women had a spouse from a different ancestry group (based on sole ancestry response). Within this, 16.1% of first-generation Māori men and 15.2% of women had a spouse with Australian ancestry, which - while only half the proportion of those in the 'New Zealander' ancestry group - was a very high proportion compared to, say, first-generation Koreans, Greeks or Lebanese (see Khoo and Lucas (2004), pp 46, 50).

27 Some other groups use names that relate to the places in which the members live in Australia, such as Uenuku Tahatai in Albany (a local reference to the 'Rainbow Coast'), Runga Rawa in Darwin (meaning 'Top End') and Te Rōpū o Te Huka Whenua in Mackay (a reference to the local sugar industry). Other names signify new beginnings, with 'Te Timatanga Hou' ('The New Beginning') being used by at least two rōpū.

each other was 'about as logical as putting a Ngāpuhi person and a Waikato person in the same room and expecting them to get on'. Few went this far, but I use this as an example of the way some Māori begin to believe in such things.

Some people told me that the notion of inter-tribal disagreements was simply a convenient way of euphemising what were, in reality, personality disputes. In one city, I was told that the community had long been split between the followers of two cousins who had fallen out, and that this had hampered community development 'from the start'. What was missing in Australia, I was sometimes told, was the discipline that comes in New Zealand from community efforts being driven by kaumātua, marae or protocol. Hugh Kawharu observed in 1972 that 'unlike tangata whenua, ad hoc groups have no built-in checks and balances to authority and influence, no equivalent to the network of rights and obligations which bind members of kin groups together'.[28]

While Kawharu was referring to urban Māori migrants in New Zealand, the same clearly applies to Māori in Australia. As a survey respondent in Perth put it, 'Obviously we do not have the basic framework of a Maori society base, eg Marae → Tikanga (→ Reo) cannot be functioned in an ordered way, we do not have the unifying base, the spiritual weave, the standards and values by which the (our) kinship group lives'. In other words, while I have no doubt that personality disputes often hamper Māori community efforts in New Zealand, Australian community groups are perhaps more susceptible to being created or driven by strong personalities or fractured by personality clashes.[29]

Some people I spoke to despaired of the way Māori in Australia tend to form new committees or rōpū rather than join existing ones. One man railed against the trend and said that, on principle, he stuck steadfastly to a group that had been trying to get a marae built for a long time and would not be enticed by any new rōpū.[30] A man in Perth told me that he had his own 'committee' but this should come as no surprise, since 'so does everyone else in Perth'. Trying to look on the bright side, another man in Perth said he thought it ultimately was not such a bad thing that there were so many committees, since 'they all must be reaching someone'. Similarly, with regard to a new kapa haka rōpū starting up in his city, a man I spoke to who ran an existing group shrugged and said 'The more the merrier', although I suspect this was a diplomatic response.

Jealousies between groups (as opposed to within them) are sometimes very strong. When a new Māori family comes to town, there is sometimes competition between the kapa haka rōpū to attract the newcomers to participate. While this seems largely good-natured, there are more serious disputes. One rōpū told me that theirs was the only kapa haka group in town. It was not until much later that I came into contact with a man running another rōpū in the same city, whom the first group had clearly chosen not to mention. In some cases, disagreement between cultural groups seems to have arisen in part because some men did not like women in a leadership role. In one case, a man commented to me about a rival group 'it's just no good to have women running things'. Another man said to me 'A number of women are straying out of their territory. Women's work is women's work. There are things they don't understand about the taha Māori'.

A number of kaumātua I spoke to were vocal in their despair about the way the Māori community failed to cooperate. One described to me the 'bickering, bitching and back-stabbing' in his state, while another said 'People are like little kids when they don't get their way. We're our worst enemies'. Another kaumātua said, in reference to many having brought inter-tribal raruraru from New Zealand to Sydney, 'Māori are the worst people – it's so disheartening'. Indeed, as I mentioned in chapter 9, what one man asked for from Te Puni Kōkiri more than anything else was some help in building bridges within the Māori community. Likewise, a survey respondent in Sydney wrote 'there needs to be more initiative from New Zealand Govt to unify Maori in Australia'.

My conclusion is that – on balance and notwithstanding the tremendous Māori support for festivals, the frequent help given

28 IH Kawharu, 'Urban immigrants and tangata whenua' in Eric Scwimmer (ed), *The Maori People in the Nineteen-sixties*, Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland, 1972, p 175, quoted in Bergin (1998), p 151.

29 Bergin noted that Sydney Anglican minister Kingi Ihaka regarded pūhaehae (back-biting, jealousy or ill will) 'as one of the most destructive forces in Māori communities in Australia' (Bergin 1998, p 208).

30 Objecting to the formation of a new Māori body called Te Iwi Māori, the editor of the *Kiwi Cooee* wrote in June 1989 'the Maori Aroha Co-operative has been in existence for over 10 years, has served the community well each year ... It is geared for dealing with our requirements ... Why do we need another organisation[?] [W]hy did people instrumental in setting up Te Iwi Maori not get behind and support the Maori Aroha Co-operative?' ('Readers worry about new organisations', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(6), June 1989, p 2). Te Iwi Māori Incorporated Society spokesman Graham Anderson replied that the organisation 'has not been established to usurp other Maori organisations, but more to compliment [sic] in its own specific way' ('"Te Iwi Maori"', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(8), August 1989, p 1). It seems that both groups were superseded, in a way, by Te Aranganui. (See chapters 10 and 18 and Bergin 1998, p 145.)

to new Māori families arriving from New Zealand, the raised eyebrow 'Māori salute' on the street and so on – the Māori population in Australia lacks a strong sense of 'community'. In saying this, I also do not doubt the truth or the conviction in the many comments that tribal differences are largely put aside in Australia, but the reality is that most know that fostering iwi divisions would be both irrational and unworkable. There is, in any event, much more to a cohesive community than this.

I discuss differences between Māori in Australia and New Zealand in chapter 17, but suffice it to say here that Māori in Australia lack much of the social and cultural discipline that orders Māori society in New Zealand. They have fallen together in a new land where anyone can start a marae committee or a kapa haka group, or leave one after a disagreement and embark on a new kaupapa. Māori community organisations in Australia thus represent an unstable array of kaupapa-based collectives. In New Zealand, by contrast, the dominant social unit is whakapapa-based, has an untransferable membership and usually receives some form of government support. In the circumstances, cohesion in Australia has many challenges.

CHAPTER 15: MĀORI AND SPORT IN AUSTRALIA

Chapter summary

- Two long-running Māori rugby tournaments have been a focal point for the Māori community in New South Wales, but their following is in decline as interest switches to family-oriented festivals and touch competitions.
- There is a very significant Māori influence in many rugby and league (and netball) clubs in Australia, and this is even more marked in the traditional Australian Rules states.
- More and more Māori are beginning to be chosen for Australian sports teams, but, even among Australian-born Māori, many continue to feel a greater national sporting allegiance with New Zealand.

MĀORI SPORTS TOURNAMENTS

A good place to begin writing about Māori participation in sport in Australia is with reference to Paul Bergin's 2002 article on the subject in the *Australian Journal of Anthropology*[1], which was based on a chapter in his PhD thesis. His findings on Māori sporting participation in Australia all ring true, from my own observations, although some changes have occurred since his article was published.

Bergin maintained that sport was 'an important aspect of Maori cultural identity in Australia' and he noted that many Australian-resident Māori claimed their community was more interested in sport than in cultural performance and te reo Māori.[2] He added, though, that sport could, of course, not be divorced from culture and that a 'significant feature of many Australian sporting events are the traditional rituals of encounter, cultural performance and communal celebration'. He focused in part on two traditional New South Wales Māori sporting tournaments, the Taki Toa Shield and the Harry Bartlett Memorial Tournament, as examples of this, emphasising their opening pōwhiri, the haka performed by opposing sides before the rugby final, and the end-of-play hākari and poroporoaki (formal farewell).[3]

The Taki Toa tournament was begun in 1983 by a group of Māori playing rugby in Sydney, led by Manu Sutherland. Its full name is Te Rōpū Toa o Te Takatini Iwi Māori ('The Brave Group of the Many Maori People').[4] Held each year on the first weekend in March, it consists of rugby and netball competitions. In 2006, the competing teams were: Rockdale, Matraville (who hosted), Waverley and Lidcombe from Sydney; Northlakes United from the Central Coast; and Poi Turaki from Newcastle. While the protocol was in place and the competition fierce, a number of participants remarked to me that the tournament was in steady decline, something certainly not suggested by Bergin. In its heyday, they told me, it had 10

1 Bergin (2002), pp 257–269.

2 A survey respondent in Perth wrote 'The most cultural aspect of my life as a Maori here is on Test Day and watching The Allblacks play, where there is a congregation of Maori's. Also on the Rugby Field and at functions where a lot of Ex Pat-Maori's enjoy each others company'. Nearly 80% of Māori respondents in the 2002 Ipswich research said that sport played a big part in their family's life, although only 5% said they exercised daily and 50% said they 'only exercised occasionally' (Shehata 2003, pp 52–53).

3 Bergin (2002), pp 257–260.

4 Ibid, pp 258, 267 (n).

teams and a much bigger following. Sides that have previously competed but did not field teams in 2006 include the now defunct Sydney Kiwis, South Sydney New Zealand and Western Union Mount Druitt, as well as the Queanbeyan club from Canberra. One competition stalwart told me that people could 'not be bothered any more'. It saddened him, he said, but many Māori were too 'lazy' to keep the competition alive.

An official from one of the clubs involved in Taki Toa in 2006 told me that the tournament had become less of an exclusively Māori one and more of a club competition, and that it had needed to to survive. In fact, he thought that whether the competition would carry on really depended on the organisational strength of the competing clubs rather than the actual numbers of Māori playing. The tournament rules require playing sides to include a certain number of Māori[5], but I was told that the rule has been informally relaxed and is certainly not policed. A member of one team told me only half in jest that one of the other sides was in fact 'about 90% Islander'. In any event, the tournament has an unmistakably Māori flavour.

Taki Toa was not helped in 2006 by the fact that the big Pacific Unity Festival – with stalls, music, and touch and netball competitions – was held on the same day at nearby Tempe. With cash prizes luring entrants (such as $1000 for the winning touch team), Pacific Unity was clearly direct competition to Taki Toa. Certainly, the more elite players were on view at Tempe: the whānau touch team of former All Black Norm Berryman carried the day, and another team included among its ranks Billy Ngawini, a young man contracted professionally to the Bulldogs league team.

Pacific Unity, in some ways, explains the decline of Taki Toa: it provides entertainment for young and old and represents the diversified leisure options for people in 2006. In any event, club sport is almost universally in decline, so the hard times fallen on by Taki Toa should come as no surprise.

Bergin was right when he identified the rise of touch, by contrast, as one of the most popular sports for Māori. As he put it, 'little gear is required, the games are short, and with the small numbers in a side … it is easy for whanau and friends to organise their own teams'.[6] Indeed, as an older, more established tournament such as Taki Toa has declined, more and more touch tournaments have sprung up. Examples include the 'Waka Wars Touch' organised by the United Māori Cultural Association in Perth in November and the Waitangi Hākinakina competition run each June by Te Korowai Aroha in Brisbane.

The Harry Bartlett Memorial Tournament began, like Taki Toa, in 1983. After attending the tangi of a young Māori man (Harry Bartlett), killed in a car crash in 1982, Māori from Wollongong (where Bartlett's whānau lived) and Newcastle (where he resided) decided to inaugurate an annual sporting competition. The Harry Bartlett tournament takes place each year on the first weekend in October, and the sports played have been rugby, touch, netball, pool, darts and golf. Its lack of a Māori player quota had never been an issue, an organiser told me. As he put it, 'If Pacific Islanders want to be Māori for a weekend then we welcome them'. In 2006, however, changes were introduced: the competition's name was changed to Aniwaniwa (because, it was explained to me, the time had come no longer to tangi for Harry Bartlett) and pool and darts were being replaced on a trial basis with a wānanga on crafts such as weaving, in order for there to be something 'more educational' on offer. Explaining this, one long-time participant told me that the Harry Bartlett tournament had always been more than a mere sporting competition, and this, he said, set it apart from Taki Toa. Its emphasis, he contended, has always been equally 'on the cultural side, the taha Māori'.[7]

In fact, three of the four teams (Ngā Hau e Whā in Wollongong, Ngā Hau e Whā in Newcastle and Ngā Waka e Whitu from the Central Coast) that have traditionally competed at Harry Bartlett are not rugby clubs so much as kapa haka rōpū. The fourth was initially the Sydney Kiwis rugby club but, as this no longer exists, a composite side competes to represent Sydney Māori. Organisers agreed that interest in Harry Bartlett had dwindled in much the same way as for Taki Toa, and part of the reason for the name change to Aniwaniwa (apart from the Bartlett whānau's wishes) was to ensure that the Harry Bartlett competition finished on a high note rather than suffer a lingering decline. The tournament is not, in any event, in competition with Taki Toa, which takes place at the opposite end of the season. Indeed, I was told that it is common for players to compete, say, for Northlakes at Taki Toa and Ngā Waka e Whitu at Harry Bartlett.

5 Another example of a Māori playing quota is the annual Perth Māori netball tournament in September, which requires 50% of players in each team to be Māori.

6 Bergin (2002), pp 261–262.

7 An account of the Harry Bartlett tournament was provided in the *Kiwi Cooee* in 1990. It reported an 'emotionally charged powhiri' on the Saturday morning and 'rousing' cultural performances by each group that evening ('Harry Bartlett Memorial weekend – Wollongong style', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(10), October 1990, p 3).

Bergin described both Taki Toa and Harry Bartlett as sporting tournaments that have begun to take on 'more formal cultural aspects in recent years'.[8] Another tournament that takes this side of matters very seriously is the annual Ngā Hau e Whā New South Wales Māori rugby league tournament for the Steve Watene Trophy. Like Harry Bartlett, it takes place at Labour Weekend in New South Wales. A team is picked from the tournament to fly to New Zealand shortly afterwards for the annual New Zealand Māori rugby league tournament. The standard of players at Ngā Hau e Whā has been very high, and in recent years the New South Wales Māori team has been too strong for the opposition at the New Zealand Māori tournament. But there is motivation to do well on more than just the field. As someone close to the team put it to me:

> 'Plastic Māori' – that's what Māori in New Zealand call us. That's why we make an extra big effort in tikanga at the league tournament. We don't want to be shown up. We want to be as good as anyone at tikanga – and in fact we've been the best.[9]

Regardless of whether it is at formal, established tournaments like Taki Toa or the new wave of touch tournaments and the like, there is no doubt that Māori enjoy coming together at sporting competitions. One of Bergin's informants put it this way:

> Maoris like to come together for sport because of their love of whakataetae [competition]. They take their sport very seriously when they do take the field. Also Maoris like coming together to tournaments or field days to be with other Maori and word gets round when people come back and tell their friends that they had a good time at such and such a place, and other people are attracted. People always hope they will find someone they are related to, so they come to a tournament, and just about always they'll meet someone to whom they can connect their whakapapa.[10]

MĀORI INFLUENCE ON SPORTS TEAMS AND CLUBS

Just as Māori like to mingle with other Māori at sporting tournaments, so can it be concluded that Māori prefer to play sport alongside other Māori. Survey question 41 asked 'If you are involved in a team sport, how many people in the team are Māori?'. Of the 449 people who answered this question, the clear majority reported that about half or more of their team was Māori. Only 12.7% said that there were no other Māori in the team. As a women's rugby coach in Perth said to me, 'I've always felt more comfortable playing sport with other Māori. I guess I'm not really interested in playing in a Pākehā team'. The figures are set out in table 15.1.[11]

TABLE 15.1: RESPONSE TO SURVEY QUESTION 41 – IF YOU ARE INVOLVED IN A TEAM SPORT, HOW MANY PEOPLE IN THE TEAM ARE MĀORI?

Response	No.	%
All or almost all the team	*116*	*25.8*
More than half the team	*77*	*17.1*
About half the team	*54*	*12.0*
Less than half the team	*127*	*28.3*
None	*57*	*12.7*
Can't tell / not applicable	*18*	*4.0*

Survey question 43 asked those respondents who said they belonged to a sports club whether it was a 'Māori sports club'. Seventy-five people answered yes to this question out of 453 sports club members. It is fair to say, however, that the number of 'Māori sports clubs' in Australia depends entirely on the definition. For example, Northlakes United Rugby Club on the Central Coast is apparently 70% Māori in its make-up, but many would argue that it was still not a specifically Māori

8 Bergin (2002), p 258.

9 The following exchange was posted on a New Zealand rugby league website members' forum before the New Zealand Māori league tournament in 2005 (see www.rugbyleaguenz.com/members/forum/posts.php?thread_id=213&main_id=5 – accessed 27 October 2005):

> Mozzie: new south wales maori gonna take out the ro[h]e section no sweat I think
> Deano: Yeah should do, Heard they're stacking their team. How un-Maori and plastic of them!
> Falcons: Yea too right deano them mozzies need a dose of tikanga

But as the Rotorua *Daily Post* put it after the tournament, 'From their opening haka to their sizzling football New South Wales Maori left a huge impression on Rotorua' (see 'Third time lucky for Te Arawa', *Daily Post*, 27 October 2005, www.dailypost.co.nz/localsport/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=localsport&storyid=3657940 – accessed on 27 October 2005).

10 Bergin (2002), p 259. At the 1990 Harry Bartlett tournament, a 'paper for each club was placed on the wall for everyone to write their names etc, and through this many found long lost or unknown whanau' ('Harry Bartlett Memorial weekend – Wollongong style', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(10), October 1990, p 3).

11 It is, of course, possible that those involved in Māori-dominated teams would have been more likely to have heard about the survey, or indeed more motivated to fill it in. But that is a matter of conjecture: I believe the response to the question gives a plausible indication of the overall position of Māori involvement in team sport.

club. Likewise, some might argue the same about, say, the Māori-dominated Kalgoorlie Brothers league club, or even the Tainui netball club in Perth, despite the specifically Māori tribal nature of its name.[12] In any event, those 75 who answered yes came from 13 different towns and cities[13], and their answers show that there are certainly a number of Māori who would describe their sports club as a specifically Māori one.

There are many other clubs – particularly rugby and netball ones – that are strongly influenced by Māori. In fact, just about every netballer I met in Australia said their local team or even competition was basically full of expatriate New Zealanders, Māori and Pākehā alike, with surprisingly little Australian involvement. This 'Kiwi' dominance becomes even more the case in a city like Perth, in which Australian Rules is by far the leading football code. Perth, I was told, has only two rugby clubs (Associates and University) that are not heavily dominated by New Zealand migrants. Others in the city, such as Nedlands, Perth-Bayswater, Armadale and Kalamunda, all have very big New Zealand (and particularly Māori) memberships, and the Māori factor is even more significant in women's rugby (something also identified by Bergin[14]). And just as Northlakes on the Central Coast has held tangihanga on occasion, so a Perth rugby player told me that the Kalamunda club had hosted a number of Māori functions as well.

Bergin suggested that, in the two established rugby states of New South Wales and Queensland, 'many Maori prefer to play for local clubs rather than [for] exclusively Maori or Kiwi teams. This is partly because the local clubs are seen to offer a greater sense of permanence and reliability, and partly out of a desire to identify with the local scene'.[15] As it happens, the survey actually revealed that a higher proportion of respondents in New South Wales, Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory than elsewhere (28.6% compared to 22.4%) said that all or almost all of their team was Māori, although there was also a higher proportion in these places (14.5% as opposed to 10.4% elsewhere) who reported that no other players in their team were Māori.

In any event, Māori joining 'local clubs' in New South Wales or Queensland is really no different to a place like Perth, where Māori (and Pākehā) have 'colonised' many existing clubs and reinvented them as quasi-'Kiwi' clubs. In fact, rugby in states such as Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania seems largely to have been built up over the last two decades on the back of the involvement of expatriate New Zealanders. Western Australian Labor Senator Chris Evans described the New Zealand influence on Perth rugby in a speech to Parliament in 2001 on the Family and Community Services Legislation Amendment (New Zealand) Bill (which gave effect to the new bilateral social security agreement):

> From my own perspective, I am pleased that the flow of New Zealand rugby players and enthusiasts to Western Australia will not be diminished. The Perth rugby community would be much smaller and our forward pack less robust without them. On many occasions in my playing days, I was the only non-New Zealander in the team.[16]

It is, of course, typical of migrants to carry forward the traditions of their homeland and to bond together not just in cultural groups but also on the sports field. But unlike southern and eastern European migrants to Australia with their love of soccer – for so long known derisively to many Australians as 'wogball' – rugby has helped Māori gain mainstream acceptance as migrants. Bergin picked up on this by describing the passion for soccer as effectively consigning many European migrants to the 'ethnic ghetto'.[17] By contrast, Māori skill in rugby has opened doors for them around Australia. Indeed, the code's traditionally middle-class following has thus seen a curious mixing on the field of private-schoolboy white Australia and blue-collar Polynesia (both Māori and Pacific Islander). Rugby clubs have been places for Māori to make connections and secure jobs – indeed, good players and coaches are occasionally recruited by clubs directly from New Zealand, with employment arranged. As one Māori woman told Bergin:

12 There have been many other sports clubs using Māori names. Bergin (2002, p 261), for example, mentions the Kia Toa rugby league club in Melbourne, which was 'banned for fighting during the 1980s'. Other instances include the Te Rau Awhina rugby club in Queanbeyan and netball clubs called Huimai and Poihakena in Sydney, Kapai in Adelaide and Kia Kaha on the Central Coast ('Adelaide information', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(10), October 1989, p 8; 'Apology to "Hui Mai" Netball club', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(10), October 1989, p 16; and 'Queanbeyan sports teams' and 'Central Coast netball', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(3), March 1990, p 20). There is currently also a Tuahine netball club in Perth. Examples of club sides with specifically New Zealand names include the Sydney Kiwis and South Sydney New Zealand rugby teams and the Bondi Kiwis rugby league team ('South Sydney N.Z Rugby Club', *Kiwi Cooee,* 2(9), September 1989, p 19; 'South Sydney N.Z. rugby', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(10), October 1989, p 16; and '"Bondi Kiwis" leave beach to "surf" league', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(5), May 1990, p 20).

13 These were Sydney, the Central Coast, Newcastle, Wollongong, Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Bowen, Adelaide, Darwin, Alice Springs, Melbourne, Perth and Kalgoorlie.

14 Bergin (2002), p 261.

15 Ibid, p 260.

16 Official Hansard (Senate), no. 3 (2001), Thursday 8 March 2001, p 22801, http://wopared.aph.gov.au/Hansard/senate/dailys/ds080301.pdf#search=%22%22enthusiasts%20to%20western%20australia%22%22 (accessed 22 August 2006).

17 Bergin (2002), p 260.

> When we moved to Melbourne we knew no one there. We were living in a little bed-sit, until we joined a rugby club and, next thing, different ones provided us with a TV, table and chairs, blankets and towels, and they'd even pick us up and take us to the rugby club because we had no car. If you have no money and no jobs, you'll find work through a rugby club after a few beers at the bar. Then when we moved to Perth my husband's first job was through the [rugby] league club![18]

NATIONAL ALLEGIANCE

In New Zealand, it is often said that people support New Zealand first and anyone playing Australia after that. Talking to many Māori in Australia, I noticed a difference between those who adhered steadfastly to this position and those who now supported Australia as their second team. Quite often, the latter were those who had taken up citizenship and were less inclined to return to New Zealand to live, having happily decided that Australia was their new home. This is only a very general impression, I might add, and there will be countless exceptions. But it would certainly be difficult to find a single Māori (among first-generation migrants) from either category whose devotion to the All Blacks had wavered in the slightest, and many people wanted to make that particularly clear.

Such is the following of the All Blacks and the Kiwis league team across the Tasman that matches played in Sydney and Brisbane often appear more like home games for New Zealand than Australia. Bergin quotes then Australian rugby coach Bob Dwyer complaining about this in 1989: 'The team is very pissed off at playing in front of vocal New Zealand supporters who want to adopt this country, but who maintain ties with their own country'.[19] Bergin likened Dwyer's comments to those of British Conservative Cabinet Minister Norman Tebbitt, who argued that many south Asian migrants could not be considered truly British because they had not passed the 'cricket test' (also known as the 'Tebbitt test') of supporting the English cricket team over the teams of their Asian backgrounds.[20]

We are beginning to see the inevitable outcome of the Māori impact on club rugby in Australia, however, with a number of players of Māori descent ending up in the green and gold of Australia rather than the black of New Zealand. Notable examples in recent years include rugby union players Morgan Turinui, Tai McIsaac, Glenn Panoho and Jeremy Paul, and league star Timana Tahu. For these players, the decision of where to place their national allegiance seems to have been straightforward. Turinui's father Cameron, originally from the Waikato, tried to convince his Australian-born son to support the All Blacks but to no avail; as Turinui put it in 2004:

> I had an All Blacks jersey when I was young but I quickly realised what country I was from and I've supported the Wallabies for a long time. I worked out who the good guys were. [21]

In a similar vein, Australian-born Tahu (to a Māori father and an Aboriginal mother) saw matters clearly:

> It is hard with rep football because they all want you to play for them – but I made my decision. New Zealand are a little bit filthy, but it's just who I am. I was born in Australia and reared in Australia so I play for Australia.[22]

If the New Zealand-born Panoho and Paul (who did not leave New Zealand for Australia until he was 13) had greater qualms, they do not appear to have expressed them. They both played for the Wallabies against the New Zealand Māori in Sydney in 2001 and, while Panoho reported that his whānau in New Zealand had had a 'few pot shots' at him for playing for the wrong side[23], Paul summed it up not as a difficult occasion but rather as a 'very special' game for himself and Panoho and a 'very proud moment' for their families.[24]

18 Ibid, p 263.

19 Ibid, pp 265–266. It has been the same on occasions with the Warriors league team: in 2002, for example, the club's owners and sponsors purchased 15,000 tickets to a vital game against the Cronulla Sharks and gave them away free of charge to New Zealand passport holders, thus ensuring a 'home crowd' atmosphere for the match, which the Warriors won (see 'New Zealand Warriors', www.answers.com/topic/new-zealand-warriors – accessed 11 July 2006).

20 Bergin (2002), p 266 (also see 'Norman Tebbit', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Tebbit – accessed 11 July 2006).

21 'I'm playing for the good guys: Turinui', *Rugby Heaven*, 13 August 2005, www.rugbyheaven.smh.com.au/articles/2005/08/12/1123353498417.html (accessed 16 September 2005).

22 'Tahu comes in from the cold and turns out for the Blues', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 May 2006, www.smh.com.au/news/league/tahu-comes-in-from-the-cold-and-turns-out-for-the-blues/2006/05/23/1148150260157.html (accessed 10 July 2006). Likewise, Australian-born long jump star Jai Taurima, who represented Australia at the Sydney Olympics in 2000, said that he was proud of his Māori heritage and 'obviously' had 'some feeling for New Zealand', but that he was 'an Australian through and through' (*Dominion*, 8 May 2001, quoted in Bergin 2002, p 266).

23 'Wallabies front row to be tested', Australian Associated Press, 8 June 2001, www.rugby.com.au/news/2001_june/wallabies_front_row_ready_to_be_tested_11373,4463.html (accessed 10 July 2006).

24 'Paul and Panoho ready for Maori', Australian Associated Press, 7 June 2001, www.rugby.com.au/news/2001_june/paul_and_panoho_ready_for_maori_11363,4453.html (accessed 10 July 2006).

Despite these examples, however, there are undoubtedly many second-generation Māori migrants in Australia who continue to see themselves as New Zealanders first and foremost and find the idea of playing for Australia unappealing. One example is Jake Webster, born in Melbourne to a Greek mother and a Māori father from Taheke near Kaikohe, who was chosen in 2005 to represent New Zealand in rugby league after his father wrote to the New Zealand Rugby League to point out that his son had the necessary heritage. Webster explained that he had 'always followed the All Blacks and the Kiwis, I watched every Kiwis game'. The *New Zealand Herald* reported that Webster's father:

> had always told him of his New Zealand roots and both he and his father had no aim other than the Kiwis. [Said Webster], 'He told me there was a better lifestyle living in Australia but not to forget where I came from.[25]

Perhaps ironically, Webster was one of those who took personal exception to the decision by Auckland-born Karmichael Hunt (of Cook Islands heritage) to represent Australia in the Kiwis–Kangaroos league test in Brisbane in May 2006. Said Webster, 'He's made his bed – now he's got to lie in it ... If the chance comes for one of us to get stuck into him a little bit, I'm sure we will'.[26]

The Webster example and the furore about Hunt highlight the likelihood that many Australian-born Māori retain a distinctly New Zealand sense of identity. I personally met a number of young Māori who fitted this description.[27] It reflects wider trends of first-generation Māori migrants not tending to become Australian citizens and not really seeing themselves as permanent settlers, which I discuss in chapters 8 and 9. Admittedly (as discussed in chapter 8), of the 56 Australian-born Māori who completed the survey, only six said they would answer the census ancestry question 'New Zealander', but 31.6% of those who arrived as children said they would (which is not really that far behind the 44.9% for all New Zealand-born). Moreover, only a third of the Australian-born and 7% of those who arrived as children would answer the ancestry question 'Australian'. Thus, while self-identification with New Zealand may dissipate in the second generation, identification with Australia does not grow to the extent we might expect (see tables 8.3 and 8.5 in chapter 8). It is also likely that many young Australian-reared Māori and Pacific Islanders continue to identify with New Zealand sports teams such as the All Blacks and the Kiwis because so many of the players share their own ethnicity.

Without having any data to go on, I suspect that retaining a New Zealand sense of identity would seldom apply to second-generation Pākehā migrants to Australia, who almost by definition (if you accept that Pākehā are a people whose outlook has been formed by living alongside Māori in New Zealand) would have ceased to be Pākehā and become white Australians.

Clearly, there are many more influences keeping a tight bond between Māori and New Zealand, irrespective of how long a person has been absent or even if they were born in Australia. Māori parents in Australia often told me that they were determined that their children would grow up supporting New Zealand sporting teams rather than Australian ones. It is a moot point, perhaps, as to whether it is Turinui or Webster who has made the more unusual choice of national allegiance. Indeed, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported recently that more than one-third of elite junior rugby league players in New South Wales were Polynesian (most being Māori but many being Samoan and Tongan with New Zealand roots). It quoted Australian Rugby League Chief Executive Geoff Carr's view that many of those with New Zealand heritage still saw themselves as New Zealanders, 'regardless of how long they've lived here', and the paper suggested that Karmichael Hunt may be 'the last odd fish swimming against a black tide'.[28]

Bergin's conclusion, by contrast, was that, for the 'second and subsequent generations of Australian-Maori, self-identification as Australians may well become the norm'.[29] He did not consider the prospect of increasing numbers of second-generation

25 'League: Jake, the Aussie who's playing for the Kiwis', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 October 2005, www.nzherald.co.nz/event/print.cfm?c_id=270&objectid=10349960 (accessed 10 July 2006).

26 '"He'll wish he played for us"', *Fox Sports*, 2 May 2006, http://foxsports.news.com.au/print/0,8668,18994069-23214,00.html (accessed 10 July 2006). Similar comments were made by the Australian-born (to Samoan parents) Kiwi player Frank Pritchard, who targeted Hunt both verbally (prior to the match) and physically (on the field). Pritchard said 'I'm Australian born – I'm more Australian than him. He came over here when he was 14. If he feels like he's Australian, what can I say? He's forgotten his roots. Just wait for the test – he'll wish he played for us.' Pritchard knocked Hunt out with a shoulder hit and the latter took no further part in the match.

27 One example will suffice. In one state capital, I met a very talented 16-year-old netballer, born in Australia, who had irritated her local coaches and administrators by declaring her personal ambition to represent the Silver Ferns. Her mother was one of many Māori I met who had no intention of becoming an Australian citizen.

28 'Aussie league rising on a black Pacific tide: newspaper', New Zealand Press Association, 31 May 2006 (Factiva) (reference to *Sydney Morning Herald* story 'Kiwis don't have to be on the hunt', 3 May 2006).

29 Bergin (2002), p 266.

New Zealand migrants opting for the country of their parents' birth rather than their own. Admittedly, for some individuals, the choice of national sporting allegiance may be a pragmatic one – it is probably easier to get picked for the Kiwis than the Kangaroos, and, as Turinui conceded, the competition for places in the All Blacks is very tough.[30] But, as I have indicated, I believe there is much more to the 'Webster phenomenon' than a mere desire to play international rugby league.

Inevitably, some internet rugby message boards contain suggestions that the New Zealand Māori side should become a team open to any Māori players, regardless of nationality. While this seems unlikely, given the location of the Māori team firmly within the New Zealand Rugby Union stable, Turinui himself has said he would not object to being picked, as long as it had no effect on his eligibility for the Waratahs and Australia:

> I'd love to play for NZ Maori one day. I'd definitely put my hand up. The opportunity to represent the people I'm descended from would be very special. I wouldn't leave the Waratahs but if it's a Maori team, an invitation team, then the ball's in their court. Whether they would accept me, I'm not sure.[31]

Turinui was alluding, perhaps, to a concept favoured by some that the Māori side should be able to compete internationally (in the World Cup, for example), as an independent 'nation'. Former All Black Bill Bush recently suggested as much when he said that the Māori side should be under separate Māori control and fix its own itinerary.[32] To some extent, this has already happened in rugby league, with the New Zealand Māori side competing alongside the Kiwis at the 2000 World Cup.[33] With so many Māori now living in Australia, the time may well not be too far off for a Māori rugby side representing the entire Māori 'nation' to be selected for matches at some level.

As an aside to the national allegiance issue, I should mention the support among Māori in Australia for club or provincial sides in rugby and rugby league. My general perception is that league fans who have followed the sport for a long time or who arrived in Australia before the 1995 debut of the Warriors tend to support an Australian club side like the Sea Eagles, the Bulldogs, the Tigers or the Roosters. Later arrivals or younger people, by contrast, are usually committed Warriors fans. In rugby, Māori support New Zealand Super 14 franchises, unless they live in Perth where they might also actively support the Western Force. The same could be said for rugby league for Māori living in Melbourne and north Queensland. In other words, Māori will often support their local team in centres where the code is a minority sport or where the smaller community is more ready to rally strongly around its team.[34]

Unsurprisingly, annual Roy Morgan Sports Monitor research showed in 2006 that the Warriors had the lowest following in Australia of all 15 National Rugby League sides[35] (206,000 supporters compared to the Brisbane Broncos' 1,467,000[36]), but they were only marginally behind the Cronulla Sharks, which had 208,000 fans. Indeed, in 2003 – on the back of a successful season in 2002 – the Warriors had as many as 287,000 fans on the basis of the corresponding opinion poll, which put them ahead of five Australian teams. These figures are another indication of the commitment of expatriate New Zealanders to New Zealand sports sides.

AUSTRALIA AS A LAND OF SPORTING OPPORTUNITIES

Many survey respondents commented on the sporting opportunities that exist for their children in Australia. These remarks indicate that there may be a greater prospect of young

30 Said Turinui, 'You have so many players pushing for each spot. It's hard enough for us, so I'm happy being an Australian.' ('I'm playing for the good guys: Turinui', *Rugby Heaven*, 13 August 2005, www.rugbyheaven.smh.com.au/articles/2005/08/12/1123353498417.html – accessed 16 September 2005).

31 'Turinui puts hand up for Maori jersey', Fairfax New Zealand, 31 May 2006, www.stuff.co.nz/stuff/0,2106,3685779a1823,00.html (accessed 10 July 2006).

32 'Maori rugby side should be separate', *New Zealand Herald,* 2 June 2006 (Factiva).

33 It was reported in August 2006 that league legends such as Arthur Beetson and Howie and Kevin Tamati were attempting to persuade the International Rugby League Federation (IRLF) to include both Aboriginal and Māori teams in the 2008 World Cup ('League: Tamatis on mission to get Maori team into world cup', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 August 2006, www.nzherald.co.nz/section/story.cfm?c_id=4&objectid=10394890 – accessed 14 December 2006). However, the IRLF decided that the two teams would instead play only a commemorative match during the tournament ('2008 Rugby League World Cup', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Rugby_League_World_Cup – accessed 4 December 2006). On 14 October 2006, 600 people watched an 'Australian Maoris' side defeat the 'Australian Aboriginals' 40–8 at St Marys Stadium in Western Sydney ('Maoris victorious', *Mt Druitt St Marys Standard*, 18 October 2006, www.mtdruittstandard.com.au/article/2006/10/18/792_pf_news.html – accessed 24 October 2006). The previous week, the Māori team played a Newcastle side in what the Newcastle *Herald* described as 'the first time an Australian Maori side has been assembled' ('Maori side promise torrid warm-up for Newcastle', *Herald* [Newcastle], 5 October 2006, http://theherald.com.au/articles/2006/10/05/1159641428760.html – accessed 18 October 2006). There have previously, of course, been New South Wales Māori sides selected, and the team that played the Aborigines and Newcastle may have been all based in New South Wales. But it may well be that this was the first time a side had been called the 'Australian Maori' team.

34 I did meet Māori in places like Western Australia who had succumbed to the dominant culture and followed Australian Rules with a passion. A netball coach in Perth who had been there for 13 years admitted to me that the team she probably now followed above any other was the West Coast Eagles. But I also met Māori in Adelaide, for example, who told me that Australian Rules had never grown on them in many years of living in South Australia.

35 See 'Broncos top of supporter ladder with Melbourne storming into second place', Roy Morgan press release, 12 April 2006, www.roymorgan.com/news/press-releases/2006/476/ (accessed 11 July 2006).

36 The Broncos' level of support was nearly three times greater than the second-place side, the Melbourne Storm, which was estimated to have 554,000 fans.

Māori realising their sporting potential in Australia than in New Zealand. One of Bergin's informants put it this way:

> Australia provides a huge amount of opportunity. The sporting facilities here are fantastic. The kids can come here and for a very reasonable amount of money, really, do any sport that you can imagine. Skiing might be a bit expensive but there is just about every sort of sport available in Australia. I mean it's a great climate for swimming, water polo, surfing and all those kinds of things.[37]

I met a Māori shearing family in Victoria who had mainly come for the work, but also because their eight-year-old son was already showing immense promise in golf. They felt that coming to Australia and having greater access to better coaches (even in a rural area) would more likely enable him to go as far in the sport as his talent might allow. In Canberra, a Māori family with a daughter talented at netball had partly moved there to take advantage of the Australian Institute of Sport. And, in Townsville, I was told of a number of young Māori straight from New Zealand attending Kirwan State High School on rugby league scholarships.

The Australian investment in sport is, of course, much larger than New Zealand can compete with, and there may currently be a succession of pre-teen Māori sports prodigies moving across the Tasman. But we may also hear of growing numbers of Australian-born Māori sports stars across a whole range of sports. Long-jumper Jai Taurima is one example, and others already include Coolangatta-born top professional surfer Dean Morrison (whose parents are from Pawarenga in Northland) and Sydney-born Khan Haretuku, who, at 16 years old and 195 centimetres, is seen as a potential Australian Rules star.[38] Whether the realisation of all this potential is ultimately to New Zealand's or Australia's advantage remains to be seen.

37 Bergin (2002), p 264.

38 For Morrison, see 'An Australian Maori boy in Ahipara', *Northland Age*, 25 March 2004, www.northnz.co.nz/Sports%20March%202004.html (accessed 16 September 2005); for Haretuku, see 'AFL's push goes north and turns to youth', *Sunday Age*, 30 April 2006 (Factiva).

CHAPTER 16: RELATIONS WITH OTHER AUSTRALIANS

Chapter summary

- Māori feel well accepted by white Australians and generally believe they fit more easily into mainstream Australian society than do other immigrants.
- Māori in Australia largely support Aborigines as Australia's indigenous people, although a minority feel indifferent about Aboriginal issues.
- Māori generally feel an affinity with other Pacific peoples in Australia, although many are annoyed when Australian officialdom aggregates Māori and Pacific Islanders for administrative purposes.

RELATIONSHIP WITH WHITE AUSTRALIANS[1]

Overall, Māori in Australia seem to feel well accepted. As already noted in chapter 6, many Māori have found the experience of moving to Australia liberating in terms of escaping the prejudice or negativity they believe they faced at home. In Australia, many said, they are well respected and treated as equals. A Sydney survey respondent said 'I enjoy working for the "white" Australian more than I did for the "white" Kiwi. There has never been any "class" feelings at any job or position I have worked in, in Australia'.[2] In fact, it is usual for Māori in Australia not to be regarded as 'Māori' first and foremost by other Australians but as 'Kiwis'. While a number of Māori objected to this lack of differentiation, it is, by and large, a positive rather than a negative, because it largely removes from the picture any prospect of racial stereotyping or vilification. As another survey respondent in Sydney put it, 'One of the benefits in moving to Australia is the Maori and Pakeha cultures are NOT segregated, Australians refer to ALL of us as Kiwis'.

It may seem strange to New Zealanders, when racial politics are so prominent in the New Zealand political landscape, that Australians see little or no difference between Māori and Pākehā. But it does seem to be the case. While one taxi driver told me that white New Zealanders were welcome but that brown ones were essentially lazy, stealing criminals, the much more common Australian response I received was along the lines of 'You're all Kiwis – white ones and black ones, but you're all Kiwis'. A survey respondent in Cairns explained the pan-Australian acceptance in this way: 'The black fellas see us as one of [them] and the white fellas don't see us [as] black fellas, more like one of them. In our city Maoris and kiwis in general are looked upon favourably'.

The mainstream acceptance is reflected in the way, perhaps, that a Māori woman in Brisbane I met in May 2006 had just been elected president of her local Lions club. This contrasted with the allegation of a man I met in northern Queensland that small-town New Zealand was run by a Pākehā network of Lions, Rotarians and

1 When speaking generally about 'Australians', Māori essentially mean people of Anglo-Celtic origin. It is in this sense that I use the term 'Australians' in this section.

2 Another wrote 'I don't feel racism here, in fact, I feel NZ Maori are popular and are treated better than some pakehas treat Maori in NZ'. A significant reason for this acceptance identified by Paul Bergin was the shared 'Anzac' heritage of Māori having fought alongside Australians in both world wars and in later conflicts such as the Vietnam War (see Bergin 1998, pp 57–64).

Masons who actively kept Māori 'in their place'. Whether there is any truth to this comment is beside the point; the example of the Lions club president illustrates the kinds of comparisons that some Māori in Australia might attempt to make.

A number of people commented on their friendly rivalry with Australians. For example, the outcome of a big rugby or netball game determines bragging rights at work with Australian colleagues on Monday morning. A woman in Toowoomba put it succinctly when she said 'Australians in general (in my experience) don't care whether you are Maori or not, to them [you're] just another Kiwi and gonna get crap about sports regardless'.

All this is not to say, of course, that there is no racism in Australia. Many Māori attested to having seen it first-hand, or even having suffered from it themselves, but in truth it is largely directed at others, particularly Asians, the Lebanese (increasingly) and, above all, Aborigines. A woman in Melbourne observed 'other cultures take the front news, and that allows Maori to get on with getting on and being good at it as well'. In fact, the only times when some Māori I met said they had suffered racism were when they were mistaken for being Aboriginal[3], although some had been called 'wog' at school or cruelly teased by other children about their surname or looking different. One elderly woman I met said she had suffered real prejudice throughout her life in Australia because she was a New Zealander. She said she had constantly been written off as a 'bloody Kiwi', and in her survey comments wrote 'I have also formed the opinion that most Australians do not like New Zealanders – either Maori or Pakeha'. But perhaps her experience would have been even less bearable if the prejudice had been directed at her specifically because she was Māori.[4]

There will always, in any event, be a range of experiences. Another survey respondent observed, by contrast, 'the aussies like kiwis and consider us as mates'. Some liked to talk in percentages – two men who volunteered figures to me said that, respectively, 90% and 95% of Australians had been very good to them as Māori, with (according to one) just a few 'uneducated idiots'.

One reason many Māori cited for their good degree of acceptance was their reputation for hard work. A survey respondent in Perth put it like this:

> To be honest as a new immigrant into Australia being a Maori is a very easy move as we are well accepted and can easily find work in the trades as we are known as Kiwis to be hard workers and we are recognised as being happy people to work with.

Indeed, survey question 12 (as mentioned in chapter 7) asked 'How do you think Australians see Māori in Australia?' and no fewer than 74.9% of respondents selected 'hard working'. Some thought this meant Australians saw Māori as a threat to their jobs, particularly since – as a number of people contended – Australians do not work as hard.[5] Others though, in places like Kalgoorlie, said their acceptance came from the fact that everyone in town worked hard and always had.

Table 16.1 sets out the response to question 12 (bearing in mind that respondents could select as many options as they wished).

TABLE 16.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 12 – HOW DO YOU THINK *AUSTRALIANS* SEE MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

Response	%
Hard working	*74.9*
Good citizens	*48.0*
Lazy	*10.6*
A burden on Australian taxpayers	*15.5*
Other	*20.2*
Don't know	*10.9*

As can be seen, Māori seem to believe that Australians no longer see them – or other New Zealanders – as lazy or bludgers. I say 'no longer' because it seems that this perception (which I discuss in chapter 7) was pervasive in the past. Occasionally, though, some trace of it seems to re-emerge. For reasons that are not clear, Peter King, Liberal candidate for the

3 For example, a survey respondent in Alice Springs wrote 'The attitude towards the Indigenous people of Australia is appalling, I am often mistaken for an Aboriginal person and so have felt some of what they as a people have to deal with'.

4 There will, of course, be Australians who hold racist views towards Māori. American actor Laurence Fishburne claimed he had encountered negative reactions after being mistaken for a 'Maori bloke' during filming in Australia of the film *The Matrix* in 1997. Māori entertainer Sir Howard Morrison backed up Fishburne and claimed 'Anyone coffee-coloured or black doesn't fit into the culture that Australians feel comfortable with' (see 'Actor's racism claim backed', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 2005, www.smh.com.au/news/National/Actors-racism-claim-backed/2005/03/30/1111862439074.html?oneclick=true – accessed 21 January 2006).

5 For example, one survey respondent wrote 'they see us as a threat to their jobs because we work harder and smarter than they do'.

blue-ribbon eastern Sydney federal seat of Wentworth, referred in 2001 to a 'Maori plague' affecting Bondi Beach.[6]

The 244 'other' responses to question 12 tended to fall into several categories. A number of people made the valid point that it really depended on the individual Australian and was impossible to generalise. Others took the opportunity to expand on their reasons for selecting one of the first four options. The main additional views ascribed to Australians were that Māori are:

- violent, scary, warrior-like or no-nonsense (34 instances, including nine references to the film *Once Were Warriors*)
- threats to Australians' job security (28)
- happy, friendly, fun-loving or easy-going (27)
- bludgers, Bondi-dwellers or lazy (13)
- party people (9)
- the same as Pacific Islanders (8)
- good sportspeople (8)
- physically big (7)
- mates, Anzacs or comrades (7)
- trouble-makers (6)
- same as other Kiwis (5)
- alcoholics or big drinkers (4)
- thieves, drug-dealers, drug-takers or criminals (4)
- good singers or entertainers (4)
- too numerous (4).

A couple of people, it should be added, answered specifically in terms of how they thought Aboriginal Australians view Māori in Australia.

Given the prominence of Māori as rugby, league and netball players, it is no great surprise that some people should have suggested sportspeople as a common Australian perception. There may also be a link between perceived Australian stereotypes involving sport and violence. Much of the latter doubtless stems from the aggression of the All Black haka.[7] As a Sunshine Coast man commented, 'Maori men are almost expected to be warriors even if they don't see themselves as that. Māori enjoy a continuous high profile in this regard due to the regular highlighting of the Haka at various games on TV'. Another factor is probably the tendency of Māori to work as bouncers, as noted in chapter 7. The success of the film *Once Were Warriors* in Australia has clearly also contributed, as the survey comments show. A survey respondent in Melbourne explained 'the same question gets asked from everyone that has not lived in New Zealand before "Have you seen 'Once Were Warriors' and are Maori ... like that today"?'.

Some Māori in Australia do seem to regard themselves as 'warriors'. A survey respondent referred to Māori in Australia 'exploring and conquering' in the traditions of their ancestors and remarked that Māori are a 'warrior race to the end'. A man I met said that Māori had been warriors for centuries and, while they were easy to get on with, 'it's well known in Australia that if you show us disrespect we'll rip your head off'. While it is true that Māori in Australia have an above-average rate of conviction for violent crime, others stressed to me that the perception of Māori violence was largely without foundation, and that 'staunch' attitudes among Māori in New Zealand are mostly set aside in Australia.[8] One person I met also said, with some relief, that the stereotype of Jake the Muss among Australians has been offset to some extent by the koro (grandfather) from the film *Whale Rider.*

While the results for question 12 did not include responses such as 'culturally interesting', it is a common perception that Australians enjoy and appreciate Māori culture (which I touched on in chapter 13). As one survey respondent put it, 'Australians respect Maori more than any other Culture/ Country I know'. Survey question 20 asked about the importance of Māori culture to Australians.

The significant figure here, I believe, is not the third of Māori

6 'Marginal seat profile: Wentworth', PM (ABC Radio), 22 October 2001, www.abc.net.au/pm/stories/s397411.htm (accessed 8 October 2006). As also noted in chapter 4, in 1990, the *Kiwi Cooee* reported that Māori had been driven out of Bondi by rising rents in the early 1980s. A local police officer was quoted as saying, with respect to the erstwhile problems with Māori youth delinquency in the area, 'There's more than just Maori living in Bondi and I would say that Maori kids are not a problem in the area any longer'. A Māori community worker in Bondi said that negative stories had persisted, however: 'bad press coverage of alleged local Maori crime at the time [the early 1980s] has stuck and tended to give us a bad image' ('Bondi Youth Project', *Kiwi Cooee*, 3(2), February 1990, p 18). The perceived crime problem of the early 1980s probably relates to both the reputation of the Astra Hotel in Bondi – where Māori tended to congregate and which sponsored an all-Māori rugby league team – as a place of drug-dealing and other criminal activity, and the group of squatters calling themselves the Bondi Māori Self-Help Housing Group. The local mayor said of Bondi Māori in 1984 'They come over here to enrol on the dole, run up huge debts on credit cards and live off the land, supporting themselves on drugs and minor crimes and expecting the council to provide accommodation' (see Bergin 1998, pp 47–48).

7 Complaining in 2003 about the noise levels from the late-night practice sessions of a Gold Coast kapa haka group, Coolangatta councillor Sue Robbins was reported as saying 'The haka can be very, very aggressive. It's a Maori war dance ... you hear war while the rest of Coolangatta try to sleep' ('"War dance" curfew just a song session, say muzzled Maoris', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 7 June 2003 (Factiva)).

8 In *Shearers' Motel*, the character Harold complains that no-one remembers gentle, passive Māori 'when just one other man started brawling in a pub. That pub was branded as a Kiwi pub, and so the town had a Maori problem. "We native peoples of this world are in a bind", said Harold' (McDonald 2001, p 281).

TABLE 16.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 20, REGARDING HOW IMPORTANT AUSTRALIANS THINK MĀORI CULTURE IS

Question 20: As far as Australians are concerned, Māori culture is ...

Response	%
... not at all important	*32.7*
... slightly important	*22.9*
... pretty important	*17.2*
... very important	*12.4*
... don't know	*14.8*

who believe that Australians see their culture as not at all important – an answer that might have been expected – but the 30% who think that they find it either pretty or very important.[9] As the examples in chapter 13 show, many Australians are fascinated with Māori culture, and the haka, in particular.

In 2005, Rotorua district councillor Russell Judd caused a stir when he suggested that Australian tourists were avoiding Rotorua because 'they don't like the haka and Maori culture'. He also said, if Rotorua were marketed in Australia on Māori culture, 'you'll be pushing poo up a hill'. But a tourism operator in Queenstown responded 'Out of anyone, the Aussies really get into it'. Furthermore, a Māori tourism operator at Rotorua's Whakarewarewa Thermal Village said that record numbers of Australian tourists were passing through the gates. The latter did add, though, that market research had revealed that 'some Australians feel they have enough contact with New Zealand or Maori living in Australia that they think they know the culture'[10], which is an interesting aside and – if correct – might back the idea that Australians do take more than a passing interest in the culture of their Māori compatriots.

RELATIONSHIP WITH ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS

Māori in Australia have an ambiguous relationship with Aborigines. Many support Aboriginal causes, greet Aboriginal people first in mihimihi, seek Aboriginal permission or blessings for festivals or community centre ventures, invite Aboriginal participation in Māori ceremonies and prefer to call Australia 'Te Ao Moemoeā' ('the land of dreaming') rather than 'Ahitereiria'. Some have even dedicated their careers to working to improve the lot of Aboriginal people. Yet others show some negativity towards Aborigines and, indeed, sometimes even a degree of racism.

Survey question 48 asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement that 'Māori in Australia ought to support Aboriginal Australians' status as the indigenous people / tangata whenua in Australia'. Table 16.3 shows the results.

TABLE 16.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 1) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA OUGHT TO SUPPORT ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS' STATUS AS THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE / TANGATA WHENUA IN AUSTRALIA

Response	%
Strongly agree	*36.7*
Agree	*27.6*
Neither agree nor disagree	*21.9*
Disagree	*5.3*
Strongly disagree	*3.5*
Don't know/no opinion	*5.1*

On one level, therefore, a clear majority of survey respondents believe that Māori should support Aborigines as tāngata whenua. On the other hand, 35% did not agree with the statement. This result surprised many Māori I met, who wondered if the question had been confusing. But others said it was no real surprise, and confirmed the indifferent or negative feelings towards Aborigines they had encountered.

I was given several plausible explanations for the lack of support. A woman in Melbourne suggested to me that Māori simply buy into the mainstream Australian view of Aborigines as bludging off welfare, especially given the media's overwhelming focus on negative Aboriginal news stories. She said that younger Australian-born Māori, who do not have the background of being raised on a marae and being tāngata whenua, are the most susceptible to such negativity. A woman in Sydney suggested that the large number neither agreeing

9 Just over 54% of respondents thought, at question 21, that the attitude they had identified at question 20 made 'no difference' to Māori attempting to make a life in Australia, while 7% thought it made it much harder, 14% a bit harder, 7% a bit easier and 6% much easier; 11% did not know or had no opinion.

10 'Aust tourists "love" NZ's Maori attractions', Australian Associated Press, 29 April 2005, and 'Maori tourism spot says Aussies attend in record numbers', New Zealand Press Association, 3 May 2005 (both Factiva).

nor disagreeing reflected the way that so many Māori preferred not to get involved in Australian politics, with Aboriginal issues being seen by them as inherently 'political'. A man in Alice Springs believed that negativity towards Aborigines is a characteristic of 'city Māori, who don't interact with them'.[11]

Māori in Australia frequently commented on how the treatment of Aborigines by white Australia makes them thankful for the (relatively) good race relations in New Zealand. A woman in northern Queensland, who had previously worked for the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand, said that the problems of drug addiction, alcoholism and domestic violence had seemed bad enough in her home town but were nowhere near as dire as the circumstances she encountered in her new work with Aboriginal people in Australia. Compared to the lot of Aborigines, many said they felt Māori culture was highly esteemed in New Zealand. A man working in a remote Aboriginal community wrote 'Working in an Aboriginal community makes you realise that our culture gives us an understanding of these people and an insight into what our Tupuna must have gone through in terms of colonisation – it wasn't all good'.

Many Māori are drawn to work involving Aboriginal people. A woman in Perth, who said she would not become an Australian citizen because of the way Aboriginal people had been and are treated, told me that working with Aborigines was her way of making a difference and contributing to Australia. Overall, people said that being Māori was a major advantage in their work with Aborigines because it created trust and empathy. In prisons and youth detention centres (as discussed in chapter 7), where many of those incarcerated are Aboriginal, I was told that corrections services would ideally like to employ Aborigines but that there are too few entering such work. In the circumstances, in the views of both the authorities and the inmates, Māori are simply 'the next-best thing'. A bouncer I spoke to in northern Queensland said, in the same regard, that he could be firmer with a drunken Aborigine than any white person could.[12]

In north Queensland, I met two Māori families who regularly fostered Aboriginal children. Queensland law apparently requires children to be placed in the right 'cultural environment', and Māori – as a fellow indigenous people and with their extended family approach – are seen as appropriate caregivers for Aboriginal children.

In Kalgoorlie, I was told that relations between Māori and Aborigines were currently good, but had not always been so. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were some street fights between members of the two groups. These stemmed, I heard, from Aboriginal resentment of Māori success, on the one hand, and a Māori tendency to flaunt their comparative wealth, on the other.[13]

Today, however, there are good relations,[14] and this is partly due to a significant amount of intermarriage. Indeed, I met many Māori who had married Aborigines. A man in New South Wales described having children with an Aboriginal woman as 'the best of both worlds'. This attitude possibly stems from the Māori concept of take tīpuna (whereby intermarriage means that newcomers' children and their descendants will always have rights through descent from the tāngata whenua).

Some Māori I met, along with a couple of survey respondents, explained why they did not choose to support Aboriginal Australians. A woman I met in Perth said that Māori should support Māori issues in New Zealand first before supporting Aboriginal causes. The common attitude, however, seemed to be that Aborigines languished on welfare and made no effort to help themselves. One woman put it bluntly:

11 Similarly, a survey respondent in northern Queensland wrote 'there are 2 types of maori over here the cities ones who I have seen get very cheeky with the aboriginal. who have not got out of the cities to see how the real Aussies live and they think the[y] live in Australia To the country maori the[y] are more calm we mingle with the country aussies and aboriginal once they trust you they start bringing you in to there culture what type of food wher to find water you know they are not dumb And you find there culture is so simular to the Maori culture like i said ther are 2 types of maori here'.

12 Some have doubtless been too firm. Bergin observed in 1998 that 'both the attitudes of superiority and aggressive practices of some bouncers ... have earned contempt from Aboriginal people'. An Aborigine from the Northern Territory told Bergin: 'Aborigines hate the Māoris because of the way Māoris treat them, because they regard themselves as a rung above Aborigines, especially the Māori bouncers whose job it is to keep Aborigines out of clubs. Aborigines resent this. What happens is that some of our young men stoke up a bit of courage after a few beers and try to get into the clubs but are dealt to by the Māori bouncers who belt the shit out of them! My own cousin was just about beaten to a pulp by a Māori bouncer. He nearly killed him!' (Bergin 1998, pp 103–104).

13 A Māori truck driver Bergin spoke to in New South Wales said that he would always be chosen for jobs over his Aboriginal friends. In the circumstances, he said, many Aborigines distrusted Māori and called them 'Gubba-lovers' ('white lovers') (ibid, p 107).

14 Bergin related the story of a 1993 brawl between members of the Walpiri Aboriginal community and Māori freezing workers in Katherine in the Northern Territory, which resulted in critical injuries and one death. He was told, several years later, that community relations were now in 'good shape' (ibid, p 105).

> Aborigines are 200 years behind Māori in their civilisation – there's not much interaction between the two groups and I doubt there will be for the next 100 years. Aborigines sniff petrol and don't keep up with modern technology.

In a similar vein, a survey respondent wrote 'Compared with the aborigine, the Maori is culturally advanced and has a good work-and-play ethic'. This idea that Aborigines are not so 'advanced' as Māori has been around since Te Pahi's day, and shows the extent to which some Māori have readily subscribed to British colonial notions of a descending order of races. One woman observed to me that many Māori enjoy feeling 'superior' to Aborigines, in much the same way that some Māori look down on Samoans and other Islanders in New Zealand. A man I spoke to suggested that Aborigines were in the same kind of rut as Māori back in New Zealand. The answer, he felt, was the same as that discovered by Māori in Australia – that it is ultimately necessary to get out of that situation yourself.[15]

Some despaired of what they saw as the narrow-mindedness of other Māori and their lack of respect for Aboriginal Australians, and indeed saw some irony in it. As a survey respondent in Melbourne put it, 'I am disappointed that many Maori over here are spouting the same racist rubbish about Aboriganal people that pakeha say about us back home'.

Some of the contradictions in the Māori outlook on Aborigines were present in one man I met. On the one hand, he was highly critical of the failure of Māori to properly embrace and engage with Aboriginal culture. He said it was not enough just to seek Aboriginal blessing for building a marae, and instead Māori needed to learn Aboriginal stories, their languages and their customs. He said a marae would never be built in Australia until Aborigines were properly acknowledged as the tāngata whenua; at present, the wairua was wrong. But, from his time living in an Aboriginal community, he expressed frustration at what he described as Aboriginal laziness in acquiring new skills, frequent drunkenness and universal dependence on welfare. He said, when I asked him about Māori negativity towards Aborigines, 'Well, I guess I'm a bit negative too if it comes down to it'.

RELATIONSHIP WITH PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Survey question 48 also asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'Māori in Australia have a lot in common with other Pacific peoples in Australia'. Table 16.4 shows the results.

TABLE 16.4: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 2) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA HAVE A LOT IN COMMON WITH OTHER PACIFIC PEOPLES IN AUSTRALIA

Response	%
Strongly agree	*20.6*
Agree	*44.9*
Neither agree nor disagree	*19.9*
Disagree	*7.7*
Strongly disagree	*2.6*
Don't know/no opinion	*4.2*

These results, in some respects, are similar to those for the question about Aborigines, with a clear majority being in some shade of agreement and the rest either not taking a position or disagreeing. The notable minority who chose to disagree in this case probably did so because Māori object so strongly to being 'lumped in' with Pacific Islanders by Australian officialdom or confused with other Polynesians by white (and other) Australians.

An example of this is the erstwhile lack of differentiation between Cook Island Māori and New Zealand Māori in the Australian census, which I discuss in chapters 3 and 4. There are other examples of Māori being aggregated with Pacific Islanders, such as the Pacific Island communities liaison worker employed by Multicultural Affairs Queensland, and the New

15 In June and July 2006, a tense debate about Aboriginal Australians was conducted on a www.maori-in-oz.com message board. In response to a suggestion in one post that no marae should be built in Australia until Aboriginal people had been 'restored as the rightful stewards of this land', a member angrily replied 'Either your saying that we should never have a marae here, or your saying that we should fight a fight that frankly THEY DON'T EVEN FIGHT!!! ... Our people, throughout history have always fought for their beliefs, their heritage and their land. We didn't wait for someone else to stand up for us, we got off our butts and did it ourselves'. Another wrote 'we can't help it if they don't wanna help themselves ... go tell the sydney city aborigines to stop drinkin n doing drugs and get off their behinds and do something for themselves'. While opposed by other members, these views reflect the traditional Australian view that Aboriginal people – in contrast, of course, to Māori – did not fight in defence of their land in colonial Australia. See http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/general.msnw?action=get_message&mview=0&ID_Message=782&LastModified=4675586738862112738 and http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/general.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=782&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=837&CDir=-1 (accessed 6 March 2007).

South Wales Council of Pacific Communities. These may be pragmatic and reasonable government measures, but they often irk Māori all the same. In New South Wales, however, the Department of Community Services has, for the first time, appointed separate family support workers for the Māori, Tongan, Samoan and Fijian communities, where previously there had been one worker covering all Pacific groups.

A survey respondent in Sydney active in the Māori community explained her frustration this way:

> One problem with my community work is the Government here in Australia class us all as Pacific Islanders, which I am not, and neither do I or any other Maori I talk to say they are. They do have a lot of programs here for Pacific Islanders but because we don't think of ourselves as Islanders we don't take advantage of them and miss out. So a lot of the time it is only the Islanders that get anything out of these programs.
>
> I go to conferences and meetings here in St George and usually I am the only Maori that turns up because when it is advertised, it says 'Pacific Islander' People, and Maori don't think it applies to us, so don't turn up.
>
> I would like the Aussie Government to recognise that we are a people in our own right and not class us all together. Our people fought, got a treaty and gained the right to be Maori, the British Monarchy recognises this why can't Aussies.

Others said they objected to any proposal that Māori would have to share a community centre with other Pacific peoples, and several people told me that they thought Māori often got unfairly blamed for crime committed by Pacific Islanders.

There are many Māori, however, who see practical advantages of joining with Pacific groups. I have already mentioned the aims of the South Pacific Foundation in Melbourne and the proposed Pan Pacific Queensland in Brisbane. Another example is in Canberra, where members of Te Rere o Te Tarakakao said they had formed Pacific Island United with Pacific communities to create a larger bloc to attract more funding and resources. Others, instead of complaining about the better organisation and fundraising ability of, say, Samoans, through their churches, thought that alliance with such communities could actually work in the favour of Māori.[16]

Despite the frustration Māori feel about being 'put into a box' with Pacific Islanders, Māori and Pacific Islanders seem to get on genuinely well in Australia. An example of this is obviously the successful Pacific festivals that I described in chapter 14. One woman suggested to me that there are fewer barriers between Māori and Pacific Islanders than in New Zealand and that they find they have a lot in common (as displaced New Zealanders, for example[17]). There has also been a lot of intermarriage, she said, which has strengthened these bonds.[18] Likewise, a survey respondent in Sydney wrote that he loved 'talking to other Polynesians as we are in the same boat over here'.

FITTING IN

Table 16.5 shows the third and final part of question 48.

TABLE 16.5: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 3) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA FIT MUCH MORE EASILY INTO MAINSTREAM AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY THAN IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Response	%
Strongly agree	*33.0*
Agree	*43.4*
Neither agree nor disagree	*16.7*
Disagree	*2.6*
Strongly disagree	*0.9*
Don't know/no opinion	*3.4*

A large majority of survey respondents thought that Māori fit more easily into the Australian mainstream. Obviously, this is due significantly to their ability to speak English as well as the many connections between Australia and New Zealand. But some I spoke to were cautionary about the ease with which Māori 'fit in'. A man in Melbourne said it was actually harder for Māori than for other ethnic groups, because other

16 A survey respondent in Melbourne commented 'Maori are a minority group therefore if they need to apply for funding we have to include Polynesians and the wider ethnic community in the application – it's a numbers game'.

17 As an example of this kind of sentiment, a survey respondent in Sydney wrote 'Kotahitanga exists between all Maori, Pakeha and Pacific Islanders living within Australia. We all miss Aotearoa however we cannot survive financialy back home'.

18 One person of mixed Pacific Island and Māori heritage suggested that they were not fully accepted by either people and that there was 'a silent wedge that grows even further between both communities'. On the whole, though, I heard and witnessed more examples of accepted and successful intermarriage, not just with Pacific Islanders but with all people.

communities keep their traditions more successfully and are able to enjoy what Australia has to offer from a position of feeling secure in their own culture.[19] Furthermore, a woman in Sydney said it was 'so much easier for Pākehā to fit in than for Māori, because it's a Pākehā system here'. And a man in Brisbane said that, while Māori could feel equal and accepted in multicultural Sydney, cities like Brisbane were much more monocultural and Māori had to fit in with that.[20]

A number of survey respondents wrote moving personal accounts of the price they had paid for 'fitting in' to Australia. For example, a man in Victoria wrote that he had come to Australia:

> when I was about 16 yrs old and in the last 6 or 7 years I started to feel a sense of disconnection and a loss of my own identity, even though I have a strong and support[ive] social network. I have a deep desire to return to my culture, to learn and develop my knowledge of my ancestors and people and pass it on to my children. I tried to assimilate into the Aust culture, but in doing so, have lost my own sense of belonging and identity.

Similarly, another survey respondent wrote 'i think we lose a lot of our identity because of some sort of struggle to fit in'. This notion of a 'struggle' was repeated by others. For example, a Sydney man wrote:

> I am a 29 year old male born in NZ & raised in Australia. Life for me identity wise & culturally has been a huge struggle. In my younger years as a child & teen going to school I basically gave away my heritage & identity to adapt & I guess become a Pakeha. Back then I guess I just wanted to fit in because their weren't a lot of Maori's where we lived.

A number of others related how their attempts to fit into Australia had ultimately failed, leaving them with a sense of being truly accepted in neither Australia nor New Zealand. I return to this issue in chapter 18, when I discuss downsides to life in Australia for Māori. In any event, what all these stories illustrate is that it is wrong to assume – as perhaps Australian officialdom might have in the past – that Māori adaptation to life in Australia is relatively straightforward. Loss of identity, the lack of a sense of belonging and cultural disconnection among Māori born or raised in Australia are the ingredients for lost potential and juvenile offending.

MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA

I discuss in chapter 6 how the encounter with so many different cultures in a city like Sydney has been a very positive experience for many Māori. Hand-in-hand with this has been a growing degree of Māori intermarriage with ethnic migrants from all over the world. As Reverend Kaio (Malcolm) Karipa in Sydney explained to me, 'There are all kinds of Māori being born in Sydney today: Māori-Chinese, Māori-Indians, Māori-Egyptians, you name it'. I was told of Māori women marrying Lebanese men and wearing veils and learning Arabic. Others told me of intermarriage with Samoans (which, of course, is not uncommon in New Zealand), Romanians and Koreans. Aside from the many Māori I met who had married white (Anglo-Celtic) Australians and Aborigines, I also met people who had married Greeks, Italians and Maltese. A man I met in New South Wales said his four Australian-born children had married a white Australian, a Māori, a Samoan and a Fijian.

Where Māori women have married into strong southern European or middle-eastern cultures, I was told that it has been hard for some to keep their identity as Māori. One woman I met, who had been married to a Lebanese man for 25 years, said it was quite common for the children of such marriages to identify more with their father's identity than their taha Māori. All her daughters had chosen to wear veils and had had traditional Lebanese marriages. In other cases she knew of, the marriages of Māori women to 'Mediterranean' husbands had ended and the cultural expectation of the husband's community had been that he would keep the children. Thus some Māori women, who lack their own whānau support, can find themselves isolated and up against not just their husband but also his entire family.

Some Māori I spoke to tended to see other ethnic groups in Australia as rivals for the multicultural funding pie. This was the motivation for those in Canberra, mentioned earlier in this chapter, to join with Pacific Islanders to create a bloc to compete with the bigger and more organised Greek and Chinese communities for funding grants. A man in Adelaide

19 A survey respondent in Sydney wrote 'Being Maori in Australia is no more different than being Arab or Greek. The only difference between us & them is that when they migrated here they got themselves established unlike the Maori[.] [A]lthough a lot of us are living quite comfortably here there is still no foundation laid for us & our tamariki to go & learn te reo or tikanga'.

20 Other multicultural cities where I was told every nationality is well accepted were the tropical cities of Darwin and Cairns, the former because of its diverse ethnic mix and the latter principally because of the tourism.

also said that groups like the Italians and Greeks in Adelaide had family connections everywhere in business and helped each other out. In comparison, he said, Māori had nothing like this and therefore made their way in Adelaide under something of a disadvantage.

Finally, I should mention that, aside from being confused with Pacific Islanders , Māori in Australia are regularly mistaken for any number of different ethnicities. Common examples, which were always related in good humour, were of people being asked if they were Malay, Indonesian, Filippino, Italian, Greek, Maltese and Indian. Partly in response to this, many Māori wear items to identify themselves as New Zealand Māori, such as pounamu (greenstone), bone carvings or New Zealand-themed t-shirts, or get distinctive Māori tā moko (tattoos).

CHAPTER 17: LOSING 'THE SHACKLES' – PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Chapter summary

- Many Māori in Australia believe Māori in New Zealand think they are 'plastic', 'made of money' and 'deserters'.
- Māori in Australia do tend to see themselves, however, as more motivated to get ahead than Māori in New Zealand.
- Māori in Australia often believe the environment in Australia is more conducive to success, explaining that they feel free of some negative encumbrances they experienced in New Zealand.

Many Māori in Australia believe there is nothing different about them because they live in Australia. A typical comment was along the lines of 'Just because I'm over here doesn't make me any less Maori'. Despite this, many did perceive a range of differences in behaviour and outlook between Māori in New Zealand and Māori in Australia. People also reported a perception that Māori in New Zealand regarded them quite differently (and essentially negatively) for living across the Tasman. In return, some Māori in Australia made negative comments about Māori in New Zealand. Regardless of the justification for these views, or their universality, they indicate that the trans-Tasman migration has led to some divisions within te iwi Māori.[1]

THE PICTURE GIVEN BY THE SURVEY RESULTS

Survey question 32 asked respondents to compare Māori in Australia with Māori in New Zealand.

According to the survey, in comparison with Māori in New Zealand, Māori in Australia believe themselves to:

- be considerably more motivated to get ahead
- feel much more need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage
- place a lot less importance on iwi politics
- be less focused on the Māori community.

TABLE 17.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 – IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS YOU ARE ASKED TO COMPARE MĀORI HERE IN AUSTRALIA WITH MĀORI IN NEW ZEALAND

Compared to Māori in New Zealand	Much more than Māori in NZ	More than Māori in NZ	About the same	Less than Māori in NZ	Much less than Māori in NZ	Don't know / no opinion
	%	%	%	%	%	%
how much importance do Māori in Australia give to iwi (tribal) politics?	*3.0*	*3.3*	*22.5*	*28.2*	*20.6*	*22.4*
how motiviated are Māori in Australia to get ahead?	*35.2*	*35.7*	*19.9*	*1.7*	*0.8*	*6.7*
how Māori-community-focused are Māori in Australia?	*6.8*	*13.1*	*32.8*	*26.4*	*9.3*	*11.6*
how much do Māori in Australia feel the need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage?	*22.9*	*22.8*	*28.2*	*13.7*	*4.3*	*8.1*

1 Māori are doubtless far from unique in this regard. The phenomenon of jealousy and division between those who remain at home and those who move overseas in search of better employment prospects and life opportunities must be common to many cultures, particularly within the Pacific.

I return to these results below.

Survey question 34 asked respondents how they think Māori in New Zealand regard them. Table 17.2 shows the answers (bearing in mind that, unless choosing 'don't know/no opinion', multiple responses were possible, and thus the total adds up to more than 100%).

TABLE 17.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 34 – WHAT DO MĀORI IN NEW ZEALAND THINK OF MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

Response	%
They aren't really committed to Māori culture	*29.8*
They think about money too much	*32.9*
Other	*25.0*
Don't know/no opinion	*40.7*

A large proportion of respondents were obviously either reluctant to speculate or genuinely had no opinion on the question. One survey respondent even complained that he found the question insulting, since for him there was truly no difference between Māori in Australia and New Zealand.[2]

The remaining 60% often expressed strong views on the subject. Of the 301 'other' responses, 51 (16.9%) essentially fell into a category similar to the first option about lacking commitment to Māori culture, although they emphasised more a lack of Māori cultural authenticity. A common example was 'they think we are plastic Maori'. In fact, the word 'plastic' was used no fewer than 30 times.

A further 88 (29.2%) of all 'other responses' concerned the perceived wealth of Māori living in Australia, and thus related to the second option about supposed materialism. Common statements here were that Māori in New Zealand think that Māori in Australia are 'rich' (a word used 44 times), 'loaded' or 'rolling' in money. Many Māori in Australia, I should add, denied that they were well off, or at least maintained that they had struggled for what they had been able to achieve.[3]

Additional themes to emerge from the 'other' responses at question 34 were that Māori in Zealand are believed to view Māori in Australia as:

- 'sell-outs', 'deserters' or evaders of whānau responsibilities (20 responses)
- 'stuck-up', 'snobs' or 'up themselves' (18)
- having become 'white', 'Pakeha' or 'Australians' (7)
- needing to come home to help out (5).

Māori in New Zealand were also believed to be:

- 'jealous' or 'envious' (8)
- disinterested (5)
- actively antagonistic ('they hate us', '[they think we're a] pack of w**kers', et cetera) (4)
- bemused by the motivation of Māori in Australia to get ahead (3).

A number of respondents (54 people) took a different tack and made essentially positive comments, such as 'good on them for trying to get ahead', or relatively neutral ones, such as 'more opportunities' or 'gain new experiences'.

A small number of 'other' responses (10 people) could not be categorised because the meaning of the comment was not clear or because the respondent seemed to have answered a different question, such as 'Why do Māori move to Australia?' or 'What collective term do Māori in New Zealand use for Māori in Australia?' ('Ngati Kangaroo', 'Ngati Skippy', 'Mozzies', 'Maozzies' and so on). It is not clear whether some respondents felt these terms to be playful or pejorative, but I am aware of a degree of objection to them in Australia.[4]

2 Another man wrote 'Kaore e ahei ana te whakautu eenei paatai i a au, no te mea, ae, kei koonei ahau e noho ana, ahakoa raa, he Maori tonu ahau' ('I can't answer these questions because, even though I'm living here, I'm still Maori').

3 For example, a survey respondent in Brisbane wrote 'One misconception Maori in NZ have about Maori in Australia, when we go home for holidays, or hui, we are supposed to be "swimming" in money. If we are, we save hard for it, to enable us to come home for visits. We don't go home to "throw" our money in their faces, we go home to share our good fortunes and spend precious time with our whanau.'

4 Carl Walrond, in his piece on 'Māori overseas' in the *Te Ara* online New Zealand encyclopaedia, refers to these as 'playful nicknames' that 'suggest that many Māori are in Australia for good' (see www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/MaoriOverseas/3/en – accessed 15 October 2006). While a man in Queensland wrote 'We are called Mozzies – Maori in Ozzie – I can live with that', my experience was that these epithets are mainly used by Māori in New Zealand and objected to by Māori in Australia. For example, one survey respondent wrote 'There has been some horribly titled documentation of us in Australia i.e A Chas Toogood doco titled "Ngati Ocka" and I think it was a Mana mag article titled "Ngati Kangaroo". I find these kind of titles insulting and derogative. They create a divide between Maori in Australia and NZ'.

PERCEPTION THAT MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA LACK CULTURAL COMMITMENT

Many Māori in Australia report that they feel looked down on by Māori in New Zealand for having chosen to make their life in another country. Their sense is that Māori in New Zealand see them as 'clueless' about Māori culture or as 'plastic' Māori, which seems to mean people who have only a superficial knowledge of or commitment to being Māori or practising Māori culture.[5] In one state capital, those involved in helping to repatriate Māori remains from Australian museums to New Zealand said the entire experience had revealed that Māori in New Zealand regarded them as 'plastic Māori' and poor cultural cousins who could not be trusted to observe proper protocols. In Alice Springs, one man whose first language was te reo said that, when he went home to live in New Zealand after 20 years away, various Māori immediately spoke Māori to him when they heard he had lived in Australia in order to embarrass and belittle him. When he replied in more fluent Māori, they tended to 'scurry away'.[6] He also said one man, who had just arrived in Australia, said to his niece 'Oh, you live here? You must be plastic Māoris', as if the mere act of living in Australia earned you the epithet.

The illogic of the blanket 'plastic Māori' accusation irritates many Māori in Australia. In mid-2006, a heated discussion took place on the www.maori-in-oz.com website forum after someone had posted a claim that there were 'so many plastic maoris' in Australia and suggested that Māori in Australia should 'go home and learn [their] language and culture at home not here'. In response, one forum member observed that a plane trip could not change someone that drastically. Another lamented that it only took living in Australia for six months before you automatically became plastic as far as Māori in New Zealand were concerned.[7]

The way Māori in Australia are viewed by those at home creates something of an inferiority complex, one man told me. He said that, when seeking resources or funding in New Zealand, 'the wall goes up' quite often for Māori living in Australia. He explained that many people 'meekly accept this, because they're conditioned to see themselves as second-class Māori', even if there is no reason why living in Australia should disqualify them. This dynamic also plays out on an intra-Australian basis, it seems. Just as many Māori in New Zealand may look down on Māori in Australia and feel threatened if the latter can speak better reo than they can, so will the same apply at times between those of New Zealand and Australian birth in Australia. One young Australian-born Māori told me that the pride of New Zealand-born Māori is hurt if someone of Australian birth can speak better Māori. 'They think you shouldn't have a clue', he told me.

This sense of inferiority seems to rub off on children: one woman in Sydney told me that she used to hide the fact of her Australian birth by telling people she was from 'up north' (in New Zealand), where her mother was from. Similarly, a man told me that his nine-year-old granddaughter liked to claim she was born in New Zealand so she could be a 'Kiwi' like her koro. I was also told of young Māori in Australia trying to sound and act 'as Māori as possible', even if they have never been to New Zealand.

It is perhaps no wonder that some try to deny their Australian upbringing. A woman I met in Perth said that, despite having been born in New Zealand herself, her cousins in New Zealand mock her for being an 'Aussie' and tell her she is 'up herself'. She had no doubt that, if she moved back to New Zealand, she would 'cop a fair bit of reverse racism'. Similarly, a survey respondent in Brisbane raised mainly in Australia reported that he was accused of 'Thinking too white, dressing too white' when he returned to New Zealand. A couple in New South Wales also told me that their daughter gets picked on a lot when visiting New Zealand because of her Australian accent.[8]

There is no doubt that some Māori in New Zealand write off Māori in Australia as clueless about their culture and as deserters. Some Māori in New Zealand I have spoken to have complained about hapū members in Australia contributing nothing to the upkeep of marae, for example, but then bringing a tūpāpaku home for a tangihanga and expecting everything to be laid on for them. But several Māori in Australia argued to

5 Variations on this I was told of included 'plastic fantastics', 'kia ora Māori', 'fake Māori' and 'rubber-band Māori'.

6 A survey respondent in Sydney told a similar story. She was giving a weaving workshop in New Zealand 'and the kaumatua there said to me that we (Maori in Australia) have a lot to learn about our culture. I thought it ironic he should say that when I (who was from Sydney) was over there at his high school teaching his Maori students how to do our weaving'.

7 See http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/tereomaori.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=919&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=1008&CDir=-1 and http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/tereomaori.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=919&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=1172&CDir=-1 (both accessed 15 October 2006).

8 This is, after all, something that is hard enough for some Māori in Australia to get their heads around: a survey respondent in Sydney wrote 'Im having our first child and am scared hes going to have an Aussie accent ... YUK!!'.

me that many of them did contribute back home and also that Māori in Wellington and Auckland often did not contribute to their home marae either.

A MORE POSITIVE ENVIRONMENT IN AUSTRALIA

In contradiction of the 'plastic Māori' stereotype, many contended that being in the Australian environment actually helps people connect with their taha Māori. Numerous survey respondents and people I met said that they had long taken te reo me ōna tikanga for granted in New Zealand, and it was not until they came to Australia that they really 'found' themselves as Māori. One man said 'you appreciate your Māoriness more' in Australia, while another said 'you become more passionate about who you are'.

For some, this seems to have occurred after an initial period of enjoying being 'free' of Māori culture. As time passes in Australia, I was often told, people feel an ever-greater need to connect or reconnect with their cultural heritage – and, as can be seen from the survey results, Māori in Australia believe they feel this need more keenly than Māori in New Zealand. As a contributor to a www.maori-in-oz.com message board wrote in July 2006, 'If anything coming to another country has strengthened our own ties to Papatuanuku [Earth mother]. No longer do we take for granted what was once right on our doorstep'.[9]

For others, there was more to it than simply being overseas. At one kapa haka group, several people told me that the Māori circles in which they moved in south Auckland condemned those who showed even the remotest inclination to trace their whakapapa or learn te reo. This idea that the attitudes of other Māori may stop you from 'bettering yourself' or getting ahead in life in New Zealand was a common theme (as I have already discussed in chapter 6). For example, a survey respondent in Toowoomba wrote that, in Australia, there was 'No belittling from other Maori because you DON'T drink, smoke, do drugs or associate with gang members', and a woman in Perth wrote 'its not a crime anymore to try and be financially comfortable or to have stability or be intelligent'. Some said that, when they lived in New Zealand, their whānau had accused them of being 'white' or 'Pākehā' if they sought to enlighten themselves or enrich their lives in any way.[10]

Many Māori in Australia contend that it is simply easier or more acceptable to be successful in Australia in general. Again, while I have already addressed this in chapter 6, it is worth reiterating that many people feel that they can 'be themselves' or strive for personal success or pursue opportunities for themselves or their whānau without the fear of negative reactions they might have received in New Zealand. A woman in Sydney wrote 'Having this new bit of confidence and I guess a change in attitude being here has allowed me to dream of success and to start on a business plan for a business venture I've only ever had in my head'. Another survey respondent explained 'me and my whanau are doing a lot better here than we ever did back in Aotearoa, because the attitude here is to success and the opotunities are endless'. Likewise, a woman in north Queensland wrote that, in New Zealand, 'Your down so stay down. Whereas living here in Oz we don't have that pressure on us. We can succeed. And most do!'.

Thus, while it cannot be demonstrated conclusively that Māori have more 'success' in Australia than they do in New Zealand, it is fairly clear that most believe this to be the case. As it happens, survey question 46 asked respondents how they defined 'success'. If anything, this shows that success for Māori in Australia means much more than mere financial achievement.[11]

TABLE 17.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 46 – WHEN YOU THINK OF 'SUCCESS' FOR YOU OR YOUR FAMILY / WHĀNAU, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DO YOU THINK OF? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

Part of life	%
Financial	*86.4*
Social	*69.5*
Cultural	*65.6*
Other	*24.3*

9 See http://groups.msn.com/MaoriInOzPanui-MessageBoard/tereomaori.msnw?action=get_message&ID_Message=919&ShowDelete=0&ID_CLast=964&CDir=-1 (accessed 15 October 2006). Typical survey comments included the following: 'Living in australia gives you more motivation to keep in touch with things maori as it is not always available here as it is in New Zealand'; 'I have found that because I am living in Australia I have had a greater need to find out about my Maori Culture and have had a more active interest in developing my understanding'; and 'When I was living in NZ, I had no interest in my culture, etc. But after a few years in Oz, I find I really miss our culture, our songs, everything about our people'.

10 As another example, a woman in Perth wrote 'i moved from nz because my famly were heavily involed in gangs i always strived to get away and for that i was always knowen as the pakeha one in the family'. A woman in Sydney also wrote that it is much easier to be Māori and gay in Australia.

11 One survey respondent suggested that the 'survey appeared to have a hidden agenda and it came up in several of the questions. There is a perception that maori in Australia are more capitalistic and that is what drives us. I don't know if that perception is fair or correct'.

The 293 respondents who ticked 'other' were asked to elaborate, and 77 wrote 'spiritual' (or similar), 65 happiness or contentment, 41 health or well-being, 32 education and 31 described success as revolving around whānau or family.

The notion that Māori can achieve greater success in Australia is allied to the way Māori in Australia see themselves as much more motivated to get ahead than Māori in New Zealand, as shown in the response to question 32. And, if Māori in Australia sometimes feel looked down on by Māori in New Zealand, many have their own sense of superiority in return. A number of people reported that returning to New Zealand was a 'depressing' experience, with whānau 'stuck in a rut' and unable to shift themselves out of their stasis.[12] A woman in Melbourne put it like this:

> I felt a sense of incredible sadness when I returned back to NZ for the first time since relocating and living in Melbourne. Quite frankly I could not wait to return back to Australia and the incredible sense of guilt I felt about that ... only to discover that other whanau members felt the same way when they return home to NZ. It was like there was a depressive feeling, it is difficult to put into words – that there was little or no change and apparent that change was unlikely to happen for whanau or Maori back home (that was the sadness) and that Maori in NZ could not have what we have here in Australia, because they do not have anything else to compare it to – what they know is what they know, it is their only frame of reference. They know they cannot get a highly paid position, or that managerial positions seem to be too far fetched – 'only for pakehas' type of mentality. And finally Maori too can be there own worst enemy, but I dont think I need to elaborate on that, pakehas do that for us very well.

Some firmly believe, in this regard, that the loss of traditional culture in Australia is much outweighed by the gains and opportunities. As a man put it to me in Perth, 'They know about te reo at home – but about life? Nothing!'. Perhaps in a similar vein, a survey respondent in Melbourne wrote 'Australia will be the home of my children where they have both been born to and I believe they do not need Maori culture for them to get ahead in life'.

Many said they revelled in the need to 'make it on your own two feet'. Success in Australia, they reasoned, was manifestly their own, whereas in New Zealand you were always suspected of having had a hand-out or even – as more than one survey respondent suggested – being a criminal. A number of people told me with pride how they had come to Australia with little and worked hard for what they had. This notion of 'self-made' success is another factor that seems to make some Māori in Australia intolerant of their whanaunga at home (and of Aboriginal Australians, for that matter): one man complained that some of his relations had been on the dole for two generations and 'refuse to help themselves but still feel they have some right to moan'.

LOSING 'THE SHACKLES' – POSITIVE RELATIONS WITH PĀKEHĀ AND OTHER MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

A key difference Māori in Australia stressed to me was how well they get on with Pākehā New Zealanders in Australia.[13] Gone are the politics and the 'wedges' that get driven between Māori and Pākehā at home, they reported, and in their place are the camaraderie and unity that comes from being New Zealanders living together away from home. As a woman on the Gold Coast wrote in her survey comments: 'When we are away from our homeland some things are seen more simply. Their is no Tiriti o Waitangi [Treaty of Waitangi], their is just each other & the desire to make a better life for ourselves'.

I was told that this relationship manifests itself with Māori and Pākehā 'looking out for each other', helping each other out with finding work and attending the same social events. Pākehā seem much more inclined to take an interest in Māori culture, and they attend Waitangi Day events and the like in reasonable if not spectacular numbers. Many Māori enjoy and appreciate this. In fact, from what I was told, it might not be wrong to conclude that nowhere are New Zealand race relations better than in Australia: 'We bond together as Kiwis' was a typical statement. More than one person I met suggested that this may be a factor in so many Māori writing 'New Zealander' only on the Australian census form, as discussed in chapter 5. Some Māori even complained to me that the Te Puni Kōkiri survey neglected Pākehā living in

12 Similarly, Dame Kiri Te Kanawa caused a furore in 2003 when she told the Melbourne *Herald-Sun* newspaper that Māori in New Zealand were lazy and lacking in attitude and pride. 'I see too many living on benefits', she said. 'When they come to Australia, they are completely different, they actually have to work'. Dame Kiri was criticised by various Māori Members of Parliament for being 'uninformed' (see 'Dame Kiri upsets "lazy Maori with no pride"', *Courier-Mail*, 1 March 2003 (Factiva)). Dame Kiri's comments, though, were echoed by some survey respondents. For example, a woman on the Central Coast wrote 'Aussie Maori are more determined to work harder because to move from home (NZ) to here is created by a keen motivation to bring about a change in ones life, and are more prepared to work harder for this then those who choose to stay home and dream only'.

13 A number of people I met used the term 'Pākehā' to apply to white Australians as much as European New Zealanders, but some made a point of distinguishing the two. In fact, some Māori I met used the term 'Kiwis' to refer to Pākehā (they spoke, in other words, about 'Māoris and Kiwis').

Australia. As a woman in Hobart said, 'We're all one big family and they should have been included too'.

I was often told that Māori arriving in Australia from New Zealand come with 'an attitude', a 'chip on their shoulder' or even 'an arrogant swagger', but that they lose this after a while. They realise, people said, that they no longer have to appear so 'staunch' or 'tough' and that they are free, as one man said, of the 'Māori versus Pākehā garbage'. Various people strongly opposed talk of land claims and Treaty grievances in Australia, believing that such matters should be 'left in New Zealand'. One survey respondent said she had become much more relaxed about New Zealand's past, particularly when exposed to the plight of Aboriginal Australians.

Many Māori also reported better relations with each other than in New Zealand. I have already related the belief in a 'tātou tātou' mindset in Australia in chapters 10 and 14, as well the view that Māori hold each other back in New Zealand in chapter 6.[14] Māori in Australia are, according to a woman in Brisbane, 'not so stressed out about cultural and identity issues around being Maori'. I also mention, in chapter 16, the belief in improved relations with Pacific Islanders. In short, as one man put it to me, many Māori in Australia find themselves 'free of the shackles' that go with living in New Zealand.[15]

Some Māori in Australia were quick to argue that there *were* 'plastic' Māori in Australia, who they defined as people who would not say 'kia ora' (hello) or even acknowledge other Māori in the street (many placed great store by such recognition and felt that the failure to at least raise your eyebrows in 'salute' on the street was unforgivable snobbery, even in Sydney[16]). Such aloof Māori were described as stuck-up and haughty and of the view that, because they had come to Australia and done well, they were better than everyone else. There may be a flicker of truth to this characterisation: I met some Māori in Australia who said, for example, they preferred not to socialise with other Māori because they were all so 'clueless about tikanga' or all 'bludgers' or had not progressed sufficiently (as they were still renting houses).

On the flipside, a number of people said that, while Māori success is celebrated more readily in Australia, there was still some of the jealousy and negativity that they had sought to escape from when they left New Zealand. One kaumātua said, in reference to the Māori community in New South Wales, 'if you have Māori eels in your bucket you do not need a lid, because as soon as one tries to climb out the others all pull it back down'. But others argued that 'tall poppy syndrome' was much less prevalent in Australia. They focused instead on the larger relationship between Māori in New Zealand and Māori in Australia, arguing that those in New Zealand are threatened by the success of those in Australia, which is what leads to the 'plastic' and 'rolling in it' tags. As a woman in Cairns suggested to me, 'Māori in New Zealand knock us because they've gone nowhere. They want us to fail, to be like them'.

THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MĀORI IN NEW ZEALAND AND MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

The Australian-resident Māori population will become increasingly dominated, in the future, by Māori born in Australia. Māori in Australia are likely to know less about traditional Māori culture than their New Zealand cousins, and yet they will be materially wealthier. This fact alone will doubtless shift the relationship between Māori in Australia and New Zealand further apart, and possibly even exacerbate some of the divisions. While there are today many examples of close trans-Tasman relationships (such as within whānau and in various sporting and kapa haka tournaments), I sense that there is room for a strengthening of formal relationships – in sport, the arts and business, and between iwi and their members and the New Zealand Government and its citizens. I return to this in my conclusion (chapter 20).

14 The majority opinion was perhaps summed up by one survey respondent, who wrote 'In NZ its sad Maori are their own worst critics they can't stand to see others doing better for themselves they cut their own down and [their own] throats – over here Maori support Maori'.

15 For some, being fair-skinned had also led to a greater degree of acceptance among other Māori in Australia than in New Zealand. They described the attitudes of Māori living in Australia as much less judgemental. But a number of people told me the exact opposite, and it is difficult to draw a conclusion on the matter.

16 A survey respondent wrote that, when meeting Māori in the street, 'the ole raising eyebrows and Kia ora more than often rings out. It can be a total stranger and big smiles are shared. At home, that does not happen very often as it has got compacent'.

CHAPTER 18: DOWNSIDES TO LIFE IN AUSTRALIA AND REASONS FOR RETURN TO NEW ZEALAND

Chapter summary

- Downsides to life for Māori in Australia include apparent overrepresentation in prison and juvenile detention populations and above-average rates of victimisation, as well as the relatively high numbers living in lower socio-economic suburbs beset with social problems.
- Despite assertions that young Māori are more susceptible to 'getting in trouble' in Australia than they would be in New Zealand, there is no clear evidence of this and, in fact, many argue to the contrary.
- Most Māori in Australia intend to return to New Zealand to live, often for cultural reasons.

MĀORI AND CRIME

There are certainly a fair number of Māori in prison in Australia. The Australian Bureau of Statistics classifies inmates by their country of birth in its national prison census, and in 2004 there were 606 prisoners who had been born in New Zealand out of a total of 24,171, representing 2.5% of the total prison population. This compares to 17,954 Australian-born prisoners, 668 born in Vietnam and 638 born in the United Kingdom and Ireland.[1] As a subset of this, in New South Wales, there were an average of 8927 people in full-time custody each day in 2004/05, with 257 (2.9%) of them born in New Zealand.[2] In 1998, according to the Australian Institute of Criminology, the rate of imprisonment of those born in New Zealand (as well as Vietnam, Lebanon, Turkey and 'Oceania – other') exceeded the imprisonment rate for those born in Australia. Prisoners born in New Zealand (along with those born in Australia, the United Kingdom and Ireland) were most commonly imprisoned for violent offences.[3]

From a quick perusal of online sources, I found few figures at youth level, but, in 1993, 3.6% of juveniles on remand in New South Wales were born in New Zealand, which was disproportionately high since the New Zealand-born proportion of the New South Wales youth population was only 1.6%. This seems to have placed young New Zealanders behind only Aborigines (who were 1.7% of the New South Wales youth population and 30% of juveniles on remand), Indo-Chinese (Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian), Pacific Islanders and Lebanese.[4] Country of birth, however, is undoubtedly an unreliable gauge of Māori juvenile delinquency in Australia, given the large proportion of those under 15 born in Australia (see chapters 3 and 4).

1 The source for this is the 2004 Australian Bureau of Statistics report *Prisoners in Australia*, cited in Australian Law Reform Commission, *Federal Prisoners: A Statistical Overview*, http://138.25.65.50/au/other/alrc/publications/reports/103/37.html (accessed 3 August 2006).

2 New South Wales Department of Corrective Services, *Facts & Figures: Corporate research, evaluation & statistics* (6ed), February 2006, www.dcs.nsw.gov.au/information/research_and_statistics/Facts_and_Figures/FactsFigures.pdf (accessed 25 October 2006).

3 Carlos Carcach and Anna Grant, 'Australian corrections: Main demographic characteristics of prison populations', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, Australian Institute of Criminology, April 2000, www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/ti150.pdf (accessed 25 October 2006), pp 5–6.

4 Michael Cain, *Juveniles in Detention: Special needs groups: Young women, Aboriginal and Indo-Chinese detainees*, Department of Juvenile Justice, Information and Evaluation series no. 3, 1994, p 15, www.djj.nsw.gov.au/pdf_htm/publications/research/InformationEvaluationSeriesNo3.pdf (accessed 29 October 2006).

In New Zealand, Māori comprise 50% of the prison population.[5] I asked Māori in senior roles in the Australian corrective services whether they thought the proportion would be similar for New Zealand-born prisoners in Australia, and they felt it probably would be. Of course, some Māori prisoners – like juvenile offenders – will also be counted in the Australian-born inmate figures. I was told that attempts had been made to get the Māori prison population separately identified, but there had so far been no action to achieve this. A Māori senior corrections official suggested:

> More of the Māori in prison here will be New Zealand-born. They come with a dream to get rich and when it's not realised they turn to crime. They meet people in pubs who give them 'jobs' to do. The company people keep is what gets them into trouble. Māori do the enforcing for drug bosses but when they get caught they have to rely on legal aid. The drug bosses can spend money on lawyers. Justice is what you can afford. Māori are always reliant on white Australians to defend them.

The 2002 Ipswich research revealed some worryingly high figures for Māori criminal offending (and Māori victimisation). Table 18.1 shows how the 60 Māori household heads (representing 252 household members) responded when asked whether, during the previous three years, they or any members of their family had been a perpetrator or victim of a range of criminal activity.

TABLE 18.1: MĀORI RESPONSES TO 2002 IPSWICH RESEARCH SURVEY QUESTION ON CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

Category	%
Spent time in police custody	*20.0*
Been a victim of violence	*18.3*
Been a victim of theft	*48.3*
Been fined	*68.0*
Been arrested and charged with a criminal offence	*11.7*
Been found guilty of a criminal offence	*8.3*
Been imprisoned	*10.0*

While it is not clear whether some of the offending might have taken place in New Zealand, the figures are nonetheless high, especially compared to Samoan and Tongan survey respondents. Household heads were also asked to agree or disagree with the statement 'Our family (and Pacific Island Community) is treated fairly by the police and court system'. Only 13.3% of Māori respondents agreed, and 68% disagreed (compared, for example, to 42% of Tongans agreeing and only 6% disagreeing).[6]

It is not uncommon for Australian newspapers to refer to individuals 'of Maori appearance' being wanted for various crimes.[7] In May 2006, the *Bowen Independent* reported that a man whom the judge referred to as 'a leader of the Bowen Maori community' had been given a four-year sentence for trafficking methamphetamines.[8] Māori certainly live in some lower socio-economic areas synonymous with crime. As noted in chapter 4, the two postcode areas with the highest Māori populations in 2001 were Mount Druitt in Sydney and Woodridge in Brisbane. A 2006 story on Mount Druitt in the *Weekend Australian Magazine* reported:

> pockets of the Druitt rate so highly on what you might call the misery index – the statistics on early school leaving, unemployment, mental illness, domestic violence and admissions to prison – that the area is regularly put under the microscope by academics and journalists.[9]

In Brisbane, Woodridge has the same kind of reputation – along with Inala and possibly Goodna, it ranks in most people's estimation as the most impoverished (and dangerous) suburb. After a triple murder of children in a (Samoan) domestic dispute in Woodridge in September 2003, a senior police officer remarked 'The circle of violence must be broken in the greater Woodridge community'.[10] One woman I met in Brisbane said Woodridge was:

> just like Māngere. I'm scared getting off the train there – there are groups of youths just hanging around. A lot of Māori have just slipped into a 'Jake the Muss' lifestyle there and not changed from how they were in New Zealand.[11]

5 Department of Corrections, *Annual Report 1 July 2004–30 June 2005*, www.corrections.govt.nz/public/pdf/annualreports/ar2005-complete.pdf (accessed 29 October 2006, p 18).

6 Shehata (2003), pp 59, 60.

7 See, for example, 'Passenger attacks girl', *Courier-Mail*, 28 June 2006; 'Brutally beaten with bats "for nothing"', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 5 October 2004; and 'Grinning bandit wanted', *Wynnum Herald*, 28 January 2004 (all Factiva).

8 'Maori leader jailed for drug trafficking', *Bowen Independent*, 3 May 2006 (Factiva).

9 'Road to nowhere', *Weekend Australian Magazine*, 20 May 2006.

10 'Circle of violence in Woodridge must be broken', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 12 September 2003 (Factiva).

11 Other Woodridge residents defended its reputation and advised against accepting media stereotypes. It is certainly a more pleasant-looking suburb than its reputation suggests.

In a similar vein, a survey respondent in Melbourne suggested that '30% [of Maori in Australia] live exactly like Jake & Beth Heke'.

PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH AT RISK

A key factor cited to me as creating problems for Māori in Australia was the lack of wider whānau support structures. A number of people involved in social work remarked that Māori parents come to Australia and work hard but, without a supportive extended family around them, their children are very susceptible to 'going off the rails'. The transient or remote nature of some Māori employment in Australia may be another destabilising factor in domestic life. In Western Australia, for example, I was told that many fathers are absent for three weeks of every month, working 'swings' in the mines, or for even longer periods on fishing boats. One person suggested that such absences were also sometimes a factor in marriage breakups or suicides.

Many people said to me that there was more scope for kids to get in trouble in Australia than in New Zealand, with more temptations. For example, in Melbourne and Sydney, I was told of young Māori getting involved in dealing drugs, including heroin. In Brisbane, I heard of Māori youths in street gangs, skipping school, sniffing paint and ending up at the youth detention centre at Wacol. People said that rangatahi had much less respect for their elders than in New Zealand, where a stronger whānau discipline operates and kids are thereby taught more social responsibility.

Another factor cited to me as creating problems for youth is the sense of cultural disconnection that comes from living in Australia. A New Zealand-born psychologist I met, who works with prisoners in Brisbane, said there was much more likelihood of young Māori getting in trouble in Australia because they look different and do not have a strong sense of their own identity. They are also bigger physically than other Australians and, in the circumstances, easily get into trouble, doing the 'enforcing' for others and being more likely to get caught. One motivation for the 2002 Ipswich research was that, according to those involved in local law enforcement, 'young Pacific Islanders were increasingly in trouble with the police; there was a rise in youth delinquency, most likely due to pressures of living in two cultures and pressures at school'.[12]

I discuss in chapters 8 and 16 the identity issues that confront young Māori born or raised in Australia. The problem, as a man in Sydney wrote, is that there are 'rangatahi who see themselves not as Maori, not as New Zealanders and who may or may not identify with being Australian. It is often more a "stateless" thing or about being in a kind of limbo'.

In many parts of Australia – Adelaide, Brisbane, Kalgoorlie, the Central Coast – I heard anecdotally of unacceptably high rates of Māori suicide, which people tended to blame on cultural disconnection, identity issues, isolation and lack of support structures, as outlined above. I have not been able to trace any data on Māori suicide rates in Australia, and it is likely that what statistics are kept will be for the New Zealand-born rather than for the Māori ethnic group.[13]

For every person who felt that there were more opportunities for young Māori to go off the rails in Australia, I seemed to meet someone with the opposite view. A Māori police officer in Queensland said that, while there definitely was potential for kids to get in trouble in Australia, it was in fact much worse in New Zealand. Similarly, another woman in Brisbane was adamant that there was less scope for going off course in Australia because there were so many more opportunities for young people to participate in activities that would keep them out of trouble. A man in Adelaide added that the absence of Māori gangs meant there were fewer temptations, and a woman in Townsville could not accept that there would be a higher rate of Māori suicide in Australia, given what she described as the 'terrible' life for so many in New Zealand of drugs, alcohol and violence.

I suspect that caution is required when considering whether young Māori are more vulnerable to crime and suicide in Australia than in New Zealand. The matter would certainly benefit from further research.[14] It may well be that there is equal opportunity to go wrong. As a Māori with a senior

12 Shehata (2003), p 8.

13 A 1990 University of New South Wales doctorate by Perminder Sachdev, *Studies in Maori Ethnopsychiatry*, had a chapter on Māori in Sydney. While I have not been able to obtain a copy, I understand that Sachdev intended to study 'the psychological and cultural impact on the New Zealand Maori of migration to Australia' (see 'Migration experiences of the Maori in Australia', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(5), May 1989, p 2).

14 If research already exists on this topic (other than what may appear within the 1990 Sachdev thesis), I am unaware of it. I suspect there may be very little, given the tendency of so much analysis of the Māori population to be carried out on a national basis in New Zealand, rather than in terms of Māori as a transnational community. As noted in chapter 9, a man in Sydney suggested to me that the New Zealand Government should establish a research institute in Australia to look at issues such as comparative rates of suicide among Māori youth in New Zealand and Australia.

position in the New South Wales prison system told me:

> Sadly, there are equal opportunities for Māori to go off the rails here and in New Zealand. The results are the same, even if how the kids get there is very different. In New Zealand Māori kids get into drugs via their own whānau, in gangs. In Australia the bikie gangs control amphetamines, the Asians heroin, the Columbians cocaine, and the Europeans ecstasy. But it makes its way to Māori kids all the same.

A man in Sydney active in social work involving young Māori also suggested that it was short-sighted to focus only on the opportunities for rangatahi to get into trouble in Australia. From his perspective:

> Parents come here, get work, and get paid well, but they don't spend it wisely. The distractions for the parents are worse than for the youth. At home on benefit day everyone was drinking in the pubs – that's the culture. Here that culture has continued, except it's on pay day, and your pay packet can be $1000. People have three-day parties, or go gambling – Sydney is 24/7. So don't look at the kids – the problems start with the parents.

LACK OF SUPPORT FOR MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

Another downside to life for Māori in Australia is the relative lack of support services that are aimed specifically at their needs. Obviously, in New Zealand, there are numerous Māori social and community workers, or Māori-focused health and psychiatric services and so on. In Australia, there is barely anything. In fact, a 'Maori family worker' I met in Sydney, Bronwyn Hadife (who works out of the Canterbury-Bankstown Migrant Resource Centre in a pilot scheme funded by the New South Wales Department of Community Services), suspected that she might be the first person ever employed to work specifically with the Māori community by the Australian Government. From the social problems she had witnessed in the Māori community, she felt there was a desperate need for more Māori working within the system (such as in schools, hospitals, the courts and prisons), as social workers and counsellors.

This lack of support – as well as the lack of inclination to accept what support is on offer (see below) – probably means that life in Australia can be much tougher when things do not go according to plan. A survey respondent in Sydney wrote:

> I feel strongly that when our people experience troubles over here, we are often worse off as there are not support systems or services in place that recognize or understand our culture and therefore our people do not always utilize the available supports, and things do not get better.

She echoed the views of Bronwyn Hadife by adding 'We need more of our people in positions of the community services in Australia to address issues relating to health, education, justice and mental health'.

The theme of Māori not accessing available mainstream support services was one I heard often in Australia. Some suggested it was because Māori do not see themselves as immigrants (a point I have made elsewhere), or because they – like other New Zealanders – have a stubborn pride about making it on their own in Australia and not being a 'sponge'. Something of this attitude can be found in an editorial in the *Kiwi Cooee* in 1989. In response to the claims of a new Māori organisation, Te Iwi Māori Inc, that it was approaching the New South Wales State Government to secure funding for a community centre, the paper wrote:

> Forget about begging. By all means have administration bodies, present a united front, retain our valued culture but, let's show strength of character, a dignity and pride in our independence by what we can achieve through work, industriousness and perseverance.

The editor suggested that 'many of the ethnic groups who receive government subsidies are classified, rightly or wrongly, as disadvantaged peoples … Maoris can in no way be likened to these peoples'.[15] A Te Iwi Māori leader told Paul Bergin:

> These people who say you shouldn't take state assistance, I bet when their children leave school and don't have any jobs they'll be the first ones to go and pick up the dole! And some of the older critics of state assistance, I bet they'll be looking forward to their pension! I've never been keen on handouts but we've got as much right as any other ethnic group to get some return on the taxes we pay! [16]

15 'Readers worry about new organisations', *Kiwi Cooee*, 2(6), June 1989, pp 1–2. The editor of the *Kiwi Cooee* was, at the time, promoting a Coogee licensed club as a cultural and community centre for New Zealanders.

16 Quoted in Bergin (1998), p 144.

A Māori community leader I met in Melbourne suggested that Māori who eschew Government support 'cut off their nose to spite their face'.

Māori in Australia who cannot find support (either from whānau or community services), or who choose not to make use of what is on offer, can end up effectively 'stuck', as several people put it to me. In Brisbane, I was told, anecdotally, of Māori who wished to go home but could not save the money to do so. An elderly woman I met in New South Wales was desperate to return to New Zealand but had no money and few members of her whānau left alive in her home town. Bronwyn Hadife told me she had come across 10 elderly Māori men living in a house together and not looking after themselves. 'This doesn't happen with our people!', she said. She added that some Māori return to New Zealand with a sense of failure because of the lack of support they have had. Others will stubbornly not go back to New Zealand without having 'made it', in case they are viewed as failures, and thus carry on in increasingly desperate circumstances in Australia.

Overall, Bronwyn Hadife believes that Māori in Australia are 'succeeding financially but failing in identity and cohesion'. The latter, she told me, 'outweighs the financial success, because it impacts on more people'. Others agreed that Māori in Australia are too focused on making money and pay less attention, as a result, to the well-being of their children or the cohesion of their communities. A survey respondent in Melbourne wrote 'As a maori living in Australia I have become rich with finance and poor in whanau affair[s]'. Similarly, a man in Sydney wrote:

> I feel that because of the fast pace of life and the general social pressure to amass wealth and material things, that australia is not a good long term home for maori. i myself feel that the longer i stay here the less maori i feel. perhaps due to the fact that to have any decent kind of lifestyle, one must work hard and long. the cost of living is high. doing this takes time away from whanau, and friends, and sets a pattern of action that slowly turns you into the 'average white australian' that is, a nuclear family, that is somewhat isolated, or maybe insulated is a better word.

There are clearly real social problems that arise from living in a new country, with a somewhat different culture, and often residing in 'sprawling soulless suburbia that works against the development of any sense of "community"', as one Queensland Government official described the outer-southern suburbs of Brisbane to me. Again, however, it would be prudent to exercise caution about whether these social problems are actually worse than those Māori experience in New Zealand. On balance, a clear majority of Māori felt their lives had significantly improved in Australia. Perhaps the risks are simply the inevitable flipside of the opportunities Australia offers.

INCLINATION TO RETURN TO NEW ZEALAND (SURVEY RESULTS)

Survey question 49 asked 'Do you think that you will live in New Zealand (again) some day?'. A significant majority of survey respondents said that they definitely or probably would, as set out in table 18.2.

TABLE 18.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 49 – DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL LIVE IN NEW ZEALAND (AGAIN) SOME DAY?

Category	%
Definitely	*36.0*
Probably	*26.2*
Don't know	*14.3*
Probably not	*19.6*
Definitely not	*3.7*

When respondents are broken down into age groups, some trends are discernible. Generally, those in the younger age brackets were the most inclined to return to New Zealand to live and those aged over 55 were more inclined to remain in Australia. Those aged 15–24 were slightly less definite about returning to New Zealand than those aged 25–34, perhaps because the former may have included some who arrived in Australia as children or adolescents and thus had spent more formative years in Australia. Younger respondents were less likely to be unsure, with the proportion of 'don't know' being only 10.3% for those aged 15–24. This proportion rose in the next three age brackets, and was highest for those in mid-life (the 45–54 age group). The results are set out in table 18.3.

TABLE 18.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 49 – DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL LIVE IN NEW ZEALAND (AGAIN) SOME DAY?, BY AGE RANGE

Age range	Definitely	Probably	Don't know	Probably not	Definitely not
	%	%	%	%	%
15-24	*36.8*	*33.1*	*10.3*	*18.4*	*1.5*
25-34	*41.7*	*23.9*	*12.7*	*18.4*	*3.3*
35-44	*35.4*	*28.3*	*13.6*	*19.5*	*3.2*
45-54	*33.5*	*25.7*	*17.8*	*20.4*	*2.6*
55-64	*32.3*	*23.4*	*16.9*	*17.7*	*9.7*
64+	*19.5*	*19.5*	*17.1*	*36.6*	*7.3*

Surprisingly, Australian birth does not appear to be a significant factor for survey respondents answering question 49. While the sample (56 people) is admittedly very small, 51.8% of the Australian-born Māori said they definitely or probably would live in New Zealand some day (as opposed to 62.3% of all respondents), and 30.4% said they definitely or probably would not (as opposed to 23.4%). It is possible, of course, that the Australian-born who completed the survey were often the children of those first-generation migrants who are relatively active in the Māori community. As I have mentioned elsewhere, I met a number of young Australian-born Māori who identified much more as New Zealanders than Australians.

The more telling statistic comes from looking at both intention to return to New Zealand and take-up of Australian citizenship.

TABLE 18.4: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 49 – DO YOU THINK YOU WILL LIVE IN NEW ZEALAND (AGAIN) SOME DAY?, BY CITIZENSHIP OF NEW ZEALAND-BORN RESPONDENTS

Age range	Definitely	Probably	Don't know	Probably not	Definitely not
	%	%	%	%	%
Australian citizens	*24.6*	*23.8*	*20.6*	*24.2*	*6.9*
Non-citizens	*39.8*	*26.7*	*12.3*	*18.0*	*2.8*

As indicated in chapter 8, only 22.3% of New Zealand-born respondents arriving before 2005 reported that they had taken out Australian citizenship. Of these, significantly fewer were inclined to return to live in New Zealand. The contrast with non-Australian citizens is set out in table 18.4.

My conclusion from this (as well as from comments made by interviewees around Australia) is that taking out Australian citizenship is more than just a pragmatic act for many Māori, even though it does offer rights and opportunities denied to non-citizens. It is something many do when they feel committed to Australia as their new permanent home (see chapter 8).

As noted in chapter 7, better employment in Australia is not a significant factor in the intention to return to New Zealand or not. Better finances are slightly more likely to influence Māori in Australia not to return, but, again, only marginally. The situation is the same for those 315 people reporting a worse or much worse 'cultural life'[17], whose intention to return was barely different to the overall survey response.

Overall, the results for question 49 probably show that more Māori emigrants want to return to New Zealand than their Pākehā counterparts. That is because the degree of intention to return among Māori in Australia goes against the general pattern, which shows that New Zealand migrants to Australia are more likely to settle permanently than those migrating to other parts of the world, particularly the United Kingdom.[18] For example, as the numbers of New Zealand citizens moving to Australia rose steadily in the 1990s, the numbers returning to New Zealand from Australia steadily declined. That is because New Zealanders tend to move to Australia for economic and lifestyle reasons, more than for a 'working holiday'. An early 1990s survey of returning migrants by Jacqueline Lidgard revealed that three-quarters of those travelling to the United Kingdom were primarily motivated by the desire to travel. The corresponding figure for Australia was only 30%.[19]

The high degree of Māori returning to New Zealand (or, at least, intending to return) is illustrated by comparing the Te Puni Kōkiri survey results with those of the Kea survey, which was introduced in chapter 6. Table 18.5 sets out the response to Kea's question 'Which of these best describes your future plans?'. Given its similarity with the question posed

17 These individuals will include many who reported better employment and finances (a poorer 'cultural life' is far from incompatible with this).

18 Obviously, visa restrictions in the United Kingdom limit the amount of time most New Zealanders can live there.

19 Jacqueline Lidgard, 'Neglected international migrants: A study of returning New Zealanders', *Population Review*, 19(1&2), 1993, p 110.

TABLE 18.5: COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS IN KEA SURVEY AND TE PUNI KŌKIRI SURVEY ABOUT INTENTIONS TO RETURN TO NEW ZEALAND

Kea survey – 'Which of these best describes your future plans?'			Te Puni Kōkiri survey – 'Do you think that you will live in New Zealand (again) some day?'	
	%			%
I will return to NZ permanently	22.5		Definitely	*36.0*
I am likely to return to New Zealand permanently	27.4		Probably	*26.2*
I have not yet decided whether to return to NZ permanently	26.6	32.2	Don't know	*14.3*
I don't know	5.6			
I am likely to remain overseas permanently	14.1		Probably not	*19.6*
I will be remaining overseas permanently	3.8		Definitely not	*3.7*

to Māori in Australia at the same time, I have included the Te Puni Kōkiri survey results alongside for a point of comparison.

This shows that Māori in Australia – despite it being a country to which New Zealanders tend to migrate permanently – are much more set on returning to New Zealand than predominantly professional, Pākehā New Zealanders spread throughout the world (including many in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, who will be required to return to New Zealand because of visa restrictions, in any event). In other words – and this should probably come as no surprise – Māori overseas appear to feel the pull of home stronger than other New Zealanders. This is obviously because of the dimension of being indigenous: of having Māori land interests, of having the cultural inheritance of a language and culture found only in New Zealand, and of having both New Zealand-specific cultural connections to place and kinship connections to iwi (as well, for that matter, as social obligations to whānau).

WHY MĀORI INTEND TO RETURN TO NEW ZEALAND

Many Māori told me they would much prefer to live in New Zealand and would be 'home tomorrow if the money was the same', as a woman at the Waitangi Day festival in Merrylands told me. A number of people portrayed their circumstances as almost akin to forced exile – they had not wanted to leave New Zealand, but economic necessity had left them with no real choice in the matter. Rather than talk about the factors that kept them living in Australia, many explained instead that there was 'no incentive' to go home or 'nothing to go home to'.

Nevertheless, many Māori return to New Zealand, either long term or for regular short-term visits. Seeing or looking after whānau is a common motivation. For some, there are also practical reasons for their return. They may have kept to their plan of a 'working holiday' and come to the end of that period, or saved sufficient money for a house deposit at home, or gone home for retirement. Some – who have refused to become Australian citizens – can study more cheaply in New Zealand before returning to Australia to work with their new qualification. Some also inherit Māori landholdings and wish to develop them. Others return periodically to New Zealand from places like Brisbane to escape the heat. It is not uncommon, I was told, for the elderly to spend the hottest few months every summer at home in New Zealand with their whānau. As one woman in Brisbane told me, 'You can then tell when it's starting to get cool in New Zealand when you see the nannies arriving back at Brisbane Airport'.

As noted, however, there is obviously an important cultural imperative motivating Māori to return to New Zealand. Some return for the sake of their children, so that the latter may experience the same marae-based or culturally focused upbringing as their parents. This phenomenon of the return migration of young family groups is perhaps illustrated by the rise in the number of Australian-born Māori children (those aged under 15) in New Zealand from 1113 in 1986, to 2859 in 2001.[20] And if Māori teenagers are sometimes sent to Australia by their parents to escape the influence of P and other drugs in New Zealand, as I related in chapter 6, they may pass at the airport Australian Māori teenagers being sent to secondary school in New Zealand to give them a 'dose of Māori culture'

20 This long-term upward trend masks a slight fall in the total between 1996 (2934 children) and 2001, which may reveal an overall decrease in return migration. See Department of Statistics, 'Māori in Australia', www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/maori/maori-in-aus.htm (accessed 21 July 2005) for the 1986 and 1996 figures. The 2001 figure is from the 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand.

or a 'taste of growing up in New Zealand'. I met several people who had sent their children (or been sent themselves) to Māori boarding schools such as St Stephens, Te Aute and Turakina Girls' College, or mainstream schools such as Palmerston North Boys High (because there were relations there for their teenagers to board with).

Others had similar culturally oriented reasons for returning to New Zealand. A man in a Western Australian town, for example, wanted to go home to New Zealand to learn te reo Māori because his father did not have long to live and he wished to be able to stand and speak for his whānau when the time came. A man in Perth told me how his (Australian-born) daughter had returned to New Zealand to learn te reo at the age of 18, and was still there six years later. Another woman raised in Perth had also spent two years in New Zealand from the age of 18 on a kind of 'cultural sabbatical'.

Manuhuia Barcham, in explaining the growing phenomenon in New Zealand of Māori return migration to tribal areas from the cities, has suggested that a key reason is cultural. Some Māori move to areas of relatively higher unemployment, he has suggested, because of the desire to help in the ongoing revitalisation of traditional Māori social and political organisations, and to ensure that their children and grandchildren are able to 'partake of the cultural, social and economic opportunities that these developments represent'.[21] Whereas Barcham was writing about internal New Zealand migration, his comments will undoubtedly also apply to a number of Māori returning from Australia.

Other reasons for return trips may relate to the steadfast determination many Māori in Australia feel to remain New Zealanders and not let themselves start to feel 'at home' in Australia. A woman in Geraldton told me she made a point of returning to New Zealand twice a year, and a group of elders in Melbourne told me that it was important to go home regularly to 'rejuvenate the taha wairua [spiritual side]'. In *Shearers' Motel*, a Māori shearer called Oxley resists 'the claims of Australia by going home to New Zealand every year to keep up his attitude'.[22]

21 Barcham (2004), pp 172–173.
22 McDonald (2001), p 278.

CHAPTER 19:
THE POUTAPU WHĀNAU – A CASE STUDY

Chapter summary

- The Poutapu whānau has moved to Australia en masse to take advantage of working opportunities and to keep the whānau together.
- They have appreciated the material advancement living in Australia has provided, and have encouraged friends and whānau to move across the Tasman to join them.
- At the same time, they have remained firmly committed to New Zealand, and a number of whānau members are determined to return to New Zealand so they and their children can have better access to Māori language and culture, marae life and a broader kin network.

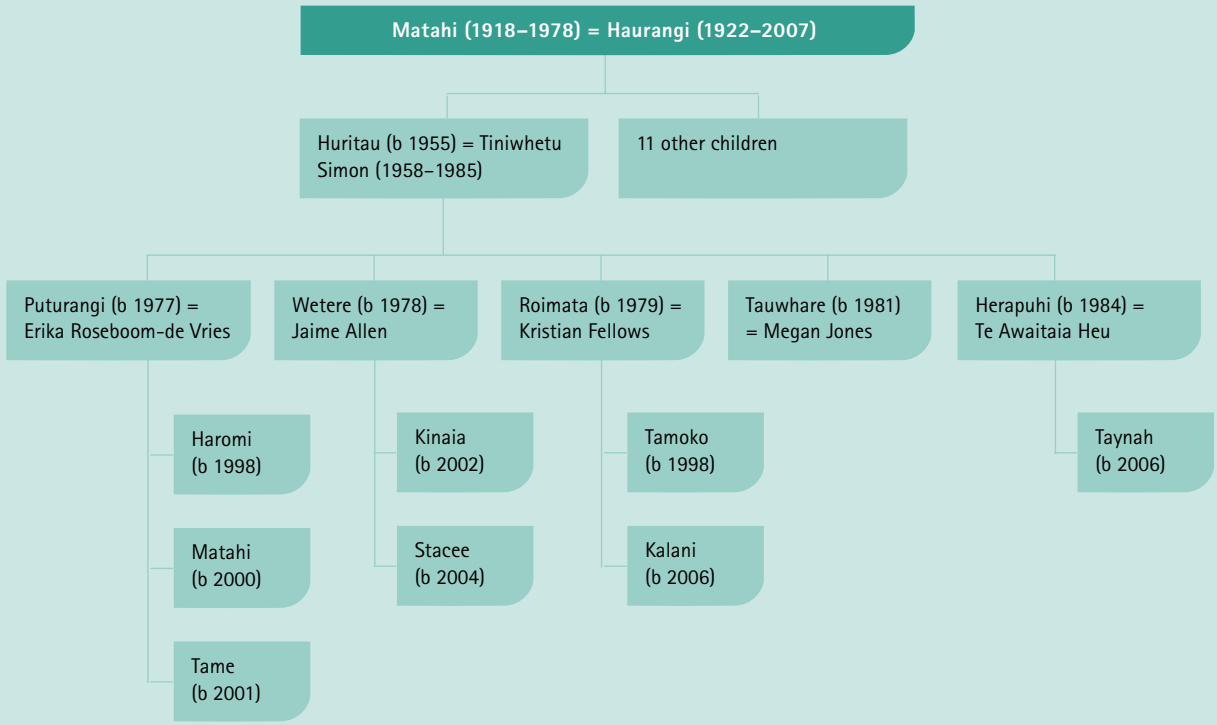
In researching a profile of the Māori community in Australia, I interviewed or met several hundred Māori around the country. In Brisbane, however, I had the opportunity to spend sufficient time with one particular whānau to hear a more personal and in-depth story of the move to Australia. That family was the whānau of Huritau (Harry) Poutapu, who are the subject of this case study. I do not claim that the Poutapu whānau are representative of the Māori community in Australia, but many of the themes of this report are illustrated by their experience of moving there. This is their story.

THEIR NEW ZEALAND BACKGROUND

The Poutapu whānau hails from Ngāruawāhia in the Waikato. The family name is closely associated with Tūrangawaewae Marae and the Kīngitanga (King Movement) – Harry's father Matahi, uncle Piri and aunt Rangitaua all dedicated their lives to the movement. The five Poutapu children are Ngāti Korokī through Harry and Ngāti Te Ata and Ngāti Whawhaakia through their late mother Tiniwhetu (Tini).

Harry was born in Waiuku in 1955, the third-youngest of 12 children of Matahi and Haurangi Poutapu. The family lived on a 70-acre block at Waiuku, allocated to them by Te Puea Herangi. From a young age – as early as five or six – Harry shared the work of milking cows and feeding calves, and came to loathe it. From the farm at Waiuku, he could see the lights of Auckland city and airport in the distance and dreamed as a 12 year old of running away. 'I never had the balls though', he laughs. Getting away from milking the cows was an incentive to do well at school – he received the necessary School Certificate grades to get accepted as a Māori Affairs trade trainee in 1972.

FIGURE 19.1: THE POUTAPU WHĀNAU



The electrical trade traineeship led to Harry being placed in a job at the Horotiu Freezing Works, just south of Ngāruawāhia, in 1973. He has long remained grateful for the opportunity and would like to promote trade training to young Māori, believing there is too much emphasis today on university qualifications and not enough on manual skills. Harry's trade traineeship was, until quite recently, the only qualification gained by any of the 12 siblings in his family. It allowed him 'to put bread and butter on the table' but also to serve the Kīngitanga in a practical way, through volunteering his services to the marae. 'My father saw the benefits in me getting a trade and helping the people', he explains. 'I helped out at hui for the Kīngitanga, for Te Ata [Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the late Māori Queen], and for the Poutapu family name'.

Harry married Tini Simon in 1976 and they began a family in 1977 with the arrival of Puturangi (Putu), followed by Wetere in 1978, Roimata in 1979, Tauwhare in 1981 and Herapuhi (Hera) in 1984. Tragedy struck the young family in 1985 when Tini – a chronic asthmatic – died in a severe asthma attack. Other whānau members offered to take the children but Harry was determined to raise them himself, which he did in the house he and Tini had built just before she died. If she had not been taken from them so early, Harry reflects, he is sure they would have gone on to have at least two more children. Harry threw himself into the task of being a solo father, getting heavily involved in both Horotiu Primary School and Ngāruawāhia High School (and receiving awards for his contributions to both). The family struggled to make ends meet on Harry's benefit: 'It was a lot of love that got us through', he reflects. They were also at the marae almost daily, with the children sometimes suggesting to Harry that he might as well move in.

As the kids got older, Harry returned to the workforce and, by 1998, he was bussing daily to Tokoroa for electrical work on the upgrade of the Kinleith pulp and paper mill. He had tried setting up his own business in the mid-90s, but had found it hard to get continuity and was competing with too many other electricians. Putu and Wetere were working alongside Harry at Kinleith in 1998 as his trade assistants, Putu having dropped out of business studies at university when his partner Erika (Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Kahungunu and Dutch) became pregnant in 1997 (they married in 1998, the day before the unexpectedly early arrival of Harry's first grandchild, Haromi). Also working as a trade assistant there was Roimata's partner Kristian Fellows (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Pākehā). Suddenly, though, in mid-July 1998, they were all made redundant within a week of each other. 'I was quite shocked', recollects Harry. 'I was a good worker, a good leading man. The money was good. I didn't see it coming – I thought it'd come later'.

Faced with unemployment, Harry cast around for the possibilities of finding work, but his prospects were not good – there seemed to be few opportunities for electricians at the time. He thought about his friend from Ngāruawāhia, Kevin Gray, who now lived in Brisbane. He had sometimes asked Kevin about Australia, out of curiosity, but had never seriously contemplated moving there. Now things moved fast: Harry felt 'too proud to go on the dole', Kevin made the offer for him to come and stay, and, by 2 August, Harry was on a plane to Brisbane.

The decision, however, was far from straightforward. Harry felt tremendous guilt about leaving his home, the Kīngitanga and the land he loved. He knew he had all the right reasons to go – for the family's sake – but it felt wrong spiritually. He came up, however, with a way of rationalising it to himself:

> I realised that I was like my tūpuna, moving across the oceans like those who left Raiātea. An island can only support so many people. I haven't run away – this is how I look at it. I had to go. I needed to put my move to Australia in that kind of perspective to give me peace of mind. Finding that answer made me stronger. Some say 'Why did you jump off the sinking ship?' and I explain it that way. It wasn't about me – it was for the kids.

Before leaving, Harry talked to his children, to Tini's parents and sisters, and to his own sisters, and they all (apart from daughter Hera) said he should take the chance and go. Without the blessing of whānau, he would not have left, he says. He made sure he bought a return ticket, though, in case things did not work out.

THE WHĀNAU'S ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

Harry had never been to Australia before and had no idea of what to expect. He was particularly shocked by the pace of the Brisbane traffic: 'I was spinning out, thinking "I'm not driving – no way"'. He moved into Kevin Gray's house in Algester, where he boarded for five months. That first weekend, Kevin bought the Saturday paper and Harry registered straight away with five recruitment agencies. He got work through two of them, and found a house to rent in Runcorn, ready for the arrival of the rest of the family. And they did arrive, in a classic chain migration, after Harry's forward reconnaissance had secured a base. On 13 December 1998, Putu, Erika, Haromi and Hera all arrived, followed on 14 February 1999 by Wetere, Jaime and Tauwhare. The following month, Roimata arrived with Tamoko, who had been born shortly after Harry's departure from New Zealand, with Kristian the last to arrive in April. Once everyone had found work, the whānau moved from Runcorn to a large house in Eight Mile Plains, where they paid $60 a week per couple.

Harry's main objective had been to keep the whānau together. After two or three months in Australia without his children, he was on the verge of 'packing it in' and flying home. Putu says that Harry 'said enough to show that he was desperate. If we hadn't booked our flights he'd have come home, and the opportunity for him and all of us would have been lost'. Harry feels he owes his biggest thanks to Erika, because her willingness to go to Australia was critical to the whānau staying together. But Erika did not need to be asked twice; as she explains, 'Having a baby made it an easy choice. We'd started a family and it was vital to get good work and get ahead'. Putu had the same motivation. He felt the work outlook for him in New Zealand was much worse than for Harry, and he really wanted to avoid resorting to the dole.

The others had mixed reasons and incentives for moving to Australia, although keeping the whānau together was a key factor for everyone (and was decisive in settling any anxiety about the move). Wetere, then 20, had mainly been on the dole since leaving school, and Harry's redundancy put him back there. He knew that Harry's move to Australia would open up employment opportunities for him, but he also felt ready for a change. Jaime (Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tūwharetoa) had just finished school and wanted to 'get out and see what was out there'. Roimata was motivated above all by being with the rest of her whānau, while Kristian contemplated a working holiday of a year or so. Tauwhare and Hera, who were still at school, had no choice but to follow their father. Hera says she was 'rebellious about it – I simply didn't want to go. The opportunities never occurred to me at that age'.

Several of the whānau had already had a taste of Australia. Wetere had spent six months with Harry's brother-in-law in Sydney in 1996, and Putu and Erika had had a three-month working holiday there in the summer of 1996–97. Roimata had stayed with Wetere in Sydney during the school holidays. They mainly found Sydney too big, chaotic and hectic, and it failed to whet anyone's appetite to live there. But the experience did make them all appreciate the working opportunities that appeared to exist across the Tasman.

By February 1999, Harry had begun his first 'fly-in, fly-out' work at an ammonium nitrate plant at Moura, some 200 kilometres west of Gladstone, a working life of three-week 'swings' in the bush that has characterised his time in Australia. He currently works at a power station at Weipa near the northern tip of the Cape Yorke Peninsula, returning

to Brisbane for one week in four. 'Who'd have thought', he marvels, 'that a Māori Affairs trade trainee would end up flying around Australia on giant construction jobs?'. Putu initially got work in a flour mill, Wetere unloading trucks at Toll, Jaime doing administration at a customs broking firm, Erika also working in administration as a temp, and Kristian as a wharfie. Roimata stayed at home to look after Haromi and Tamoko.

AUSTRALIA AS A LAND OF OPPORTUNITIES

The whānau all agree that the move to Australia was the right one for them. Harry says that the children all thank him for bringing them over and giving them the opportunities they have today. Roimata believes that, if she had stayed in New Zealand, she would still be in training or tertiary education 'because once you get a qualification you can't get a job'. She says some contemporaries back home are 'still stuck in a rut, in dead-end training or not working at all'.

They have all grown to love Brisbane: Putu considers it 'the best place to live in Australia, the friendliest, the most laid-back', while Roimata sees it as a 'great place to live and raise kids'. Even Hera, after her initial opposition to coming, 'grew to love the shops, the palm trees, the sun, Southbank – being from Ngāruawāhia it was all pretty cool'. Tauwhare was at first quite homesick, but finally began to feel at home after a couple of years.

Those who had entered the workforce in New Zealand before leaving (including Erika, who had worked part-time as a university student) have found the wages higher in Australia and the prospects for advancement brighter. Putu now works as a waterproofer for a wet-sealing business, Erika as a financial coordinator in a government department (she was part-way through an accountancy degree when Haromi was born and is completing her studies in Australia), Wetere as a truck driver (still at Toll, where he has been able to up-skill and move into new roles) and Kristian as a watersider.[1]

For those who were still at school in New Zealand when they left, work in Australia has been easy to come by. Until the arrival of Taynah, Hera was working in dispatch at a surfwear business. Tauwhare and his partner Megan both work the night-shift as Ingham's poultry factory, a common place for young Māori moving to Brisbane to find their first job (Roimata and Hera have also worked there). Jaime is not sure whether it has been better work-wise than at home, but thinks 'There's more opportunity to get work here, and that's given me more drive and motivation'.

Australia has offered the Poutapu whānau the opportunity for greater material advancement. Home ownership, for example, had been a big motivation for Putu and Erika after Haromi was born. While the rest of the whānau are still renting or living with relations, Putu and Erika now own their own home, in Springwood, bought in 2002 in part with $7000 they received from the Australian Government as first-home buyers. It has two storeys and a pool. Putu says, when he was growing up in Ngāruawāhia, he walked to school every day past a two-storey house with a pool, and told himself that he would have one like it one day. While they struggled at first when they arrived in Australia – Putu worked 12-hour days (for the overtime) for six months at the flour mill, followed by two years labouring for a company making electrical components for power lines – they feel relatively prosperous today. 'We would never have imagined in our wildest dreams we'd have what we've got now', Erika says. 'Every day in this house we reflect that coming here was the best thing we've ever done', says Putu.

The opportunities Australia has provided have led all the whānau to encourage friends and relations to come and join them. Harry says he employs an 'open-door policy', with his nieces and nephews welcome to come for three months rent-free until they establish themselves in work.[2] Putu applies the same principles, and describes this exercise of manaakitanga (hospitality) as a key aspect of being Māori. Through encouragement, Harry, his five children, the three partners at the time and the first two grandchildren have now been followed to Australia by:

- Erika's mother, father and sister (who arrived in 2000)
- Kristian's father and brother (2000)
- Jaime's brother and his partner (2001 – they have a son, born in 2002)
- Harry's sister Lois (2003)
- Jaime's mother and father (2004)
- Tini's brother Clarkie, his wife Chrissie and their son (2005)
- a cousin, Chantelle, her partner and their two children (2005).[3]

1 At present, Roimata and Jaime are at home looking after children.

2 Harry has at least 50 nieces and nephews.

3 Another cousin, Amy, her partner Pakihana and their son Te Pouakai (born 2005) moved to Brisbane in 2004 from Sydney, where they had been living for five years.

Together with Harry's six mokopuna born in Australia[4], we can therefore count a further 33 people who are in Australia and not New Zealand as a result of Harry's 1998 departure. Megan, who like Tauwhare moved to Brisbane in 1999 (but did not meet him until 2004), has also subsequently been joined in Australia by her mother, father and sister. Some have not come, of course; Jaime says she used to encourage friends to come over for a look but eventually gave up because no-one did. And Kristian and Roimata have gone cold on the idea of rolling out the welcome mat after one guest outstayed their welcome and then just went home to New Zealand.

THE PULL OF HOME

Despite the many advantages they see in living in Australia (for example, the weather, the shopping and the sporting opportunities for the children), there are things that the Poutapu whānau regret that they are missing out on. The siblings contrast the upbringing they had – always playing at the marae, with aunties and uncles all around, hearing Māori spoken and sung regularly – with the experiences of their own children. Haromi, for example, came home from daycare and asked her parents 'What's a Māori?'. Putu says she knew, of course, that she was Māori, but she did not really understand what that meant. He says that he and Erika realised:

> The kids have little exposure to te reo Māori and kapa haka and none to marae. We began thinking seriously in mid-2005 about going home so they could have better access to their culture. We were feeling really sorry for them – they were daycare kids. At home it'd be so much more whānau-oriented.

Wetere and Jaime are quite determined to return to New Zealand.[5] They want Kinaia and Stacee to learn te reo Māori and spend time at the marae. Wetere is adamant that there is no 'culture' in Australia.[6] Jaime (from Rātana but raised in Ngāruawāhia from the age of five) adds 'It's so big here, and Ngāruawāhia just seems so much safer – there are generations of the Poutapu whānau there'. Tauwhare and Megan (who is Te Atiawa from Picton) also think about moving home a lot. They both want the children they plan to have to grow up learning their culture at home. Megan explains: 'We've got all that we need here but it's not just about money – other things are more important'. Like Wetere and Jaime, they would move back to Ngāruawāhia.

The preferences of Wetere, Jaime, Tauwhare and Megan are examples of the Māori return migration, for principally cultural reasons, to areas of relatively lower employment that Manuhuia Barcham has written about (see chapter 18). But for Putu, Roimata, Hera and their families, financial security versus access to Māori culture may have a different result, even if weighing the pros and cons can be agonising. Erika reasons 'We want to give our kids the best, and to that extent good income and a comfortable home here are going to win out over moving home, sadly'. Roimata also concludes 'The opportunities for kids here outweigh the missed opportunities in te reo'. Hera concurs that the material benefits of staying take priority, even if the thought of Taynah growing up an Australian bothers her.

Putu is quick to point out, though, that the whānau do maintain a distinctly Māori sense of identity and do their best to pass that on to the children. They all joined the local Tainui group, Te Timatanga Hou, and both Harry and Putu served as chairmen. 'Our house', adds Putu, 'is a gathering place. It's our marae right here. Anyone is welcome – that's what we're teaching our kids'. Hera says 'We still do things the Māori way, we still use karakia'. For Hera's twenty-first birthday, the whānau practised kapa haka in the park: 'The Aussies got blown away by the haka', says Tauwhare. They all try to ensure their children know their roots. Putu puts the kids in front of the television when the All Blacks play the Wallabies and says 'Look, the black team is your team – don't forget it!'. He and Erika are making a point of taking the whānau home every two years, to meet their relations and see their tūrangawaewae. Putu also took Matahi and Tame's pito and whenua home in a chilly bin for burial at his grandparents' property at Horotiu – a family tradition he was determined to maintain.

Regular trips to New Zealand are certainly a part of feeling culturally connected. Harry returned to New Zealand in May 2006 for the Māori Queen's 40th anniversary koroneihana celebrations, and when she died he and Putu were on the first plane home they could get, astonishing Wellington-based whānau who arrived to help at the tangihanga after them. Jaime has been home nine times in seven years, Roimata has been back four or five times, Tauwhare four times, and Megan and Hera three times each. Kristian is something of an exception, having not been back to New Zealand once since 1999.

4 Erika, Jaime, Roimata and Hera have all, incidentally, received or are receiving the Australian Government family allowance of $3000 or $4000 per baby.

5 In fact, they returned to New Zealand shortly after we spoke, on 25 October 2006.

6 In a similar vein, Putu, in stressing the need to teach his children their culture, says 'popular Australian culture is drinking, sport, and barbeques'. Hera says 'Australians have no sense of culture. Sport is their closest thing to a culture. That's when they're at their proudest'.

ACCEPTANCE AND IDENTITY

Most of the Poutapu whānau feel well accepted by Australians, although they have some disquiet about Australian racism. Both Harry and Putu say they have personally encountered it, while Kristian remarks:

> Aussies are racist – a lot really dislike Kiwis. We're a threat at work. The unions are weak in New Zealand so they're scared New Zealand workers will come over here and swamp them and make them lose their conditions.

Hera, for her part, says she has never suffered any prejudice from white Australians, but adds 'They don't understand a people who really have a culture'.

The whānau all have a lot of sympathy for Aboriginal Australians. Harry says he would like to 'hook up with the Aboriginal people and thank them for allowing me to earn a living off their land. I've got a guilty conscience that I haven't done this yet'. Jaime thinks Aborigines have had a 'rough deal', and it makes her glad to reflect on what Māori have in New Zealand. Hera finds it sad that Māori are accepted by white Australians more than Aborigines are. She relates how the Brisbane Tainui group visited a local Aboriginal group:

> It was great – they've got an awesome culture. They only portray the negatives in the media. Aborigines don't realise it themselves either. At school the Aboriginal kids weren't into their culture that much – they didn't show pride. It was hard to relate to as a Māori. They must just feel like they have to fit in.

Hera believes it would be wrong to have a 'marae' in Australia: 'A community centre, yes, but no carvings – they don't belong on this land'.

If anything, the Poutapu whānau tend to differentiate themselves more from Māori in Australia than those in New Zealand. They clearly still see themselves very much as displaced New Zealanders rather than as new Australians. They do not get offended by references to 'plastic Māori' in Australia because they do not believe it applies to people like them, who have come recently and return regularly. Instead, Erika says, it refers to 'those who barely acknowledge being Māori'.

Harry, for his part, says that there are 'plastic' Māori in Australia: 'They wear pounamu, they have a tā moko, but they won't say "Kia ora cuz" when they pass you in the street'. Jaime believes 'Māori who've been here over 20 years have lost the essence of being Māori. They run Māoris at home down; they think it's all just gangs and drinking'. The notion of an artificiality about Māori culture in Australia seems to be one of the motivations for the likes of Wetere, Jaime, Tauwhare and Megan to go home. Wetere, for example, says 'There is kōhanga reo here, but it seems plastic. What I learnt about Māoritanga at school is different to what they teach here – it seems Aussified here'. Megan adds:

> It'd feel weird to get into kapa haka here. We're not in New Zealand. If Māori culture was more established here we'd still go home – it all seems more authentic there. If you're going to learn then do it properly.

Hera, though, says she would love her children to attend kapa haka in Australia. She says she would like to learn the reo too, so that her baby can be exposed to it, but is held back 'partly by lack of opportunities and partly by laziness'. She says the whole whānau regrets that Harry's parents never passed the language on to him. Erika, too, thinks it would be ideal if she and Putu were able to speak some Māori in front of the children: 'It would give them a sense of who they are. It all starts with the language'.[7]

None of the whānau – except Hera's partner Te Awaitaia (TJ), who has been in Australia since the age of two – have become Australian citizens, but Wetere and Jaime think they will do so before returning home in case they ever choose to return to Australia. Tauwhare and Megan also think they will become citizens as an 'insurance policy' for the future, while Roimata and Hera both want to do so for the ongoing benefits while living in Australia. Putu would feel he was disrespecting his ancestors if he became a citizen, but is aware of the practical advantages so cannot rule anything out. Harry thinks he probably should take up citizenship, given all the taxes he pays in Australia, while Erika is also tempted for practical reasons.

In all this, the whānau's sense of New Zealand identity remains strong. Hera says that TJ (Ngāti Mahanga from Whatawhata) grew up with no firm Māori identity at all, but 'hanging out with us has made him feel much more of a Māori and a New Zealander'. Putu agrees: 'TJ acts more Hori than some of the cuzzies at home', he laughs, 'even though he's hardly been to New Zealand'. They also all agree that being in Australia has made them yearn for the

7 Erika attended a Māori performing arts course in Brisbane in 2006, and both she and Putu took Māori language papers at university.

aspects of home they once took for granted: Roimata mentions marae food, places to visit like Raglan and Māori language classes, while for Hera it is 'the language, songs, cousins, aunties, the marae – the whole Māori upbringing'. Tauwhare believes that coming to Australia has helped him gain a stronger Māori identity: 'You take more pride in who you are', he says.

To that extent, some of the whānau have had adverse reactions to Jeremy Paul's decision to play rugby for Australia. Putu played in the same teams as Paul at school in Ngāruawāhia, before the latter moved to Australia at the age of 13, and is surprised by his choice. Roimata is adamant that he's 'sold out', and is also annoyed by Karmichael Hunt. Hera thinks:

> He must have had his reasons, but I wouldn't have done it myself. I can't relate to what Karmichael Hunt's done either. They both came to Australia at the same age I did, and I already had a great pride in New Zealand at that age.

THE FUTURE – A TRANS-TASMAN WHĀNAU?

Wetere and Jaime are returning to New Zealand to live. Speculation is rife among the whānau as to who will follow them. Harry says 'I like it here and I won't be going back', but Wetere, Jaime and Hera all think he will go home one day. Jaime says 'It'd just take Putu and Erika going and he'd be off. The whole whānau is probably here for the medium rather than the longer term'. Roimata says she will go home to retire (but not before – 'not to go home and struggle'), although she concedes it would be hard to stay if several of her siblings returned home. Then again, she is forced to acknowledge, she probably would not go home if she had grandchildren of her own in Australia. Kristian, for his part, has no intention to return to New Zealand.

Hera thinks she and TJ might move back to New Zealand when their children reach their teens (and says she will send them home to stay with Harry – assuming his prior departure – during school holidays before then). She is sure that Putu and Erika will not move home, but then she also thinks that Wetere and Jaime will probably return to Australia. Jaime says her mother and father may follow her and Wetere back to New Zealand, although this is far from certain since Jaime's brother remains with his son in Australia. Tauwhare and Megan are determined 'not to get too comfortable' in Australia; Tauwhare thinks they might move home when their children are young, but Megan favours an earlier move so their children can actually be born in New Zealand.

In all this, Harry's whānau may end up straddling the Tasman, as so many other Māori families do.[8] Whether the next generation of the whānau – represented by the likes of Haromi, Tamoko, Kinaia and Taynah – are raised in different countries, with different cultural understandings and national outlooks, remains to be seen. The Poutapu whānau, in any event, are glad of the time they have had in Australia and would not change a thing about it.

8 Of the 12 children in his family, Harry and three others now live in Australia.

CHAPTER 20: CONCLUSION

Chapter summary

- Māori have now become a transnational people, and Māori development should no longer be seen simply in terms of the New Zealand nation-state.
- Ultimately, Māori in Australia seem to believe that the material benefit of living there outweighs the cultural deficit, although they also feel the need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage more than they did while living in New Zealand.
- Through a policy of engagement and the moderate extension of cultural benefits and support, the New Zealand Government could potentially reap the benefit of Māori economic success in Australia.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Two major periods of encounter

The Māori encounter with Australia has occurred through two major periods of (Māori) discovery and contact. The first took place after the initial British settlement of New South Wales, with many Māori visiting the penal colony to trade in goods, learn agricultural techniques and be exposed to new ideas. Historian James Belich estimates that, by 1840, the best part of 1000 Māori had travelled to Sydney[1], which represents a significant number given the population and transport links of the time. Then, from the 1960s to the present (and after a century of less intense contact), Māori urbanisation in New Zealand has been followed by the second major period of discovery, with thousands of Māori seeking out the bright lights of Sydney and the working opportunities across the Australian continent. Minister of Māori Affairs Hon Parekura Horomia recently made the connection between these two periods when he commented 'Māori in Australia are seeking out opportunities in the same way that our people went to Sydney from the earliest times of British settlement to acquire technology, goods and skills'.[2]

Size of Māori population in Australia

There are today more Māori in Australia than the offical statistics indicate (even if there are fewer than the popular conceptions within the Māori community in Australia itself suggest). The 2001 Australian census figures (as well as those in 1986) excluded all those who did not tick or write 'Māori' as one of their first two ancestry choices. While the extent of this problem for all ancestral groups was ascertained by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in a 2003 post-enumeration survey, the fact remains that every census figure for Māori in Australia in 2001 is nearly 25% short (give or take) of the actual number who wished to have their ancestry recorded as such. Moreover, Te Puni Kōkiri survey results make it likely that 10% or more of Māori in Australia will purposefully record their ancestry as something other than 'Māori', such as 'New Zealander' or 'Australian'. From all this, we can see that the official figure

1 Belich (1996a), p 145.

2 'From the desk of the Minister of Māori Affairs: Marking Waitangi Day' in *Kōkiri*, no. 1, Hui-tanguru-Pou-tu-te-rangi 2007, p 4.

of some 73,000 Māori in Australia in 2001 can be increased to approximately 100,000.

Changes to Australian census instructions in 2006 should mean that the 2006 census result is closer to the actual number of Māori living in Australia. However, the census cannot account for those who choose not to enter 'Māori' at the ancestry question, whether because they misconceive it as a nationality question or because they simply feel their primary identification overseas is not as Māori but as New Zealanders. Therefore, while the problem of lost ancestries should have been largely resolved, my view is that the official 2006 figure will still need to be increased by around 10% to reflect a more accurate population total for Māori in Australia.

Undercounting is another matter; many Māori claim not to bother with the census, but the ABS monitors this carefully and sees no reason why Māori should be more undercounted than various other groups. This is fair enough, although nagging doubts remain that the census undercount might just be slightly higher than has been thought for the following reasons:

- First, as noted throughout this report, many Māori see themselves as temporary visitors, with some not wishing to avail themselves of government services and others even regarding themselves as ineligible for certain rightful entitlements.
- Second, Māori in Australia have a very high residential mobility pattern, with only 26% living at the same address in 1996 and 2001.
- Third, the exact whereabouts of the 'missing' 15,000 Māori men in the 20–49 age range in New Zealand (as per the 2006 New Zealand census) remains unexplained.

The rise of the Māori population in Australia has been remarkable. From about 4000 in 1966 to approximately 30,000 in 1986, there were likely to have been between 115,000 and 125,000 Māori in Australia on census night in August 2006. The proportion of all Māori living in Australia has accordingly risen from one in 50 in 1966 to at least one in seven today. Even a small ongoing amount of net out-migration from New Zealand to Australia will see this proportion steadily rise, as demographer Jeremy Lowe has pointed out[3], since those leaving include a higher concentration in the young adult age group. Frustratingly, the extent of net migration has been rather difficult to monitor since the dropping, in 1986, of the ethnic origin question from New Zealand arrival and departure cards.

Reasons for move to Australia

Māori move to Australia for a variety of reasons that can be grouped into several categories. First, they are enticed by a number of 'pull' factors, which include:

- lifestyle factors, such as the climate, the shopping and the greater range of leisure pursuits
- the multiculturalism of cities like Sydney and Melbourne
- the desire to join whānau already in Australia
- economic opportunities, higher wages and a lower cost of living.

On the other hand, many leave to escape negative experiences in New Zealand, such as:

- the impact of gangs, drugs and crime
- domestic violence and abuse
- perceived Pākehā prejudice and mainstream negativity about Māori issues
- negative attitudes towards success within people's own whānau.

While it is not possible to know exactly what proportions of emigrants leave for each of these reasons, it is fair to conclude that economic opportunities are the key determinant for the largest number of people. But, that said, each individual's reasons for leaving will vary and will likely include a range of push and pull factors.

Ongoing relationship with New Zealand

Māori in Australia keep a foot firmly in New Zealand. Survey results show that most intend to return to New Zealand to live and that practically 80% of New Zealand-born Māori do not (or have not yet) become Australian citizens (something known as 'having the operation' among some Māori in Australia).

As noted, many do not really see themselves as 'ethnic migrants', and are surprised that they might even be eligible for multicultural grants. In keeping with this, many look to the New Zealand Government to fund them in Australia, rather than tapping into local sources of funding.

As non-citizens in Australia, Māori cannot vote and therefore lack lobbying power and a political voice. Even where they have acquired citizenship, many appear uninterested in exercising the franchise (despite Australia's compulsory voting). A number continue to vote in New Zealand and, while they may do so proportionately more than Pākehā and other New Zealanders who live in Australia, they appear to be a small minority.

3 Lowe (1990), p 8.

Australian Government settlement policy

There are, however, aspects of Australian migrant settlement policy that work against full Māori integration into the Australian polity. The federal Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) has a funding programme to help settle ethnic migrants in Australia that targets people entering Australia on visas. Because Māori (and many Pacific Islanders) enter Australia as New Zealand citizens, they do so unannounced, without a pre-arranged visa, and thus fly under DIAC's radar. Australian officials have become increasingly aware of this problem, but it is difficult for them to view Māori community needs as a pressing priority. Māori speak English and have a high labour force participation rate, which, as one official put it to me, leaves them on the policy backburner in comparison, for example, to African refugee communities with massive unemployment and integration problems.

Life in Australia offers advantages and disadvantages

Life for Māori in Australia seems to offer both advantages and disadvantages. Many report happily that they are not judged by virtue of their ethnicity (a common remark is that prejudice is only ever suffered in Australia when you are mistaken for an Aborigine). Many say leaving New Zealand has made them feel free – of daily negative news stories about Māori, of 'whānau with their hands out' and of the limiting expectations either they or others had of themselves that stopped them striving for success. They are aggregated with Pākehā New Zealanders as 'Kiwis', which is a positive rather than a negative, by and large. Much of the tension in Māori–Pākehā relations is dissipated in Australia, and it could be said that nowhere are New Zealand race relations better than across the Tasman.[4]

Māori in Australia tend not to send cash remittances like other Pacific peoples, but work to better themselves and their immediate families in Australia. They report much better housing, finances and employment (which probably means better skills) and make regular trips home, and most intend to return to live (although the arrival of Australian-born mokopuna causes an enormous reconsideration). They also push their unemployed whanaunga in Ngāruawāhia or Kaikohe, for example, to get out of their rut and come and stay with them until they get jobs. Many say they have had the confidence to start businesses or study when they never would have at home, and a good number of these people see themselves returning to New Zealand with money to invest and skills to put to use.

There can, however, be significant downsides to life in Australia: language loss is a problem and many smaller centres suffer from a lack of kaumātua who can impart cultural knowledge; second- and third-generation young people face identity issues and often end up on the wrong side of the social services; and tangihanga take place in people's homes, and the whole process of bereavement (including the cost of sending a tūpāpaku home or even of burial in Australia) is a strain. Tikanga is changing with the rise in cremations. Māori badly need communal cultural space for young people to learn about their heritage, the community to grieve its dead and welcome guests, and people to learn the language and acquire traditional skills and knowledge.

Thirty years of attempts to set up Māori community centres that can cater for these needs have yet to bear fruit. Every town with 100 or more Māori has some sort of marae or community centre plan, but the barriers to establishing a secure and long-term facility are large. They include inter-iwi rarurarau over matters of tikanga, and fragmented efforts born of the problematic nature of pan-tribal or local community-based representation and governance. Other reasons include:

- the propriety of building 'marae' where Māori are not tāngata whenua
- the inability (through a lack of skills and time) to seek out government or other funding
- the lack of community cohesion compared with other ethnic groups that bonded strongly in the first generation around not speaking English and all attending the same church
- unresolved issues around how any centre would fund itself (several plans have fallen over due to their proposed commercialism).

In a nutshell, Māori do not own halls but rent those of other ethnic groups or (frequently in my experience) scout halls, with the Queen and Baden Powell on the wall rather than their tīpuna.

Ultimately, however, most Māori seem to reflect that the material benefit of life in Australia outweighs the cultural loss. While some wish they could return to live in New Zealand with their Australian wages, many report that moving to Australia was one of the best things they ever did.

4 I acknowledge that good relations probably also exist among expatriate New Zealand communities in other countries.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS

The question arises as to how and whether the New Zealand Government should respond to the large and growing number of Māori living in Australia. Some will ask why a Government should interest itself in citizens that have left, many of whom will not come back. The reality is, however, that governments around the world actively seek to engage with their diasporas because they see it as in their national interests to do so. Where significant numbers of a nation's citizens live abroad, they can become an invaluable source of development money, a facilitator for home businesses entering the global market and a vital contributor to the national image around the world.

For a small country like New Zealand with such a large diaspora, it is also vital to learn more about the characteristics and intentions of expatriates. As Jacqueline Lidgard and Christopher Gilson have observed:

> It must be kept in mind that the potential exists for large uncontrolled flows of New Zealand citizens returning at any time. ... The significance of the return of its citizens still remains largely ignored in New Zealand in spite of the potential impact for the local labour and housing markets, education and health services.[5]

New Zealand researcher Alan Gamlen, who is studying diaspora engagement policies at Oxford University, has shown how dozens of governments (both rich and poor) are reaching out to their diasporas through a mixture of capacity building (such as establishing institutions for mobilising expatriates), extending rights (offering the franchise to those living abroad, for example) and extracting obligations (such as levying taxes on citizens no matter where they live).[6] As Gamlen explains:

> Though diaspora engagement is conventionally conceived as a potential form of development aid to the global poor, it is increasingly seen as a more general 'position-taking' strategy ... that can be employed by any nation-state within global society. Just as the poorest nations can leverage the financial and cultural capital of their diasporas in order to achieve 'developed' middle-income status, 'developed' middle-income nations are exploring the possibilities of using the same strategy to compete for a place among still wealthier countries. Diaspora engagement is coming to be seen as a potential channel for entire nation-states to achieve upward social mobility.[7]

The New Zealand Government already engages with its diaspora in various ways. Three examples are:

- its support of the work of Kea, the organisation established to connect New Zealand's 'global talent community'
- its promotion of a return to New Zealand for expatriates through the www.newzealandnow.info website
- its longstanding (although conditional) extension of the vote to those who no longer reside permanently in New Zealand.

Public debate on New Zealanders living overseas has often centred on the so-called 'brain drain', but commentators such as migration academic Richard Bedford have found the fixation unhelpful, suggesting that we should simply get beyond the fact that New Zealanders leave for opportunities abroad and instead focus our efforts on leveraging off their success. Kea chief executive Ross McConnell has agreed with Bedford, pointing out 'We live at the bottom of the South Pacific. We call ourselves the world's greatest travellers. People are always going to see opportunities and experiences offshore'. Likewise, a senior research fellow at Victoria University of Wellington's Institute of Policy Studies, Paul Callister, has argued 'We can use these people out there ... You can either throw your hands up in horror or say they're a potential resource'.[8] Gamlen has noted the gradual shift in thinking on the part of developed countries such as New Zealand in the title of his 2005 paper, *The Brain Drain is Dead, Long Live the New Zealand Diaspora.*

Notions of expatriates as a 'potential resource' seem applicable when considering whether to engage more with Māori in Australia.[9] I believe that additional arguments can also be mounted. Aside from the potential source of economic strength to Māori in New Zealand (and thus the New Zealand economy generally) that Māori in Australia

5 Jacqueline Lidgard and Christopher Gilson, 'Return migration of New Zealanders: Shuttle and circular migrants', *New Zealand Population Review*, 28(1), 2002, pp 121, 122.

6 Alan Gamlen, *Diaspora Engagement Policies: What are they, and what kinds of states use them?*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society working paper no. 32, University of Oxford, 2006, passim, www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Working%20papers/WP0632-Gamlen.pdf (accessed 24 February 2007).

7 Alan Gamlen, *The Brain Drain is Dead, Long Live the New Zealand Diaspora*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society working paper no. 10, University of Oxford, 2005, p 5, www.dk-network.org/IMG/pdf/Alan_Gamlen_WP0510.pdf (accessed 24 February 2007).

8 Bedford, McConnell and Callister all quoted in Bruce Ansley, 'Far-flung whanau', *Listener*, 1 July 2006, p 24.

9 I say this even though commentators have observed that New Zealand out-migration to Australia is better described as a 'same drain' than a 'brain drain' (see chapter 4's reference to the work of Peter Bushnell and Wai Kin Choy for the Treasury – *'Go West, Young Man, Go West!'?*: Treasury Working paper 01/07). Despite this, Māori in Australia are quite likely to earn more on average than Māori in New Zealand.

represent, it is apparent that Māori society has, to some extent, an Australian future. As the proportion of Māori living in Australia continues to grow (as seems likely), the health and vitality of Māori culture will need to be assessed in an increasingly transnational context. The Australian Government, moreover, has little or no policy interest in promoting and safeguarding Māori language and culture in Australia. Māori are also dissimilar to other expatriate New Zealanders, in that they are likely to form an enduring component of the New Zealand diaspora well beyond the first and second generations. Finally, Māori culture is an integral aspect of New Zealand's national identity and image abroad, which creates an important role for Māori as cultural ambassadors.

BROAD RECOMMENDATIONS

Te Puni Kōkiri should engage more with Māori in Australia

Where currently there is no formal relationship between the ministry and the roughly 15% of Māori who live in Australia, I believe that links should be forged and strengthened. This should not be out of duty or obligation, but as a strategic investment in the interests of Māori development. That engagement could take a number of forms, such as:

- the creation of community liaison positions within consulate offices to gather information on business or development opportunities, facilitate community cohesion and help community and cultural groups apply for Australian sources of funding
- the convening of an Australian Māori summit, bringing together Māori leaders from around Australia to discuss community issues and matters of mutual concern for perhaps the first time since the 1989 Melbourne gathering of the former Australian National Māori Council
- the raising of awareness of online sources of news, information and knowledge, such as www.irirangi.net, www.maorilandonline.govt.nz, www.koreromaori.co.nz and www.tpk.govt.nz/publications
- sponsorship of community events, festivals or media, or the holding of Māori awards ceremonies in Australia
- business support or mentorship for businesses promoting New Zealand and its culture
- contributions to certain community centre projects, kōhanga and kura reo
- an investigation of the possibility for the Māori Television service to be broadcast on satellite or cable television in Australia.

It is likely that the way to extract a benefit from citizens abroad is to extend a benefit. Gamlen has written 'States may find the extension of civil and social rights to their diasporas threatening, but I argue that if they fail to do so and expect to leverage shared national identity in order to get something for nothing from emigrants, they are playing against the odds'.[10]

Various iwi organisations in New Zealand are already engaging with members in Australia. Good examples are the support given by the Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company Ltd to the Tainui rōpū in Brisbane and the Rongowhakaata Charitable Trust holding Treaty settlement mandating hui in Brisbane and Gosford in 2003. Other iwi organisations doubtless extend benefits, including voting rights and eligibility for scholarships, to members across the Tasman. There is no reason why the Government cannot engage with Māori in Australia in partnership with tribal bodies.

Te Puni Kōkiri should continue to learn more about Māori in Australia

A solid evidence base should always underpin policy development and there is much that could be done to build on the foundation laid by this report. Examples of the ways in which information about Māori in Australia could be improved or enhanced (some of which necessarily fall beyond the scope of Te Puni Kōkiri alone) include:

- a more in-depth study of the health of the Māori language in Australia
- a study of the extent and nature of Māori remittances or other material contributions to Māori in New Zealand
- the reinstatement of an ethnic origin question on New Zealand arrival and departure cards, or at least the undertaking of research from census data about patterns of return migration
- a survey of the experiences of Māori in New Zealand who have returned from Australia, thus capturing actual returnees instead of only intentional ones
- further study of iwi affiliations among Māori in Australia, with a view to ascertaining the relationship between iwi socio-economic success and out-migration
- the acquisition and comparison of census and other data in both Australia and New Zealand on key indicators in, for example, Māori educational achievement, welfare dependency, criminal offending, health, labour force participation, housing quality and household income, in order to gain a broader picture of (transnational) Māori development

10 Gamlen (2006), p 13.

- research into other matters of interest related in this report, such as changes in cultural practice surrouding cremation, the proportion of deceased Māori returning to New Zealand for burial and so on.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

I have attempted to demonstrate that Māori have become a transnational people. The trans-Tasman flow (in both directions) of people, money, ideas and language means that Māori development should no longer be seen simply in terms of the New Zealand nation-state. Māori economic success in Australia can potentially become an increasingly important contributor to Māori development in New Zealand, in the same way that many diasporas around the world make vital contributions to their home states. The Māori economic contribution[11] could be harnessed, in part, through a policy of engagement with Māori in Australia and the moderate extension of cultural benefits and support.

The indications are that Māori development is occurring in Australia and that it already benefits New Zealand. Survey respondents report much better employment and finances, make regular return visits and open their homes to struggling whānau, and a majority intend to live in New Zealand again. Many find success in Australia where it proved elusive for them or their whānau in New Zealand. But whereas many Māori are realising their earning (and sporting, as well as other) potential in Australia, their success as Māori cultural beings is another matter. The benefits of the Māori cultural revival in New Zealand are enjoyed only indirectly, and knowledge of traditional Māori culture is becoming inevitably lost. This is not through lack of interest; survey results reveal that (New Zealand-born) Māori in Australia feel they need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage more than Māori in New Zealand.

It is appropriate for the debate on New Zealanders living overseas to move beyond the notion that they must all be attracted home. In this, Māori should be seen as no different. A circle cannot be drawn around where Māori must realise their potential any more than it can with other New Zealanders. Minister Horomia was therefore correct, in my view, to describe Māori in Australia recently as 'part of the overall picture of Māori realising their potential'.[12] They are, in many ways, little different to urbanised taura here Māori in New Zealand, for they likewise live outside their tribal territories but within the common labour market. And, while they do live beyond New Zealand, they represent a potential national asset, because their connection to New Zealand should, if properly encouraged, endure.

11 Economic contributions might involve more Māori in Australia paying rates on Māori land, investing in Māori businesses or helping Māori businesses establish themselves in the Australian market, promoting the Māori cultural side of New Zealand tourism and returning with skills and money to New Zealand.

12 'From the desk of the Minister of Māori Affairs: Marking Waitangi Day' in *Kōkiri*, no. 1, Hui-tanguru-Pou-tu-te-rangi 2007, p 4.

APPENDIX 1:
MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA SURVEY FORM

Ngā Māori ki Ahitereiria 2006
Māori in Australia 2006

Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

KOHI-TĀTEA 2006 JANUARY 2006

Ki ngā Māori ki Ahitereiria, tēnei te mihi atu ki a koutou

Please fill in this questionnaire. It should only take about 15 - 20 minutes and it will give lots of never-before-seen information about people like you – Māori who live in Australia. If you'd rather answer on-line, go to **www.tpk.govt.nz/surveys/australia**

Purpose of this survey

Te Puni Kōkiri is funding a study of Māori living in Australia. It will look at the Australian Māori community and describe;

- the reasons they are in Australia;
- any problems of identity they face;
- the factors in their success; and
- their ability to live in Australia as Māori.

This survey will contribute enormously to the success of Te Puni Kōkiri's study.

For queries or help contact

Paul Hamer at
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Nathan Campus, Queensland 4111, Australia
Telephone: 07 38753727
Email: p.hamer@griffith.edu.au or hamep@tpk.govt.nz

Confidentiality

Your information will be kept confidential. You are not asked for your name, and your individual answers will only be seen by those who are processing the survey. No information will be released in a form that would allow anyone to identify you or your answers.

Thanks for taking part

Thank you for taking the time to answer our questions. We know that the information that comes out of this survey will be interesting and useful to many people, and we hope that you will also find it of value. From late in 2006, the results should be available on **www.tpk.govt.nz/surveys/australia**

Nāku noa, nā

Leith Comer
Te Manahautu
Chief Executive
Te Puni Kōkiri

Know any other Māori who live in Australia?

Please ask them whether they have answered this survey.

The more who answer it, the better the information will be.

They can get a copy, or answer it on-line, at

www.tpk.govt.nz/surveys/australia

or contact Paul to get him to post a copy out. His contact details are on this page.

Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

1. If you have answered this questionnaire before, please do NOT answer it again. Pass it on to somebody who hasn't answered it yet.

2. Do you live in Australia?

◯ yes ◯ no ◯ don't know

We want to survey only Māori who live in Australia. Please don't answer any more questions.

170

3. Which of these age groups are you in?

◯ less than 15 → We want to survey only people aged 15 or more. Please don't answer any more questions.
◯ 15-24
◯ 25-34
◯ 35-44
◯ 45-54
◯ 55-64
◯ 65 or older

4. Are you

◯ male ◯ female

5. Were you born in:

◯ Australia → ***go to 9***
◯ New Zealand → ***go to 6***
◯ another country → ***go to 7***

6. Please print the city, town or rural area that you were you born in.

7. What year did you arrive to live in Australia? If you can't remember, please make a guess.

8. Tick as many circles as you need, to show the reasons that you came to Australia to live. If you came with family / whānau, tick the reasons your family / whānau came.

- ◯ for a better chance to get work or better job(s)
- ◯ to join family / whānau who were already here
- ◯ for a new start in life
- ◯ other → please say what

9. Whereabouts in Australia do you live now?

name of suburb (if you have one)	
name of city, town or rural area	
postal code	

10. Which iwi / tribe(s) do you belong to?

◯ don't know

Name of iwi / tribe(s)	Area / Rohe (this is sometimes needed to tell the difference between iwi with the same name.)

11. Are you registered with any iwi organisation(s) such as trust boards, trusts, rūnanga etc in NZ?

◯ yes ◯ no ◯ don't know

Please give the name(s) of those organisation(s)

12. Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question.
How do you think <u>Australians</u> see Māori in Australia:

- ◯ as hard working?
- ◯ as good citizens?
- ◯ as lazy?
- ◯ as a burden on Australian tax-payers?
- ◯ other → please describe [ ]
- ◯ don't know / no opinion

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13. Please read all of these and tick the <u>one</u> you think fits you <u>best</u>?

- ◯ an Australian Māori
- ◯ a New Zealand Māori living in Australia
- ◯ a Māori living in Australia
- ◯ none of those

14. Are you an Australian citizen?

◯ yes → ***go to 17*** ◯ no → ***go to 15*** ◯ don't know → ***go to 17***

15. Tick as many circles as you need to show the reasons why you have not become an Australian citizen.

- ◯ don't qualify – haven't lived here long enough
- ◯ there's no need to do that
- ◯ just haven't got around to it
- ◯ it is too expensive
- ◯ I want to go on being a citizen of only New Zealand
- ◯ other
- ◯ don't know

16. Do you think you will become an Australian citizen?

◯ definitely ◯ probably ◯ probably not ◯ definitely not ◯ don't know

17. Have you been in Australia when an Australian Population Census was being run?

◯ yes ◯ no → go to 19 ◯ don't know → ***go to 19***

18. The last time you were here for an Australian Population Census, did you answer it?

◯ yes ◯ no → go to 19 ◯ don't know → ***go to 19***

19. The Australian Census asks a question about ethnic ancestry. You are able to give more than one answer. If you were answering that question, which of these answers would you give?

◯ Māori ◯ New Zealander ◯ Australian ◯ other ◯ don't know

20. As far as Australians are concerned, Māori culture is:

◯ not at all important ◯ slightly important ◯ pretty important ◯ very important ◯ don't know

21. How does that attitude to Māori culture affect Māori trying to make a life in Australia?

◯ makes it much harder ◯ makes it a bit harder ◯ makes no difference ◯ makes it a bit easier ◯ makes it much easier ◯ don't know / no opinion

22. How do you feel about this statement: To get ahead in Australia you have to let go of Māori culture.

◯ strongly agree ◯ agree ◯ neither agree nor disagree ◯ disagree ◯ strongly disagree ◯ don't know / no opinion

23. When you think of 'whānau' do you think of:

◯ only your immediate family
◯ your immediate family plus a wider group of relatives only
◯ family and relatives plus other Māori who you live and/or work and/or socialise with here in Australia
◯ other → please describe [ ]

24. Do you have family / whānau in Australia?

◯ yes ◯ no → ***go to 26*** ◯ don't know → ***go to 26***

25. Are your ties more strong with:

◯ your family / whānau in Australia?
◯ your family / whānau back in New Zealand?
◯ or is there no difference?
◯ doesn't apply / don't know

26. If you were born in Australia, *go to question 29*.
Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question.
When you first came to Australia, did family / whānau in Australia help:

- ◯ with the move
- ◯ with finding a job in Australia
- ◯ in other ways
- ◯ not at all
- ◯ don't know / don't want to say

27. Do you feel that when you left New Zealand:

- ◯ you left NZ political issues behind ⟶ ***go to 28***
- ◯ you stayed involved in NZ political issues ⟶ ***go to 29***
- ◯ not applicable / not interested in politics / no opinion ⟶ ***go to 29***

28. Has leaving them behind made you feel more free?

◯ yes ◯ no ◯ don't know / no opinion

29. In the 2005 NZ election, did you:

- ◯ vote from Australia?
- ◯ vote while in New Zealand?
- ◯ not vote at all?
- ◯ don't know / not applicable

30. What about iwi body election(s); while you have been in Australia have you voted in any of them?

◯ yes ◯ no ◯ not applicable ◯ don't know

31. Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question. While you have been in Australia have you taken part in any of these?

- ◯ a Māori Land Court process
- ◯ decision-making by owners of Māori land
- ◯ any part of a Treaty settlement(s)
- ◯ other similar activity ⟶ please describe

OR ◯ none of these

32. In each of the following statements you are asked to compare Māori here in Australia with Māori in New Zealand.

Compared to Māori in NZ:	much more than Māori in NZ	more than Māori in NZ	about the same	less than Māori in NZ	much less than Māori in NZ	don't know / no opinion
• how much importance do Māori in Australia give to iwi (tribal) politics?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• how motivated are Māori in Australia to get ahead?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• how Māori-community-focused are Māori in Australia?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• how much do Māori in Australia feel the need to connect with their Māori cultural heritage?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

33. Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question:
While you are in Australia how do you get news of New Zealand?

AND, where you can, please give details, for example name of newspaper, radio programme, website etc

- ◯ from NZ newspapers on the web → _____
- ◯ from NZ radio heard on website → _____
- ◯ from other websites → _____
- ◯ from NZ newspapers → _____
- ◯ from NZ magazines → _____
- ◯ from Australian newspapers → _____
- ◯ from Australian magazines → _____
- ◯ from Australian radio programmes → _____
- ◯ from the whānau / family _____
- ◯ from other sources → _____
- ◯ none of these

34. Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question.
What do Māori in NZ think of Māori in Australia:

- ◯ that they aren't really committed to Māori culture.?
- ◯ that they think about money too much?
- ◯ other → please say what [ ]
- ◯ don't know / no opinion

35. Please tick one circle for each statement to show what you think of it.

	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know / no opinion
The NZ Government forgets about Māori in Australia except at election time.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Iwi organisations in NZ give enough support to Māori in Australia.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

36. If you have lived in Australia for more than 12 months, please answer this question. *Otherwise go to 37*.
In the past 12 months have you been to New Zealand:
◯ not at all? ◯ once or twice? ◯ three or more times? ◯ don't know

37. Can you speak the Māori language / te reo (more than greetings and few phrases)?
◯ yes
◯ no
◯ don't know

38. Do you think you will (continue to) learn the Māori language / te reo in the next 12 months?
◯ definitely ◯ probably ◯ probably not ◯ definitely not ◯ don't know

39. Here in Australia, are you involved in
◯ kapa haka
◯ waka ama
◯ Māori language / te reo classes
◯ other Māori cultural activity ⟶ please describe

OR ◯ none of these

Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

40. Here in Australia, are you involved in any sport as a player, coach or administrator?

◯ yes ◯ no → ***go to 42*** ◯ don't know → ***go to 42***

41. If you are involved in a team sport, how many people in the team are Māori?

◯ all or almost all the team
◯ more than half the team
◯ about half the team
◯ less than half the team
◯ none
◯ can't tell / not applicable

42. Here in Australia, do you belong to a sports club?

◯ yes ◯ no → ***go to 44*** ◯ don't know → ***go to 44***

43. Is it a Māori sports club?

◯ yes ◯ no ◯ don't know

44. Please answer by ticking one circle in each row.

Regular contact:	is not at all important to me	is important to me	is very important to me	don't know / no opinion / not applicable
• with members of my family / whānau in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯
• with other members of my iwi in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯
• with other Māori in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯

45. Please answer by ticking one circle in each row.

I meet up with:	at least once a week	at least once a month	less often than once a month	don't know / no opinion / not applicable
• a member(s) of my family / whānau in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯
• other member(s) of my iwi in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯
• other Māori in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯

Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

46. Tick as many circles as you need to answer this question.
When you think of 'success' for you or your family / whānau, which of the following parts of life do you think of?

- ◯ financial
- ◯ social
- ◯ cultural
- ◯ other → please say what ____

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47. If you were born in Australia *go to question 48*.
Since you have been in Australia what has happened to each of these?

Has your own:	become much better	become a bit better	stayed the same	become a bit worse	become much worse	don't know / no opinion / not applicable
• housing	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• employment	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• finances	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• social life	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• cultural life	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

48. Please tick one circle for each statement to show what you think of it.

Māori in Australia	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know / no opinion
• ought to support Aboriginal Australians' status as the indigenous people / tangata whenua in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• have a lot in common with other Pacific peoples in Australia	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
• fit much more easily into mainstream Australian society than immigrants from other countries	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

49. Do you think that you will live in New Zealand (again) some day?

◯ definitely ◯ probably ◯ probably not ◯ definitely not ◯ don't know

50. If you have any other comments you would like to make about being a Māori living in Australia, please feel free to write them here.

Nā reira ki a koe ka nui rā ngā mihi.

Thank you for your time and effort.

For queries or help contact
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APPENDIX 2: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA SURVEY RESULTS

FIGURE A2.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 3 – WHICH OF THESE AGE GROUPS ARE YOU IN?

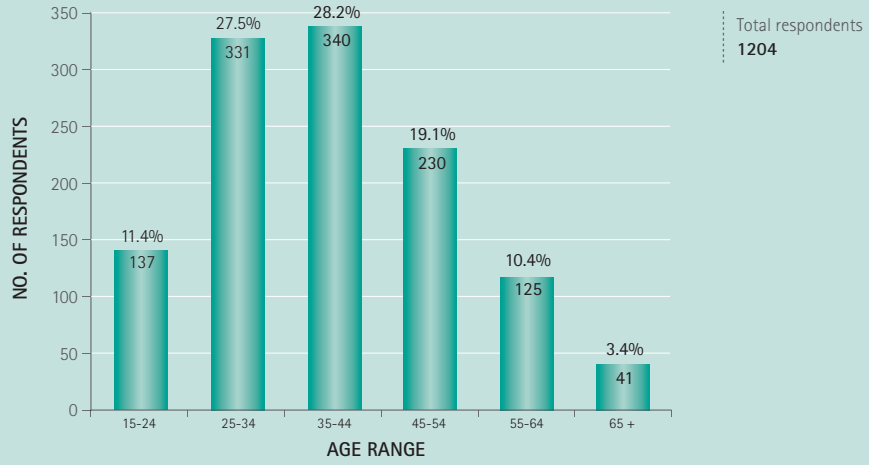


FIGURE A2.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 4 – ARE YOU MALE OR FEMALE?

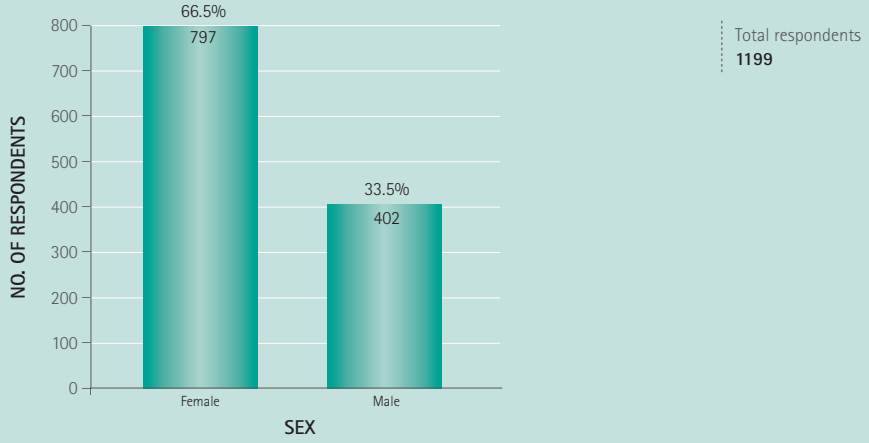
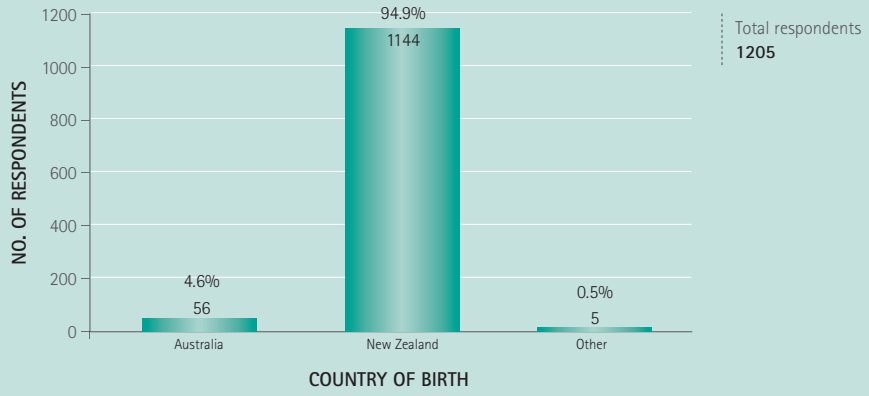


FIGURE A2.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 5 – WERE YOU BORN IN AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND OR ANOTHER COUNTRY?



SURVEY QUESTION 6 – PLEASE PRINT THE CITY, TOWN OR RURAL AREA THAT YOU WERE BORN IN

See appendix 4, table A4.1: New Zealand-born survey respondents, by birth region.

FIGURE A2.4: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 7 – WHAT YEAR DID YOU ARRIVE TO LIVE IN AUSTRALIA? (NON-AUSTRALIAN BORN)

Total respondents
1139

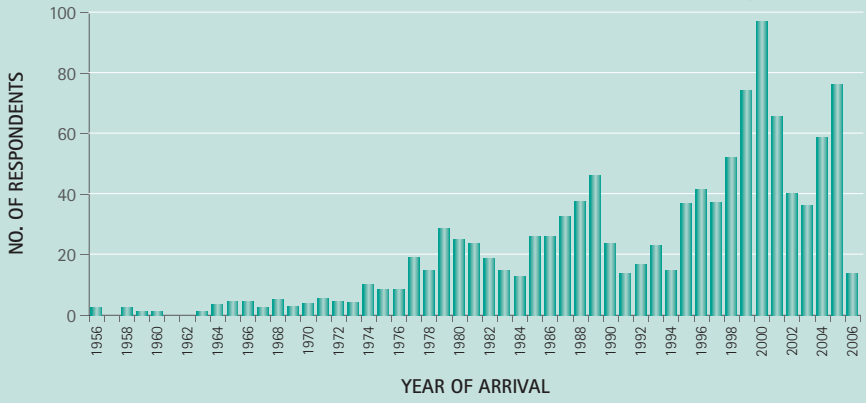


FIGURE A2.5: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 8 – SHOW THE REASONS THAT YOU CAME TO AUSTRALIA TO LIVE (NON-AUSTRALIAN BORN) (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

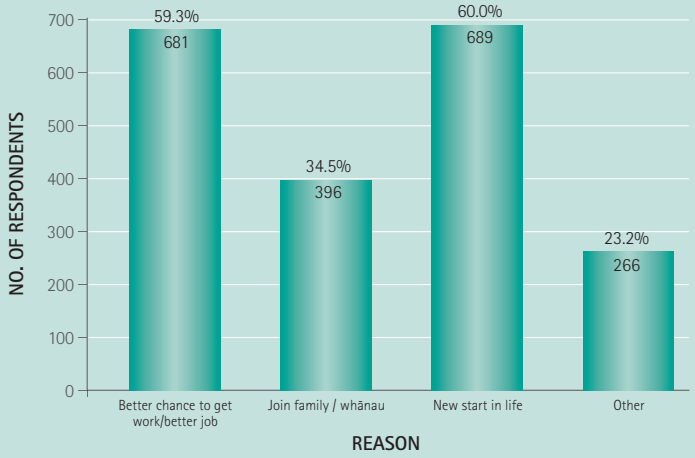


FIGURE A2.6: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 9 – WHEREABOUTS IN AUSTRALIA DO YOU LIVE NOW?, BY STATE

Total respondents
1201

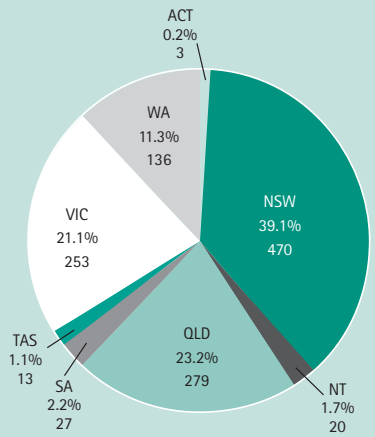


TABLE A2.1: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 10 – WHICH IWI / TRIBE(S) DO YOU BELONG TO?

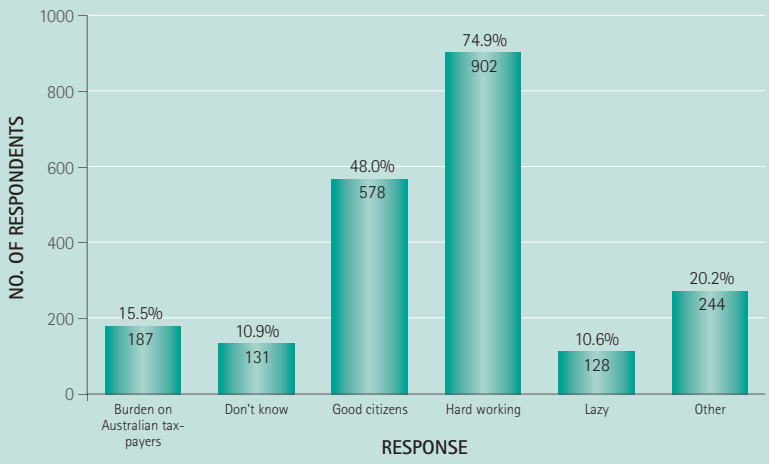
Tribe	Number of respondents
Moriori	5
Muaūpoko	5
Ngā Ruahine	11
Ngā Rauru Kiitahi	4
Ngāi Tahu	45
Ngāi Tai	4
Ngāi Tai (Hauraki)	1
Ngāi Takoto	9
Ngāi Tāmanuhiri	4
Ngāiterangi	43
Ngāpuhi	272
Ngāpuhi / Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa	10
Ngāti Apa	3
Ngāti Apa ki Te Waipounamu	1
Ngāti Awa	52
Ngāti Hako	2
Ngāti Hauiti	2
Ngāti Hei	1
Ngāti Kahu	16
Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa	1
Ngāti Kahungunu	140
Ngāti Koata	6
Ngāti Kuia	3
Ngāti Kurī	14
Ngāti Manawa	9
Ngāti Maniapoto	83
Ngāti Maru (Hauraki)	12
Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)	5
Ngāti Mutunga	7
Ngāti Mutunga (Chatham Islands)	7
Ngāti Paoa	16
Ngāti Pikiao	24
Ngāti Porou	172
Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga, ki Mataora	2
Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau	2
Ngāti Ranginui	17
Ngāti Rangiteaorere	2
Ngāti Rangitihi	2
Ngāti Rangiwewehi	7
Ngāti Rārua	1
Ngāti Raukawa	57
Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga	14

Tribe	Number of respondents
Ngāti Ruanui	7
Ngāti Tahu / Ngāti Whāoa	4
Ngāti Tama	3
Ngāti Tama (Te Tau Ihu)	2
Ngāti Tama (Wellington)	1
Ngāti Tamaterā	2
Ngāti Toa Rangatira	15
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	76
Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty)	11
Ngāti Wai	13
Ngāti Whakaue	33
Ngāti Whanaunga	1
Ngāti Whare	4
Ngāti Whātua	30
Rangitāne (North Island)	8
Rangitāne (Te Tau Ihu)	2
Rongomaiwahine	10
Rongowhakaata	13
Tainui	45
Tapuika	4
Taranaki	15
Tarāwhai	1
Te Aitanga a Māhaki	20
Te Arawa	28
Te Atiawa (not further defined)	4
Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	29
Te Atiawa (Te Tau Ihu)	1
Te Atiawa (Wellington)	7
Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai	2
Te Atihaunui a Pāpārangi	16
Te Aupōuri	37
Te Rarawa	35
Te Roroa	2
Te Uri o Hau	1
Te Whānau a Apanui	35
Tūhoe	91
Tūhourangi	14
Uenuku-Kōpako	2
Waikato	158
Waitaha (Te Arawa)	21
Whakatōhea	24
Total affiliations	**1920**

TABLE A2.2: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 11 – ARE YOU REGISTERED WITH ANY IWI ORGANISATION(S) SUCH AS TRUST BOARDS, TRUSTS, RŪNANGA ETC IN NZ? PLEASE GIVE THE NAMES OF THOSE ORGANISATION(S) (MOST FREQUENTLY NAMED ORGANISATIONS)[1]

Organisation	Registrations	Registrations as percentage of affiliations in survey
	No.	%
Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company Ltd[2]	*66*	*41.8*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou	*28*	*16.3*
Te Arawa[3]	*25*	*22.9*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāpuhi	*20*	*7.4*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa	*19*	*36.5*
Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu	*18*	*40.0*
Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board	*13*	*17.1*[4]
Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc[5]	*12*	*8.6*
Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa	*11*	*31.4*
Te Aupōuri Māori Trust Board	*8*	*21.6*
Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board	*8*	*33.3*
Tūhoe-Waikaremoana Māori Trust Board	*8*	*8.8*
Te Aitanga a Māhaki Trust	*7*	*35.0*
Te Rūnanga-a-Iwi o Ngāti Kahu	*7*	*43.0*
Maniapoto Māori Trust Board	*7*	*8.4*

FIGURE A2.7: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 12 – HOW DO YOU THINK *AUSTRALIANS* SEE MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)



1 The exact organisations were not always named – sometimes only an iwi name was used. However, in most cases, it was relatively clear which iwi organisation was being referred to.

2 This organisation was usually identified by the name of its predecessor, the Tainui Māori Trust Board.

3 This was usually expressed as the Te Arawa Māori Trust Board, although that organisation has now been succeeded by the Te Arawa Lakes Trust. In this total, I have also included any individuals who instead named Ngā Kaihautu o Te Arawa or Te Kotahitanga o Te Arawa Fisheries Trust (those being, collectively, the main overarching Te Arawa tribal organisations).

4 This excludes respondents who gave their affiliation as Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) but not also as Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

5 This includes one individual who entered Taiwhenua o Heretaunga.

FIGURE A2.8: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 13 – TICK THE ONE IDENTITY DESCRIPTOR YOU THINK FITS YOU BEST

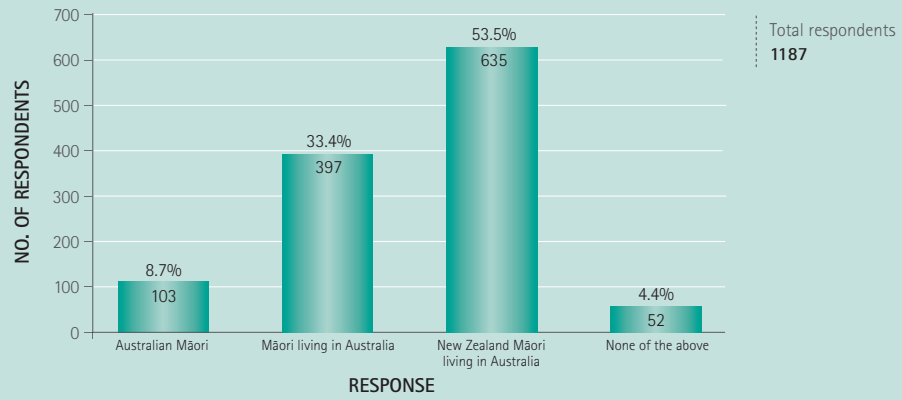


FIGURE A2.9: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 14 – ARE YOU AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN? (NZ-BORN)

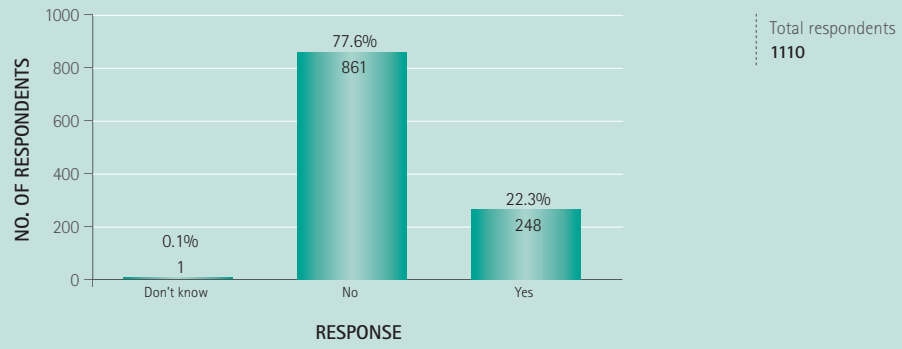


FIGURE A2.10: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 15 – SHOW THE REASONS WHY YOU HAVE NOT BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN (NON-AUSTRALIAN CITIZENS) (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

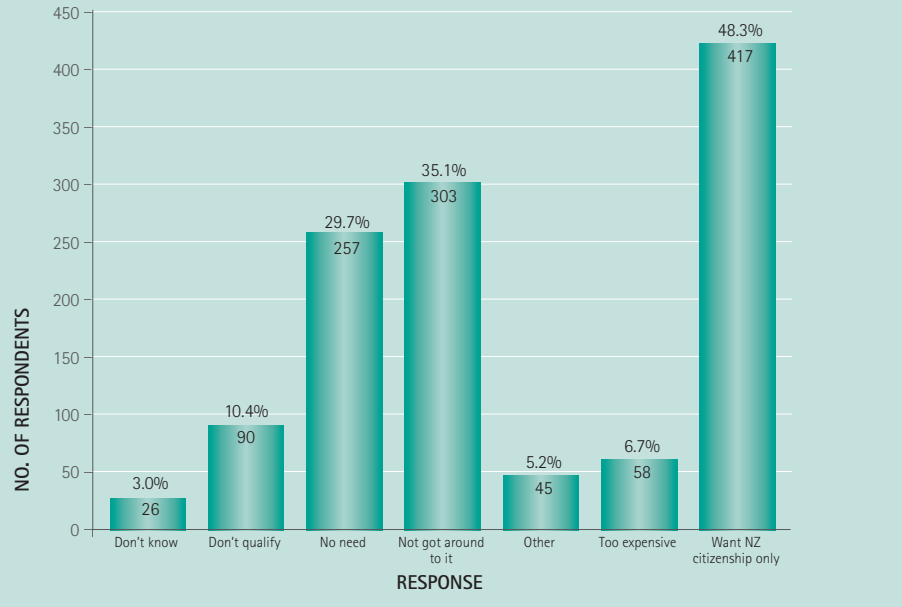


FIGURE A2.11: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 16 – DO YOU THINK YOU WILL BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN? (NON-AUSTRALIAN CITIZENS)

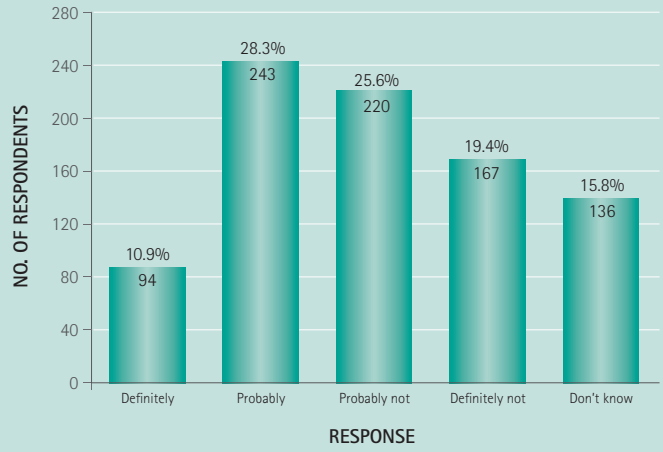


FIGURE A2.12: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 17 – HAVE YOU BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHEN AN AUSTRALIAN POPULATION CENSUS WAS BEING RUN?

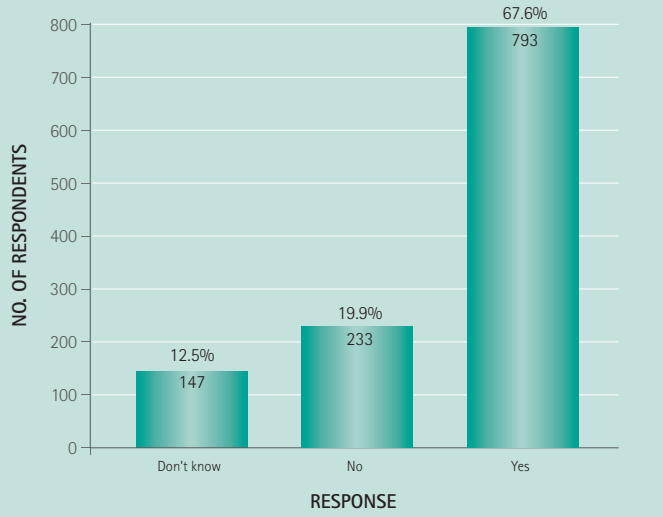
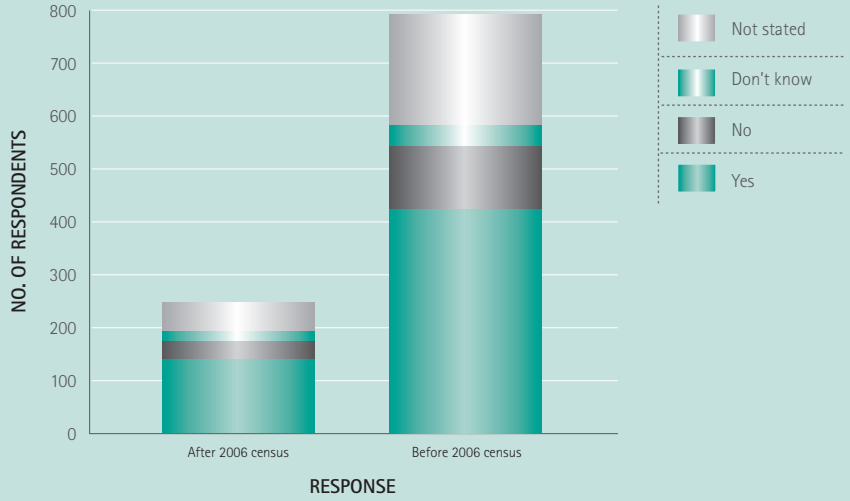


FIGURE A2.13: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 18 – THE LAST TIME YOU WERE HERE FOR AN AUSTRALIAN POPULATION CENSUS, DID YOU ANSWER IT? (AUSTRALIAN-BORN AND PRE-2002 ARRIVALS WHO ANSWERED THE SURVEY BEFORE CENSUS NIGHT 2006, AND ANY RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED THE SURVEY AFTER CENSUS NIGHT 2006)



Response	After 2006 census		Before 2006 census	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	150	62.0	420	53.7
No	27	11.2	121	15.5
Don't know	7	2.9	40	5.1
Not stated	58	24.0	201	25.7
Total	**242**		**782**	

TABLE A2.3: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 19 – THE AUSTRALIAN CENSUS ASKS A QUESTION ABOUT ETHNIC ANCESTRY. YOU ARE ABLE TO GIVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER. IF YOU WERE ANSWERING THAT QUESTION, WHICH OF THESE ANSWERS WOULD YOU GIVE? (BY ETHNIC ANCESTRY COMBINATIONS)

Ethnic ancestry	No.	%
Māori only	616	51.8
Māori and New Zealander	344	28.9
New Zealander only	149	12.5
Māori and Australian	19	1.6
Māori, New Zealander and Australian	15	1.3
Māori and other	13	1.1
Other only	11	0.9
Australian only	9	0.8
Māori, New Zealander and other	6	0.5
Don't know	6	0.5
Māori, New Zealander, Australian and other	1	0.1
Total	**1189**	**100.0**

FIGURE A2.14: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 20, ON HOW IMPORTANT AUSTRALIANS THINK MĀORI CULTURE IS

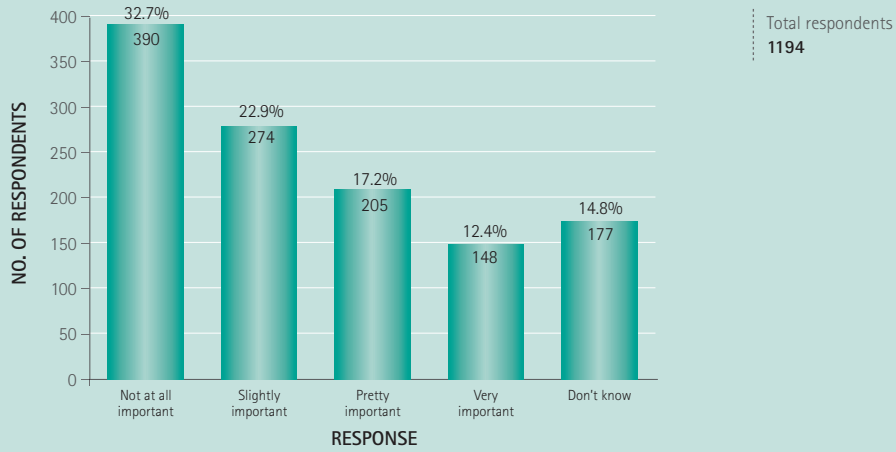


FIGURE A2.15: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 21 – HOW DOES THAT ATTITUDE TO MĀORI CULTURE AFFECT MĀORI TRYING TO MAKE A LIFE IN AUSTRALIA?

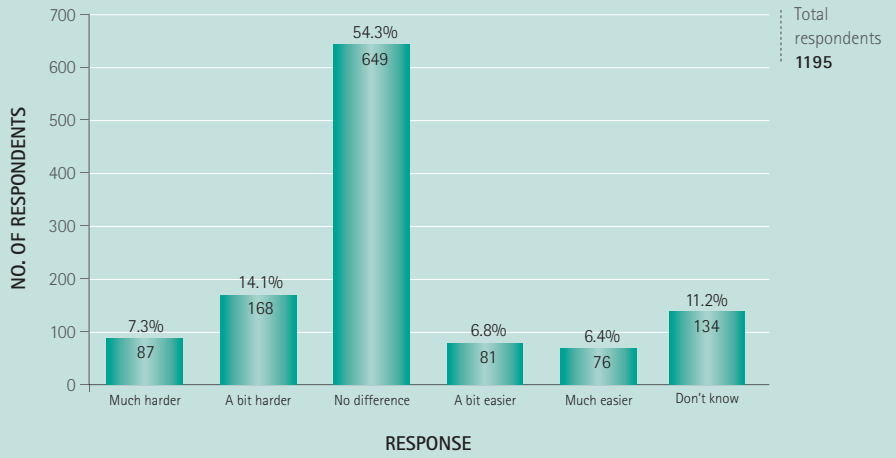


FIGURE A2.16: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 22 – HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS STATEMENT: TO GET AHEAD IN AUSTRALIA YOU HAVE TO LET GO OF MĀORI CULTURE

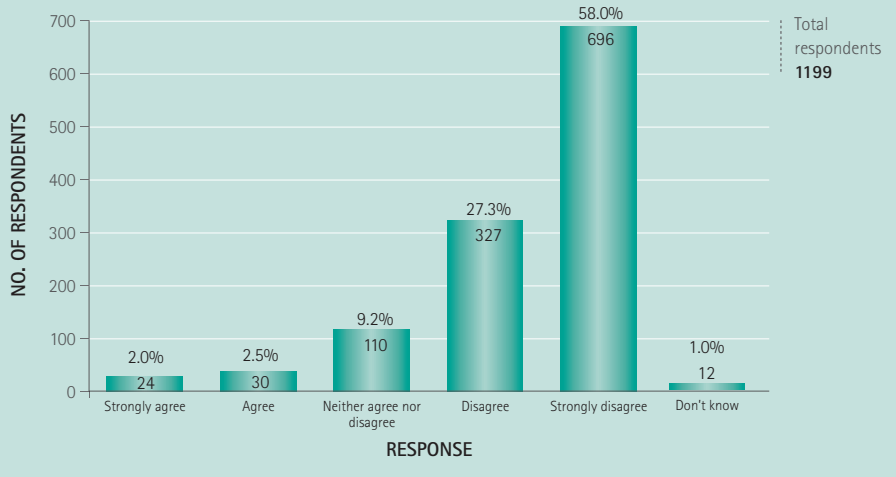


FIGURE A2.17: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 23, ON PERSONAL DEFINITIONS OF 'WHĀNAU'

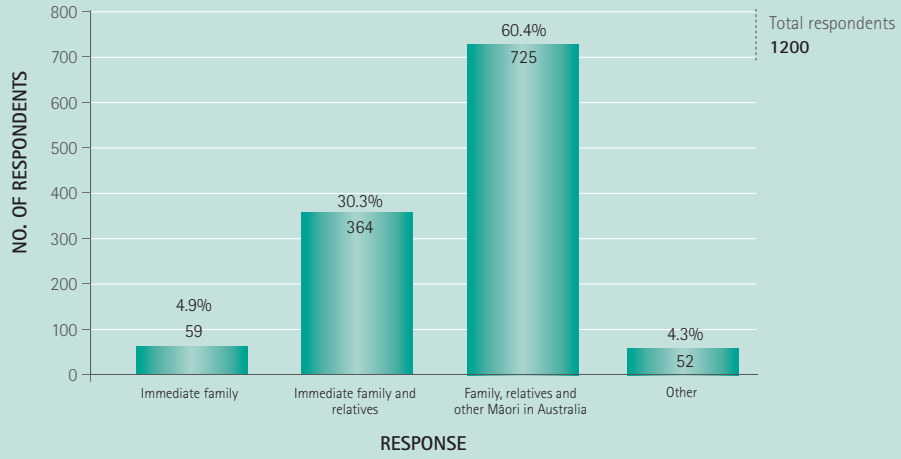


FIGURE A2.18: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 24 – DO YOU HAVE FAMILY / WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA?

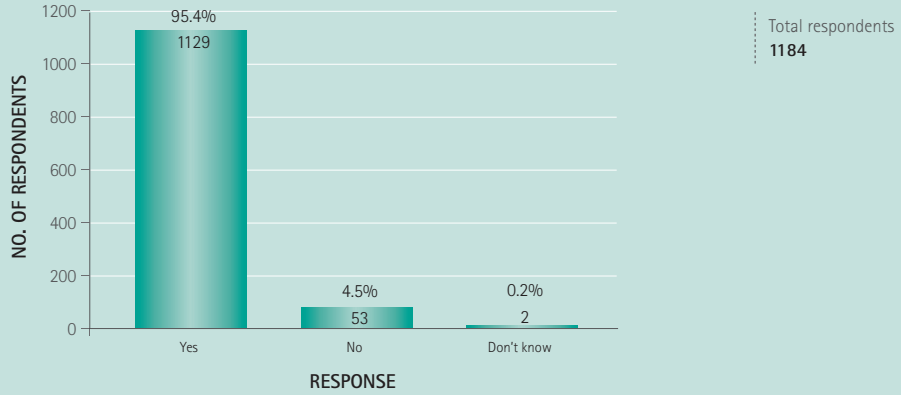


FIGURE A2.19: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 25 – ARE YOUR TIES MORE STRONG WITH YOUR FAMILY / WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA OR NEW ZEALAND? (MĀORI WITH FAMILY / WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA)

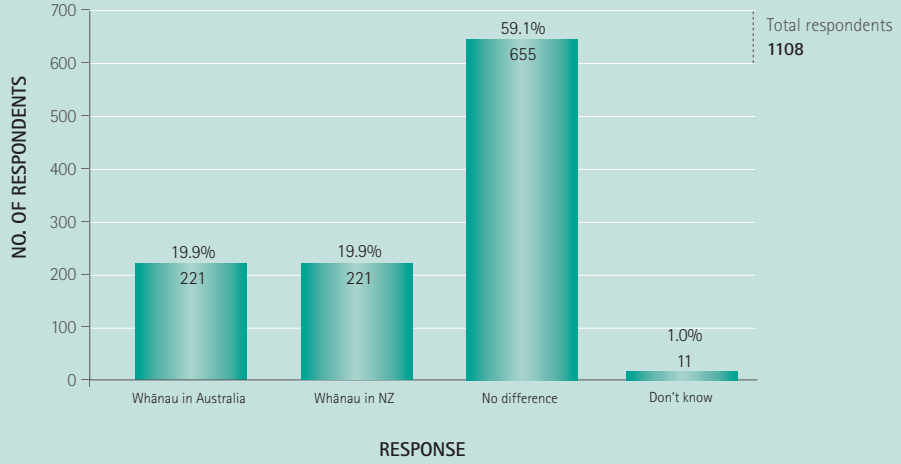


FIGURE A2.20: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 26 – WHEN YOU FIRST CAME TO AUSTRALIA HOW DID WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA HELP? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN) (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

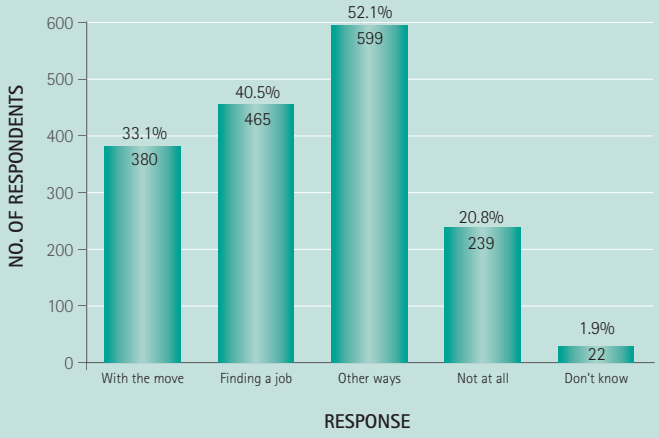


FIGURE A2.21: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 27, ON INVOLVEMENT WITH NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL ISSUES ONCE LEFT NEW ZEALAND (NZ-BORN)

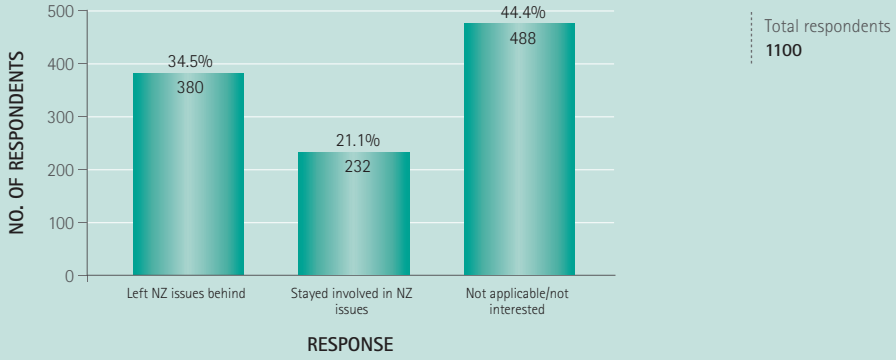


FIGURE A2.22: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 28 – HAS LEAVING [NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL ISSUES] BEHIND MADE YOU FEEL MORE FREE? (ALL RESPONDENTS)

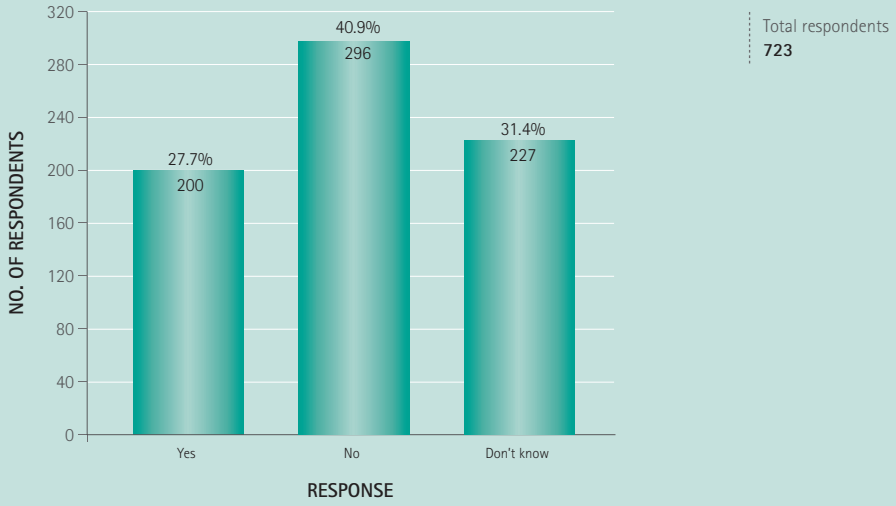


FIGURE A2.23: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 28 – HAS LEAVING [NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL ISSUES] BEHIND MADE YOU FEEL MORE FREE? (ALL NZ-BORN RESPONDENTS ANSWERING 'LEFT NZ ISSUES BEHIND' TO QUESTION 27)

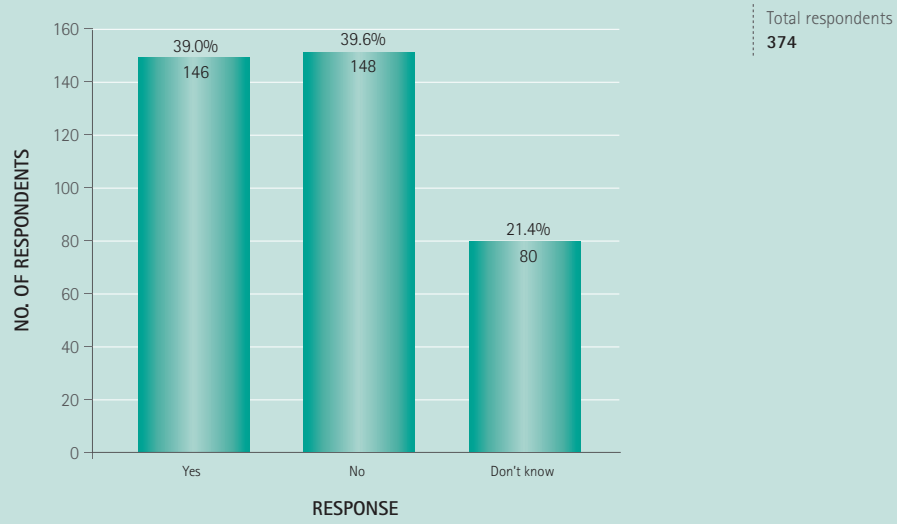


FIGURE A2.24: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 29, ON VOTING IN THE 2005 NEW ZEALAND ELECTION

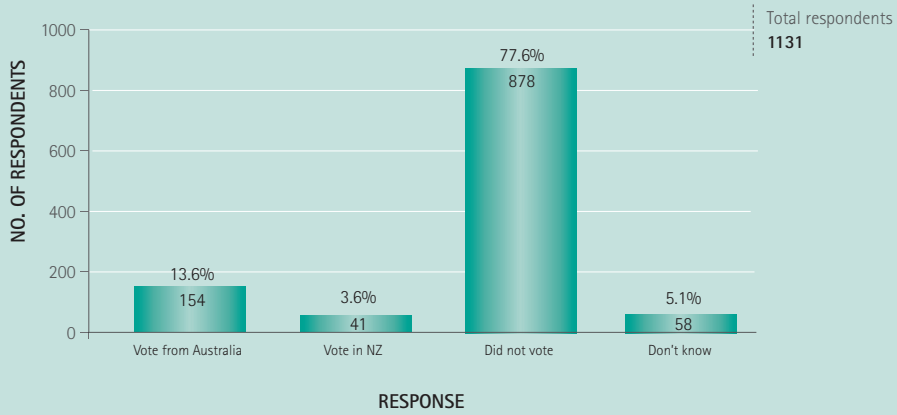


FIGURE A2.25: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 30 – WHILE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA HAVE YOU VOTED IN ANY [IWI BODY ELECTIONS]?

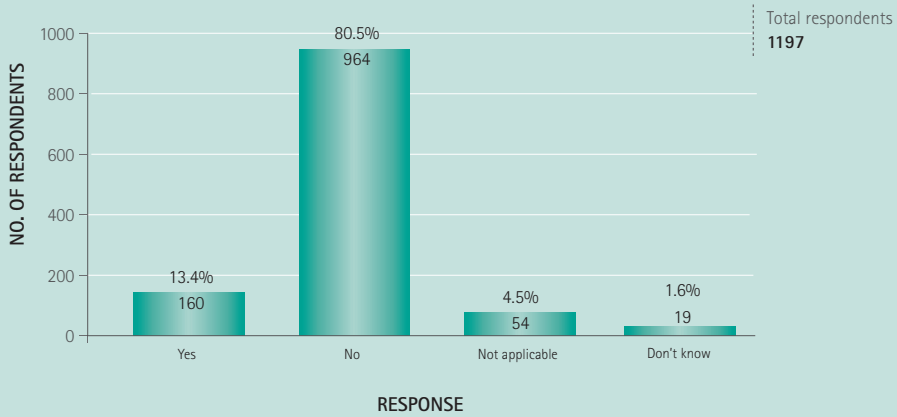


FIGURE A2.26: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 31 – WHILE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA HAVE YOU TAKEN PART IN ANY [ACTIVITY REGARDING MĀORI LAND OR TREATY SETTLEMENTS]? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

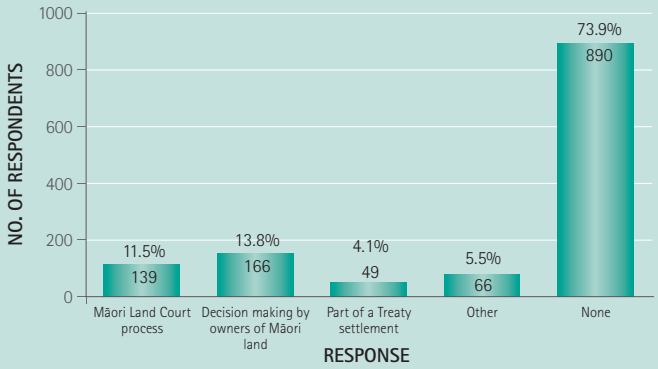


FIGURE FIGURE A2.27: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 (PART 1) – COMPARED TO MĀORI IN NZ, HOW MUCH IMPORTANCE DO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA GIVE TO IWI (TRIBAL) POLITICS?

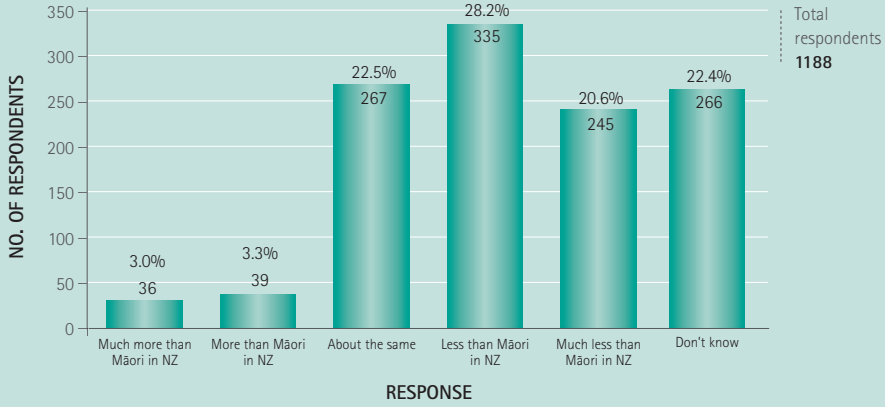


FIGURE A2.28: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 (PART 2) – COMPARED TO MĀORI IN NZ, HOW MOTIVATED ARE MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA TO GET AHEAD?

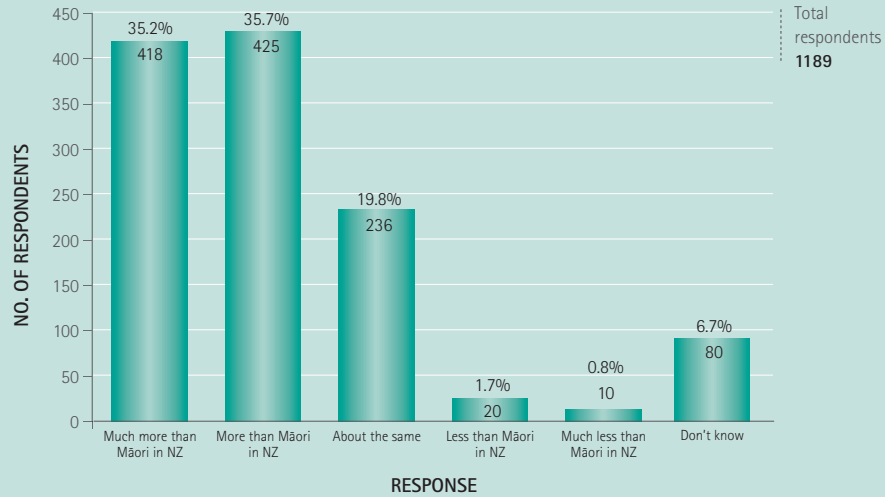


FIGURE A2.29: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 (PART 3) – COMPARED TO MĀORI IN NZ, HOW MĀORI-COMMUNITY-FOCUSED ARE MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA?

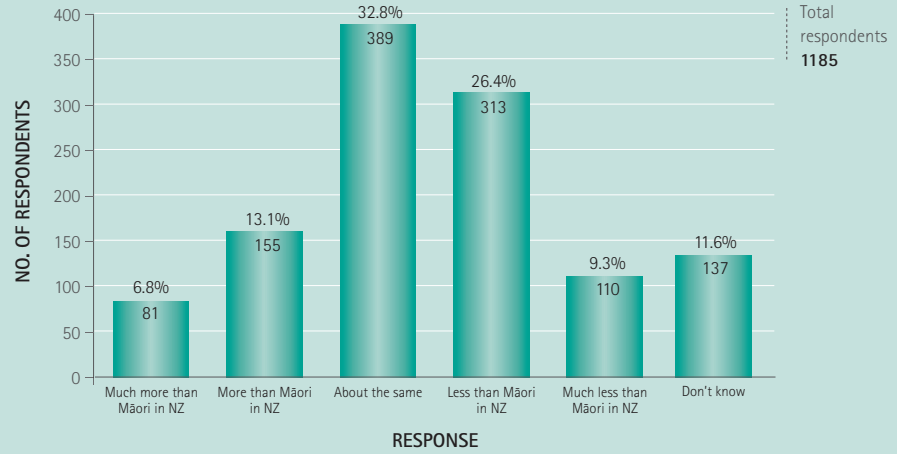


FIGURE A2.30: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 32 (PART 4) – COMPARED TO MĀORI IN NZ, HOW MUCH DO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA FEEL THE NEED TO CONNECT WITH THEIR MĀORI CULTURAL HERITAGE?

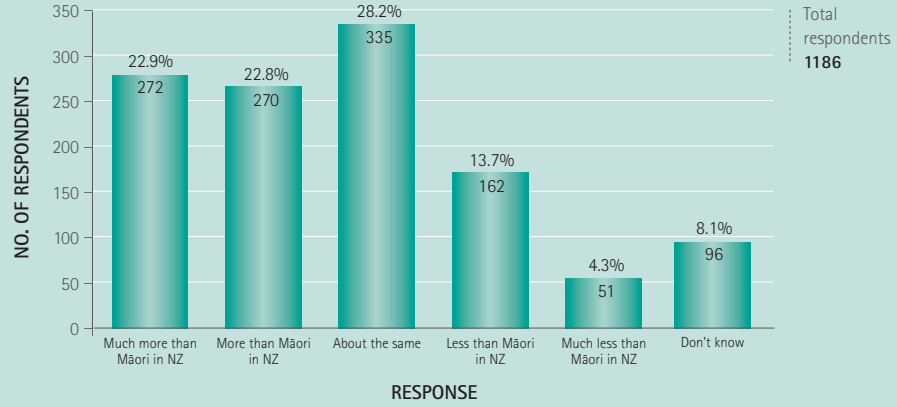


FIGURE A2.31: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 33 – WHILE YOU ARE IN AUSTRALIA HOW DO YOU GET NEWS OF NEW ZEALAND? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

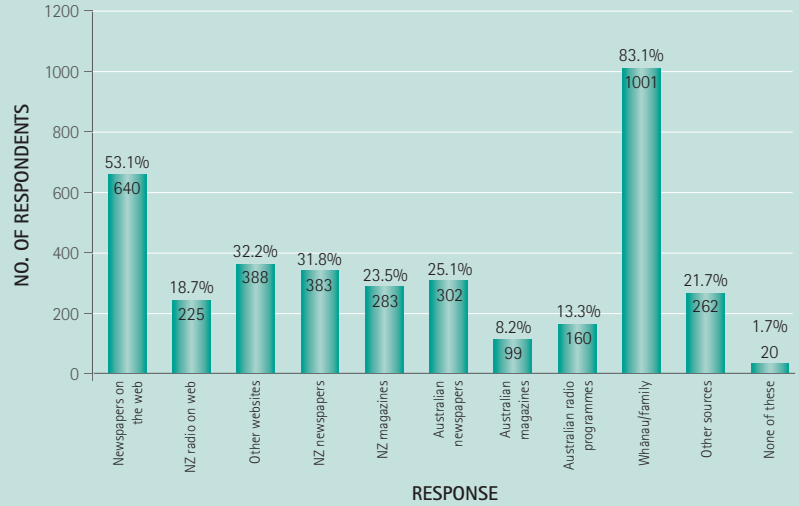


FIGURE A2.32: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 34 – WHAT DO MĀORI IN NEW ZEALAND THINK OF MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

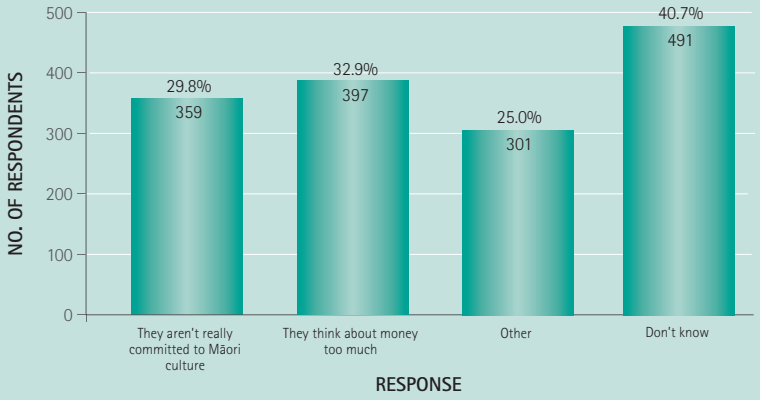


FIGURE A2.33: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 35 (PART 1) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: THE NZ GOVERNMENT FORGETS ABOUT MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA EXCEPT AT ELECTION TIME

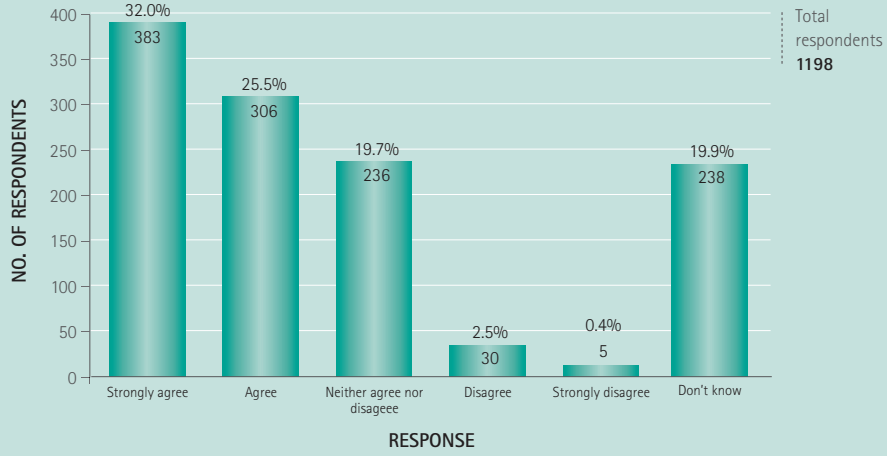


FIGURE A2.34: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 35 (PART 2) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: IWI ORGANISATIONS IN NZ GIVE ENOUGH SUPPORT TO MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

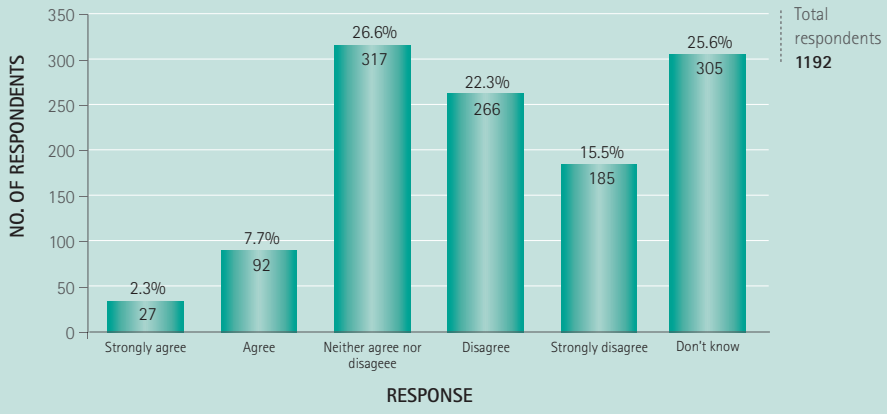


FIGURE A2.35: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 36 – IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS [HOW OFTEN] HAVE YOU BEEN TO NEW ZEALAND? (RESPONDENTS BORN IN AUSTRALIA OR ARRIVING IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE 2006)

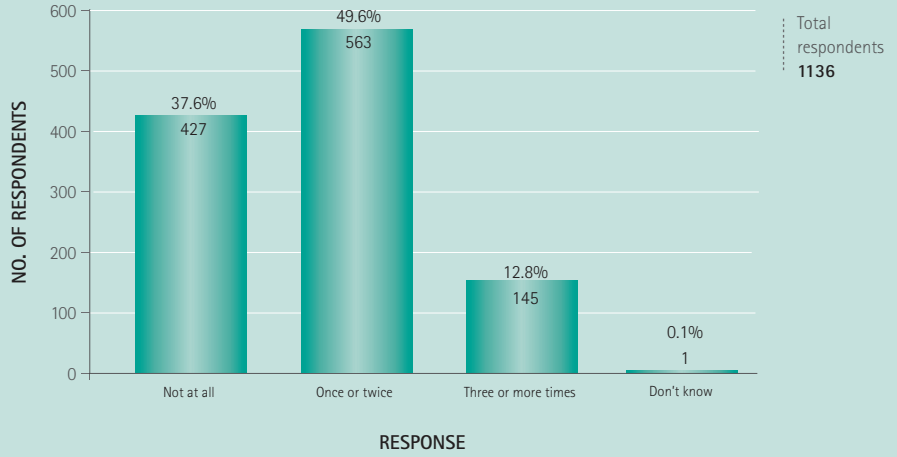


FIGURE A2.36: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 37 – CAN YOU SPEAK THE MĀORI LANGUAGE / TE REO (MORE THAN GREETINGS AND A FEW PHRASES)?

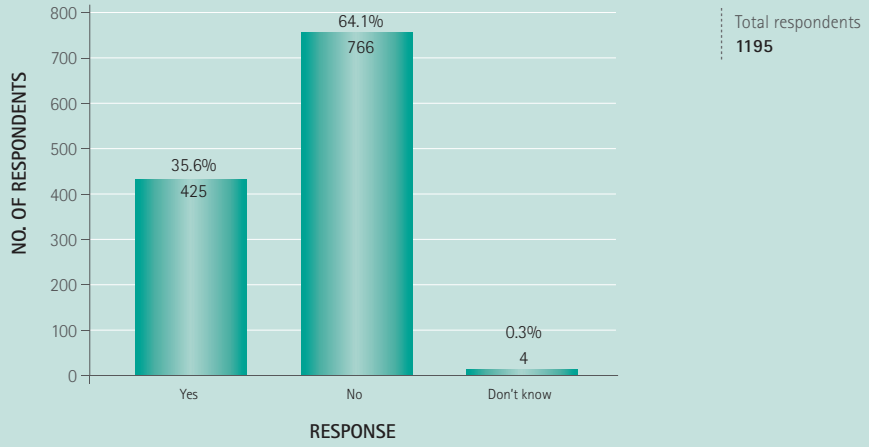


FIGURE A2.37: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 38 – DO YOU THINK YOU WILL (CONTINUE TO) LEARN THE MĀORI LANGUAGE / TE REO IN THE NEXT 12 MONTHS?

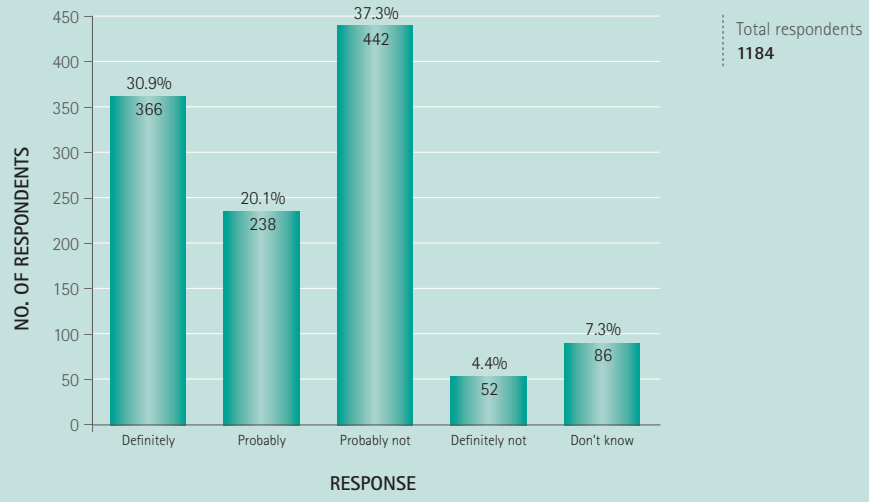


FIGURE A2.38: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 39 – HERE IN AUSTRALIA, ARE YOU INVOLVED IN [ANY OF THESE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES]? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED FOR THOSE NOT RESPONDING 'NONE')

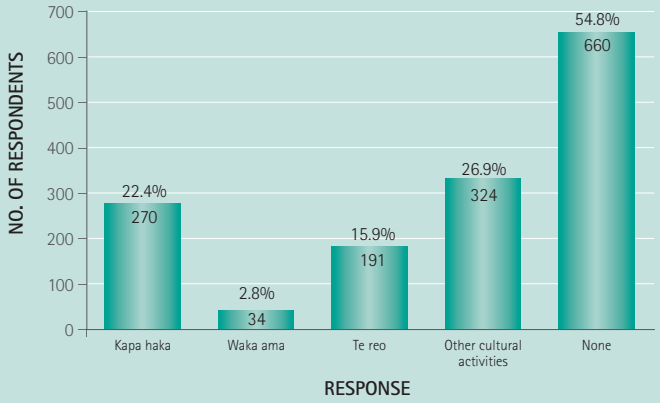


FIGURE A2.39: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 40 – HERE IN AUSTRALIA, ARE YOU INVOLVED IN ANY SPORT AS A PLAYER, COACH OR ADMINISTRATOR?

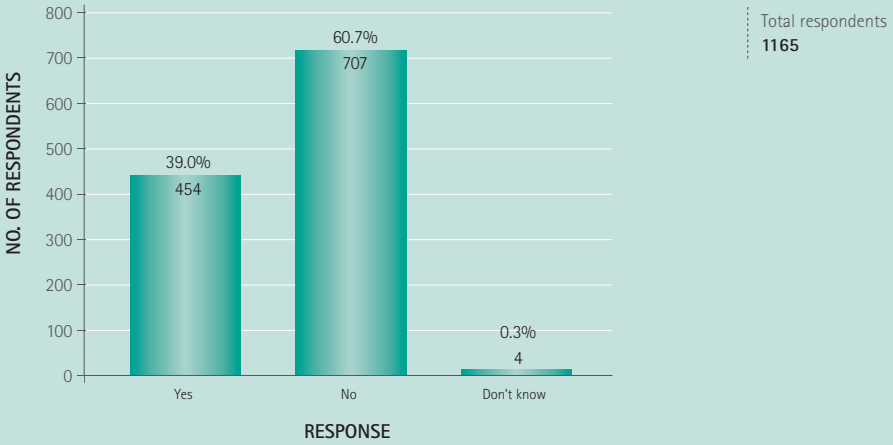


FIGURE A2.40: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 41 – IF YOU ARE INVOLVED IN A TEAM SPORT, HOW MANY PEOPLE IN THE TEAM ARE MĀORI?

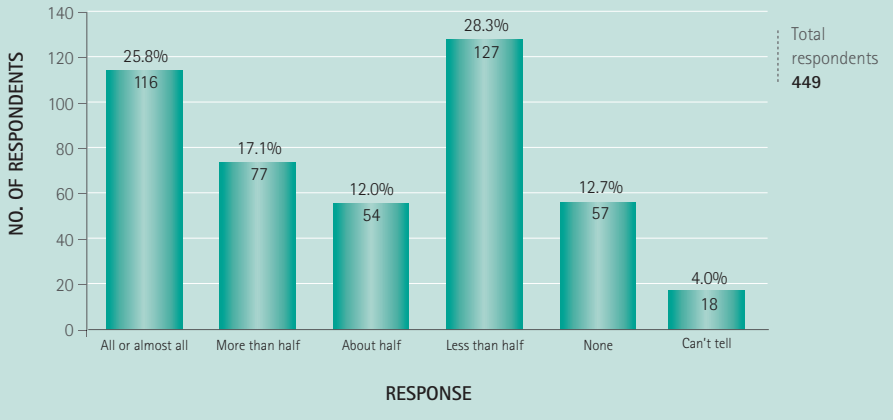


FIGURE A2.41: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 42 – HERE IN AUSTRALIA, DO YOU BELONG TO A SPORTS CLUB?

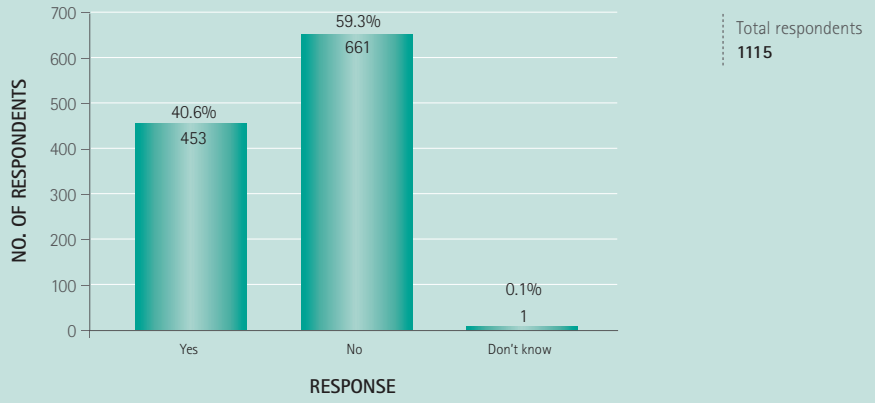


FIGURE A2.42: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 43 – IS IT A MĀORI SPORTS CLUB?

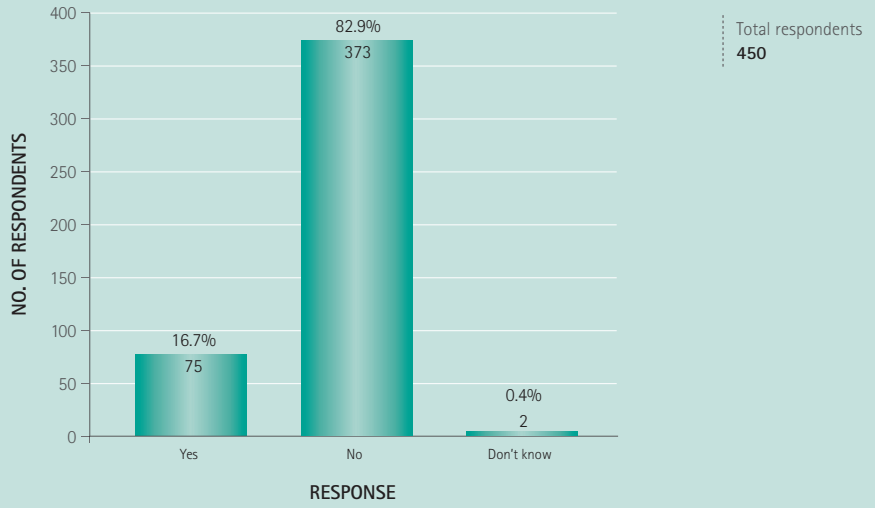


FIGURE A2.43: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 44 (PART 1) – IMPORTANCE OF REGULAR CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY / WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA

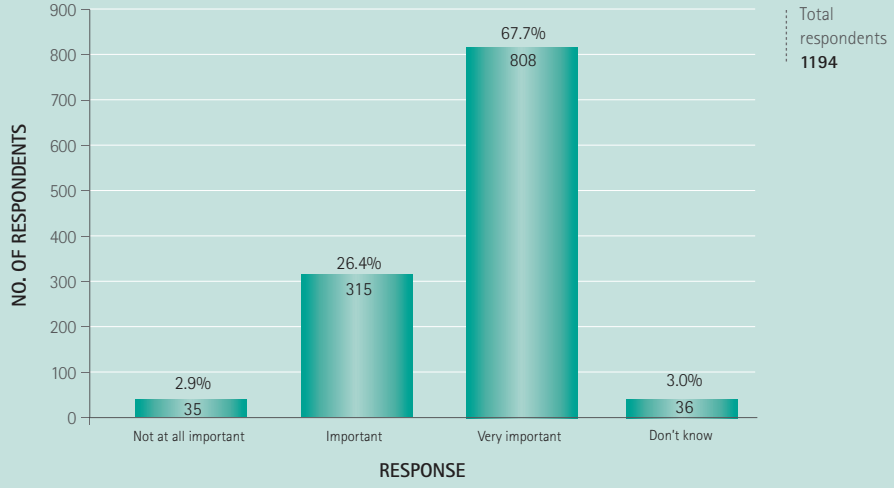


FIGURE A2.44: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 44 (PART 2) – IMPORTANCE OF REGULAR CONTACT WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF MY IWI IN AUSTRALIA

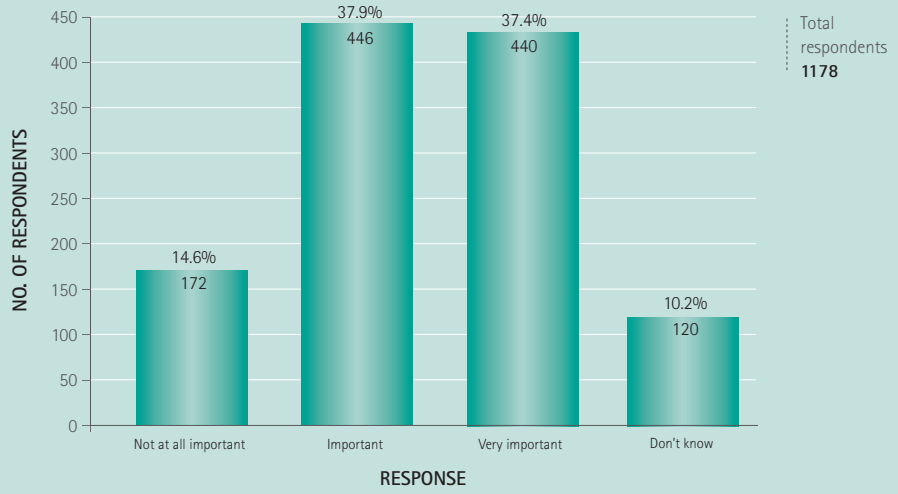


FIGURE A2.45: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 44 (PART 3) – IMPORTANCE OF REGULAR CONTACT WITH OTHER MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

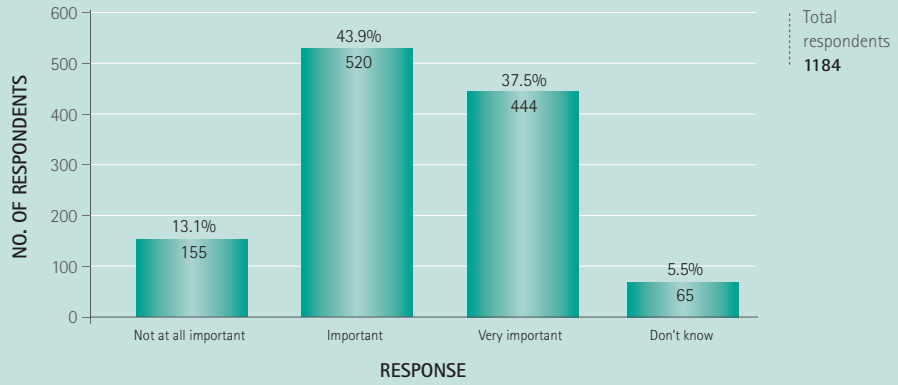


FIGURE A2.46: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 45 (PART 1) – HOW OFTEN I MEET UP WITH A MEMBER(S) OF MY FAMILY / WHĀNAU IN AUSTRALIA

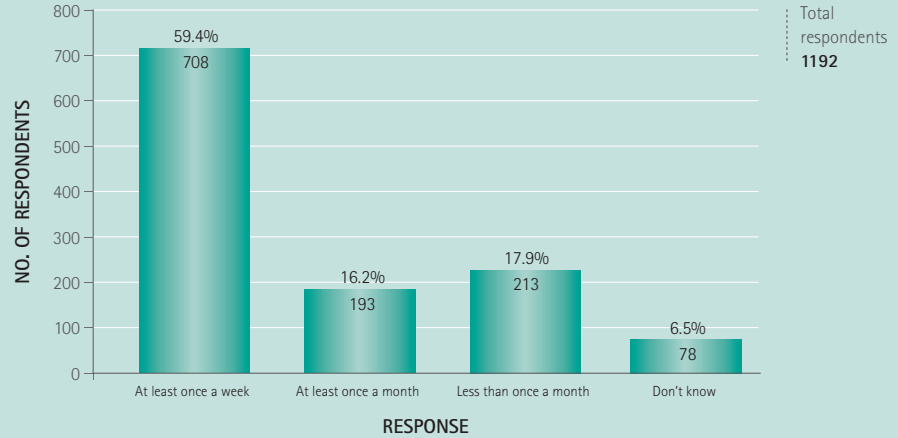


FIGURE A2.47: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 45 (PART 2) – HOW OFTEN I MEET UP WITH OTHER MEMBER(S) OF MY IWI IN AUSTRALIA

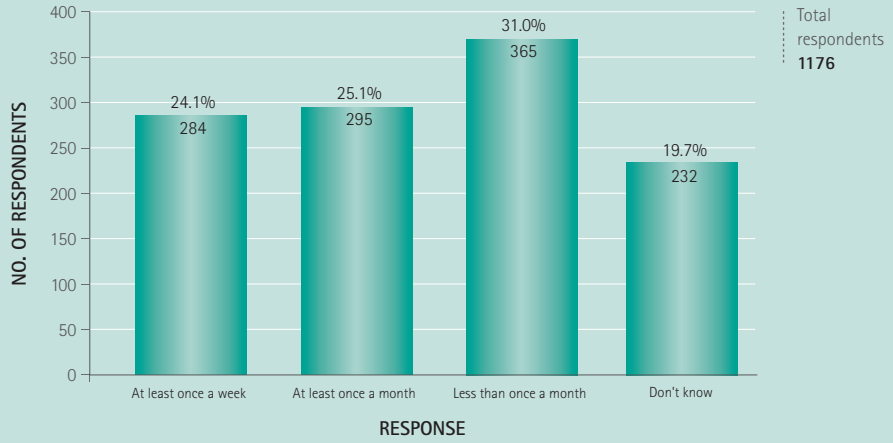


FIGURE A2.48: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 45 (PART 3) – HOW OFTEN I MEET UP WITH OTHER MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA

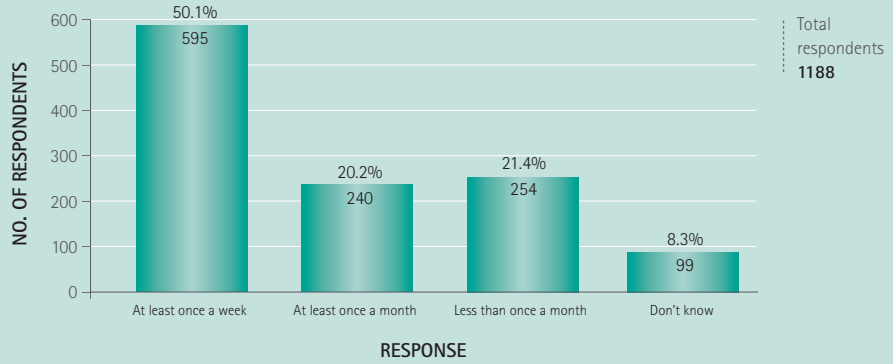


FIGURE A2.49: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 46 – WHEN YOU THINK OF 'SUCCESS' FOR YOU OR YOUR FAMILY / WHĀNAU, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DO YOU THINK OF? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

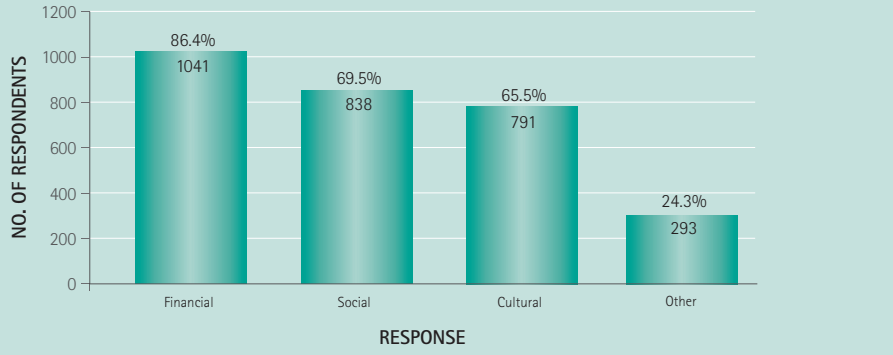


FIGURE A2.50: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 1) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR HOUSING? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN)

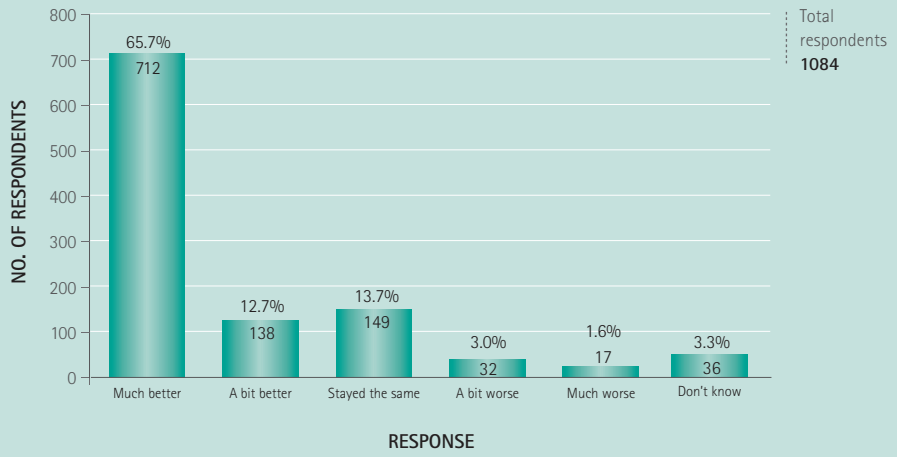


FIGURE A2.51: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 2) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR EMPLOYMENT? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN)

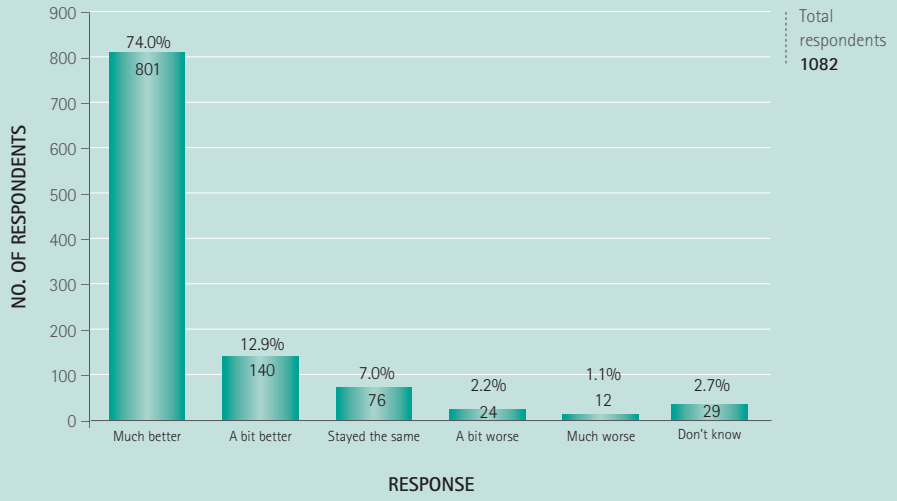


FIGURE A2.52: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 3) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR FINANCES? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN)

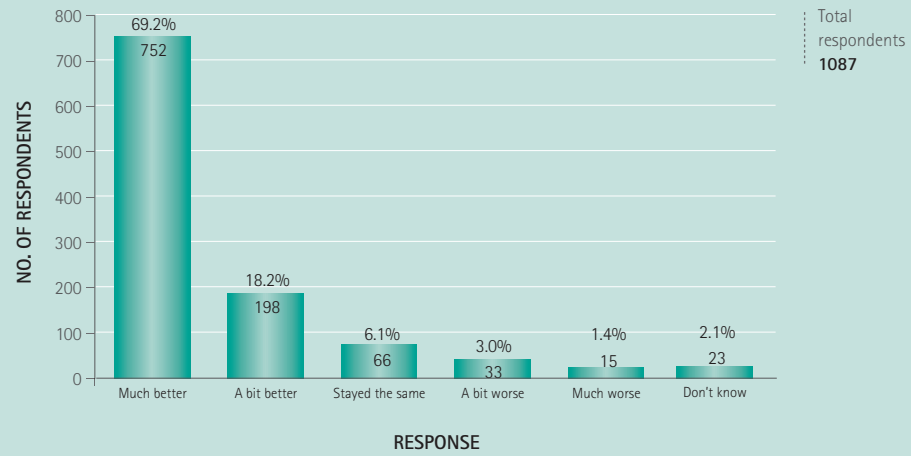


FIGURE A2.53: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 4) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR SOCIAL LIFE? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN)

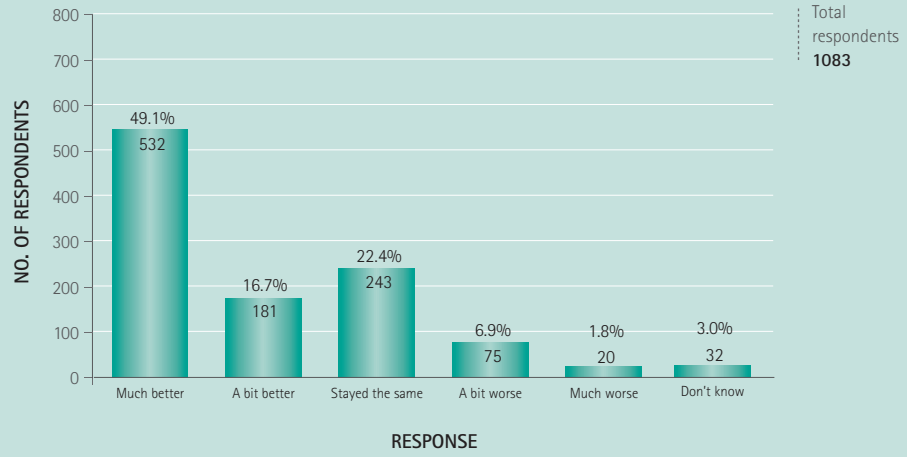


FIGURE A2.54: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 47 (PART 5) – SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR CULTURAL LIFE? (NON-AUSTRALIAN-BORN)

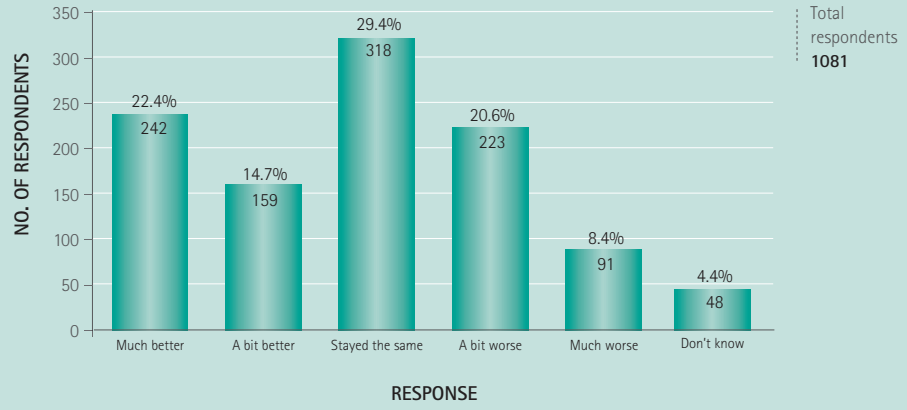


FIGURE A2.55: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 1) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA OUGHT TO SUPPORT ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS' STATUS AS THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE / TANGATA WHENUA IN AUSTRALIA

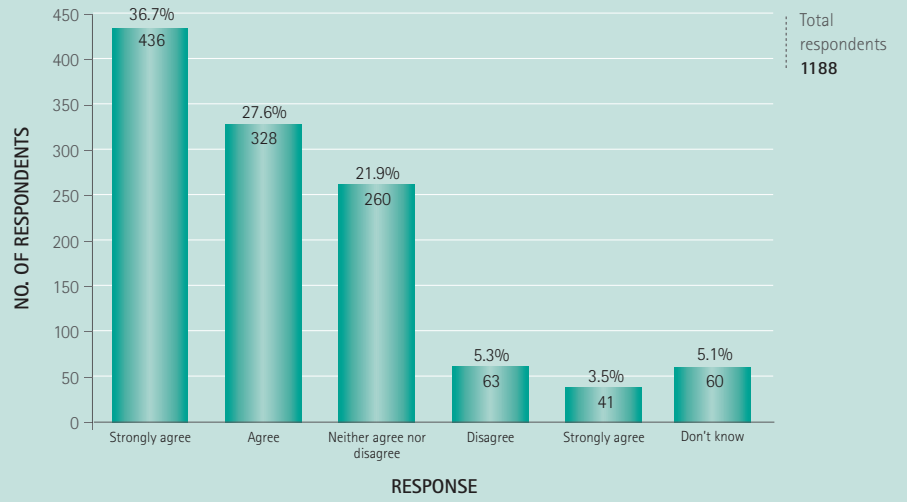


FIGURE A2.56: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 2) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA HAVE A LOT IN COMMON WITH OTHER PACIFIC PEOPLES IN AUSTRALIA

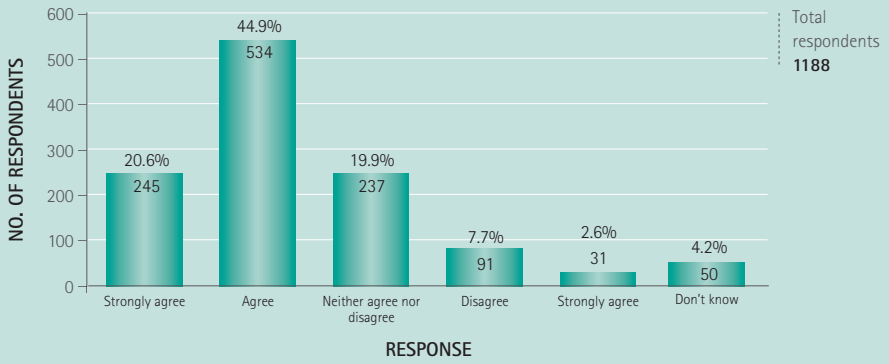


FIGURE A2.57: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 48 (PART 3) – WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MĀORI IN AUSTRALIA FIT MUCH MORE EASILY INTO MAINSTREAM AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY THAN IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

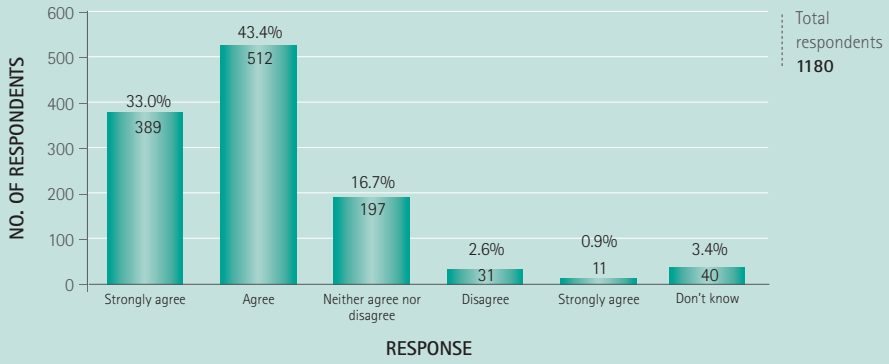
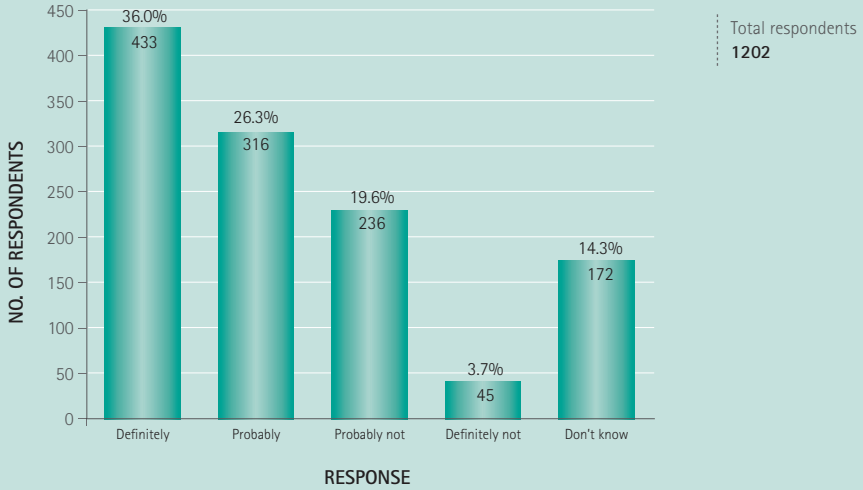


FIGURE A2.58: RESPONSES TO SURVEY QUESTION 49 – DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL LIVE IN NEW ZEALAND (AGAIN) SOME DAY?



APPENDIX 3: MĀORI POPULATION IN THE 2001 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS[1,2,3]

TABLE A3.1: MĀORI POPULATION IN THE 2001 AUSTRALIAN CENSUS, BY STATE STATISTICAL DIVISIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS

	Māori population	Total population	One Māori in every:
Australia	*72,956*	*18,972,350*	*260.1*
New South Wales	*25,906*	*5,841,844*	*225.5*
Sydney	*20,357*	*3,645,310*	*179.1*
• Inner Sydney	*1,682*	*252,774*	*150.3*
• Eastern Suburbs	*1,284*	*203,067*	*179.2*
• St George-Sutherland	*3,307*	*384,842*	*116.4*
• Canterbury-Bankstown	*1,784*	*270,818*	*151.8*
• Fairfield-Liverpool	*1,393*	*309,459*	*222.2*
• Outer South Western Sydney	*1,294*	*209,446*	*161.9*
• Inner Western Sydney	*553*	*144,191*	*260.7*
• Central Western Sydney	*2,095*	*259,085*	*123.7*
• Outer Western Sydney	*1,222*	*284,953*	*233.2*
• Blacktown	*2,132*	*235,601*	*110.5*
• Lower Northern Sydney	*655*	*258,075*	*394.0*
• Central Northern Sydney	*754*	*365,545*	*484.8*
• Northern Beaches	*936*	*202,126*	*215.9*
• Gosford-Wyong	*1,266*	*265,328*	*209.6*
Hunter	*1,337*	*522,074*	*390.5*
Illawarra	*1,108*	*355,065*	*320.5*
Richmond-Tweed	*574*	*196,466*	*342.3*
Mid-North Coast	*500*	*256,495*	*513.0*
Northern	*315*	*160,019*	*508.0*
North Western	*260*	*106,368*	*409.1*
Central West	*385*	*157,468*	*409.0*
South Eastern	*461*	*183,430*	*397.9*
Murrumbidgee	*347*	*136,398*	*393.1*
Murray	*230*	*99,757*	*433.7*
Far West	*25*	*21,785*	*871.4*
Offshore areas and migratory	*7*	*1,209*	*172.7*

1 The source for these figures is a 2005 purchase of data by Te Puni Kōkiri from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (as mentioned in chapter 1).

2 Maps of these statistical divisions and subdivisions can be viewed at www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1216.0Jul%202006?OpenDocument.

3 Some figures have been affected by random adjusting by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to prevent the release of confidential data.

TABLE A3.1 CONT.

	Māori population	Total population	One Māori in every:
Victoria	*10,874*	*4,280,015*	*393.6*
Melbourne	*9,020*	*3,099,249*	*343.6*
• Inner Melbourne	*607*	*218,794*	*360.5*
• Western Melbourne	*1,419*	*374,579*	*264.0*
• Melton-Wyndham	*583*	*126,349*	*216.7*
• Moreland City	*325*	*121,184*	*372.9*
• Northern Middle Melbourne	*489*	*220,615*	*451.2*
• Hume City	*417*	*121,419*	*291.2*
• Northern Outer Melbourne	*277*	*161,003*	*581.2*
• Boroondara City	*101*	*139,875*	*1384.9*
• Eastern Middle Melbourne	*636*	*380,847*	*598.8*
• Eastern Outer Melbourne	*436*	*224,273*	*514.4*
• Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	*222*	*128,420*	*578.5*
• Southern Melbourne	*973*	*345,568*	*355.2*
• Greater Dandenong City	*775*	*113,591*	*146.6*
• South Eastern Outer Melbourne	*894*	*205,261*	*229.6*
• Frankston City	*580*	*102,255*	*176.3*
• Mornington Peninsula Shire	*284*	*115,214*	*405.7*
Barwon	*355*	*224,485*	*632.4*
Western District	*210*	*88,943*	*423.5*
Central Highlands	*195*	*124,688*	*639.4*
Wimmera	*37*	*45,653*	*1,233.9*
Mallee	*148*	*80,862*	*546.4*
Loddon	*218*	*146,411*	*671.6*
Goulburn	*233*	*171,889*	*737.7*
Ovens-Murray	*115*	*87,505*	*760.9*
East Gippsland	*99*	*70,522*	*712.3*
Gippsland	*237*	*139,138*	*587.1*
Offshore areas and migratory	*7*	*670*	*95.7*
Queensland	*21,643*	*3,340,132*	*154.3*
Brisbane	*11,969*	*1,513,195*	*126.4*
• Brisbane City	*5,070*	*821,618*	*162.1*
• Gold Coast City Part A	*568*	*41,875*	*73.7*
• Beaudesert Shire Part A	*201*	*25,437*	*126.6*
• Caboolture Shire Part A	*566*	*99,879*	*176.5*
• Ipswich City (Part in Brisbane statistical division)	*764*	*103,934*	*136.0*
• Logan City	*2,821*	*153,501*	*54.4*
• Pine Rivers Shire	*652*	*112,895*	*173.2*
• Redcliffe City	*377*	*46,075*	*122.2*
• Redland Shire	*950*	*107,981*	*113.7*
Moreton	*5,004*	*669,867*	*133.9*

TABLE A3.1 CONT.

	Māori population	Total population	One Māori in every:
Wide Bay-Burnett	626	216,335	345.6
Darling Downs	476	188,564	396.1
South West	103	25,000	242.7
Fitzroy	689	167,101	242.5
Central West	154	12,549	81.5
Mackay	657	128,687	195.9
Northern	602	175,061	290.8
Far North	1,083	207,792	191.9
North West	274	34,790	127.0
Offshore areas and migratory	5	1,190	238.0
South Australia	2,124	1,375,499	647.6
Adelaide	1,432	1,007,890	703.9
• Northern Adelaide	413	317,087	767.8
• Western Adelaide	295	189,835	643.5
• Eastern Adelaide	164	204,442	1,246.6
• Southern Adelaide	561	296,527	528.6
Outer Adelaide	137	103,463	755.2
Yorke and Lower North	26	40,282	1549.3
Murray Lands	108	62,477	578.5
South East	230	56,138	244.1
Eyre	65	30,952	476.2
Northern	127	73,778	580.9
Offshore areas and migratory	0	520	–
Western Australia	10,180	1,713,874	168.4
Perth	6,770	1,245,877	184.0
• Central Metropolitan	222	110,329	497.0
• East Metropolitan	1,202	214,909	201.3
• North Metropolitan	2225	373,530	167.9
• South West Metropolitan	1306	261,597	200.3
• South East Metropolitan	1816	285,513	157.2
South West	772	169,642	219.7
Lower Great Southern	237	47,115	198.8
Upper Great Southern	101	16,862	166.9
Midlands	261	47,185	180.8
South Eastern	942	50,867	54.0
Central	344	61,578	179.0
Pilbara	580	37,918	65.4
Kimberley	157	35,626	226.9
Offshore areas and migratory	16	1,204	75.3
Tasmania	706	422,644	598.7
Greater Hobart	279	177,606	636.6

TABLE A3.1 CONT.

	Māori population	Total population	One Māori in every:
Southern	*43*	*30,864*	*717.8*
Northern	*212*	*119,180*	*562.2*
Mersey-Lyell	*170*	*94,299*	*554.7*
Offshore areas and migratory	*0*	*693*	–
Northern Territory	*951*	*184,295*	*193.8*
Darwin	*557*	*95,895*	*172.2*
Northern Territory – Balance	*384*	*86,672*	*225.7*
Offshore areas and migratory	*9*	*1,727*	*191.9*
Australian Capital Territory	*570*	*291,488*	*511.4*
Canberra	*570*	*291,085*	*510.7*
Australian Capital Territory – Balance	*0*	*403*	–
Other territories	*3*	*2,490*	*830.0*

APPENDIX 4: PROFILE OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

TABLE A4.1: NEW ZEALAND-BORN SURVEY RESPONDENTS, BY BIRTH REGION

Birth region	Number of respondents
Bay of Plenty (including Taupō and Rotorua)	*201*
Waikato/Hauraki	*179*
Auckland	*172*
Northland	*121*
Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa	*93*
Wellington	*82*
Gisborne/East Coast	*80*
South Island	*64*
Whanganui/Rangitikei/Manawatū/Horowhenua	*63*
King Country	*34*
Taranaki	*28*
Not stated	*16*

TABLE A4.2: HIGHEST SURVEY TALLIES, BY AUSTRALIAN URBAN AREAS

Urban area	Number of survey respondents	Percentage of survey tally for state	Percentage of overall survey tally	Māori census population[1]	Survey tally as percentage of Māori census population
Sydney	*380*	*80.9*	*31.6*	*18,617*	*2.0*
Melbourne	*226*	*89.3*	*18.8*	*8,649*	*2.6*
Brisbane	*180*	*64.5*	*15.0*	*11,403*	*1.6*
Perth	*86*	*63.2*	*7.2*	*5,758*	*1.5*
Gold Coast	*45*	*16.1*	*3.7*	*3,729*	*1.2*
Central Coast	*38*	*8.1*	*3.2*	*1,173*	*3.2*
Adelaide	*23*	*85.2*	*1.9*	*1,315*	*1.7*
Kalgoorlie-Boulder	*22*	*16.2*	*1.8*	*542*	*4.1*
Canberra	*14*	*n/a*[2]	*1.2*	*727*	*1.9*
Townsville	*13*	*4.7*	*1.1*	*411*	*3.2*
Darwin-Palmerston	*13*	*65.0*	*1.1*	*494*	*2.6*
Sunshine Coast	*12*	*4.3*	*1.0*	*790*	*1.5*
Wollongong	*11*	*2.3*	*0.9*	*669*	*1.6*
Geelong	*10*	*4.0*	*0.8*	*201*	*5.0*

1 These figures are the 2001 Australian census 'urban centre/locality' totals.

2 The Canberra proportion of the state total is not relevant, as the Canberra urban area straddles the border between the Australian Capital Territory and New South Wales.

TABLE A4.3: HIGHEST SURVEY TALLIES, BY POSTCODE

Postcode	Location	Survey tally	2001 Māori census population[3]	Tally as percentage of 2001 Māori census population	Rank by Māori population[4]
2148	Blacktown	*19*	*466*	*4.1*	*4*
3175	Dandenong	*18*	*311*	*5.6*	*16*
6430	Kalgoorlie	*17*	*300*	*5.7*	*17*
4114	Woodridge	*17*	*781*	*2.2*	*1*
3976	Hampton Park	*16*	*209*	*7.7*	–
3805	Narre Warren	*14*	*155*	*9.0*	–
4132	Marsden	*13*	*312*	*4.2*	*14*
2170	Liverpool	*13*	*420*	*3.1*	*7*
3029	Hoppers Crossing	*12*	*206*	*5.8*	–
2220	Hurstville	*12*	*312*	*3.8*	*15*
2207	Bexley	*12*	*377*	*3.2*	*9*
2160	Merrylands	*12*	*384*	*3.1*	*8*
2216	Rockdale	*11*	*348*	*3.2*	*11*
Other postcodes with high Māori populations					
2770	Mount Druitt	*4*	*592*	*0.7*	*2*
4211	Nerang	*2*	*534*	*0.4*	*3*
4127	Springwood	*7*	*435*	*1.6*	*5*
2560	Campbelltown	*4*	*435*	*0.9*	*6*

3 These figures are the 2001 Australian census 'urban centre/locality' totals.

4 This refers to table 4.2 in chapter 4, which sets out the 17 most populous postcodes for Māori in Australia.

APPENDIX 5: SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS AND INTERVIEWS

TABLE A5.1: SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS AND INTERVIEWS, IN PERSON

Type of encounter or nature of event	Location and date	Number of Māori interviewed or spoken to[1]
Festivals and cultural or sporting gatherings	Merrylands, 4 February 2006 (stall held)	*20*
	Kingston, 5 February 2006 (stall held)	*15*
	Woodridge and Paddington, 6 February 2006	*12*
	Rockdale, 11 February 2006 (stall held)	*15*
	Matraville, 4 March 2006	*8*
	Tempe, 4 March 2006	*10*
	Lidcombe, 15 April 2006 (stall held)	*12*
	Total	*92*
Group meetings convened on my behalf	Footscray, 26 February 2006	*13*
	Tomago, 10 April 2006	*15*
	Toowoon Bay, 18 April 2006	*7*
	Maddington, 16 June 2006	*6*
	Kalgoorlie, 25 June 2006	*25*
	Mackay, 25 July 2006	*5*
	Bowen, 27 July 2006	*15*
	Darwin, 27 August 2006	*14*
	Hobart, 10 September 2006	*11*
	Total	*111*
Kapa haka sessions, te reo classes or kōhanga reo	Altona, 19 February 2006	*12*
	Sydney CBD, 7 March 2006	*8*
	Geebung, 7 May 2006	*5*
	Wacol, 10 May 2006	*4*
	Woodridge, 26 May 2006	*5*
	St Agnes, 3 June 2006	*4*
	Ballajura, 28 June 2006	*9*
	Kirwan, 29 July 2006	*6*
	Total	*53*
Interviews in people's homes	Chambers Flat, 8 January 2006	*1*
	Surfers Paradise, 19 January 2006	*4*
	Runcorn, 10 February 2006	*1*
	Laverton, 20 February 2006	*2*
	Werribee, 20 February 2006	*2*
	Spotswood, 20 February 2006	*3*
	Hallam, 23 February 2006	*3*
	Knoxfield, 23 February 2006	*3*
	Ararat, 24 February 2006	*2*
	Meadowbrook, 2 April 2006	*2*
	Cedar Grove, 3 April 2006	*5*

1 Includes the number of adults only (ie children at kōhanga reo not counted).

TABLE A5.1 CONT.

Type of encounter or nature of event	Location and date	Number of Māori interviewed or spoken to
Interviews in people's homes cont.	Waratah, 11 April 2006	*2*
	Mannering Park, 12 April 2006	*1*
	Lilyfield, 14 April 2006	*1*
	Jerrabombera, 22 April 2006	*2*
	Wishart, 26 May 2006	*4*
	Runcorn, 15 June 2006	*2*
	Mosman Park, 18 June 2006	*2*
	Bunbury, 20 June 2006	*2*
	Albany, 21 June 2006	*1*
	Esperance, 23 June 2006	*1*
	Esperance, 24 June 2006	*1*
	Calamvale, 10 July 2006	*1*
	Rasmussen, 30 July 2006	*1*
	Brinsmead, 1 August 2006	*2*
	Caravonica, 1 August 2006	*1*
	Mooroobool, 2 August 2006	*1*
	Mt Sheridan, 2 August 2006	*2*
	Springwood, 13 August 2006	*2*
	Alice Springs, 25 August 2006	*1*
	Alice Springs, 26 August 2006	*1*
	Alice Springs, 26 August 2006	*1*
	Alice Springs, 26 August 2006	*1*
	Total	*61*
Interviews at people's places of work	St Lucia, 18 January 2006	*1*
	Melbourne CBD, 21 February 2006	*1*
	Campsie, 6 March 2006	*1*
	Sydney CBD, 7 March 2006	*2*
	South West Rocks, 9 April 2006	*1*
	Raymond Terrace, 10 April 2006	*1*
	Armidale, 27 April 2006	*1*
	Nathan, 5 May 2006	*1*
	Churchlands, 19 June 2006	*1*
	Mirrabooka, 28 June 2006	*1*
	Merinda, 28 July 2006	*2*
	Cairns CBD, 1 August 2006	*1*
	Alice Springs, 25 August 2006	*1*
	Humpty Doo, 28 August 2006	*1*
	Total	*16*

TABLE A5.1 CONT.

Type of encounter or nature of event	Location and date	Number of Māori interviewed or spoken to
Interviews held in other places, such as cafes, shopping centres, radio stations, meeting rooms	Rotorua, 20 October 2005[2]	*5*
	Wellington, 10 November 2005[3]	*2*
	Kangaroo Point, 9 January 2006	*3*
	Sunnybank, 25 January 2006	*1*
	Marrickville, 2 February 2006	*2*
	Maroubra, 3 March 2006	*2*
	Gymea, 5 March 2006	*1*
	Budgewoi, 12 April 2006	*1*
	Wollongong, 20 April 2006	*2*
	Adelaide CBD, 2 June 2006	*1*
	Cannington, 20 June 2006	*1*
	Kalgoorlie, 25 June 2006	*2*
	Scarborough, 28 June 2006	*1*
	Mackay, 26 July 2006	*2*
	Mackay, 26 July 2006	*1*
	Cairns CBD, 2 August 2006	*2*
	Brisbane CBD, 7 September 2006	*1*
	Sunnybank Hills, 26 September 2006	*2*
	Total	*32*
At church	Redfern, 5 March 2006	*12*
	Huntfield Heights, 4 June 2006	*3*
	Total	*15*
Social gatherings	Springwood, 12 February 2006	*11*
	New Farm, 6 May 2006	*12*
	Kirwan, 29 July 2006	*6*
	Sunnybank Hills, 23 September 2006	*17*
	Total	*46*
Public markets	Woodridge, 2 April 2006 (stall held)	*15*
	Total	*15*
GRAND TOTAL		**441**

In total, I conducted 65 interviews, attended nine hui convened for me to meet members of local Māori communities, held five stalls at public gatherings and attended 15 other gatherings to which I was invited but which had a separate agenda (such as church, language or cultural tuition and so on). Of the grand total of 441 Māori in Australia I met, 207 were men and 234 were women.

Aside from speaking on the phone with at least 100 Māori in Australia (usually to arrange a meeting or to seek information about a forthcoming event), I conducted substantive phone interviews with 38 Māori, as set out in table A5.2. I also met 15 of them in person at some point (indicated with an asterisk).

2 Māori visiting from Australia.

3 Māori visiting from Australia.

TABLE A5.2: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS, BY PHONE

Date	Location of interviewee	Male/female
10 January 2006	Brisbane	F*
16 January 2006	Melbourne	M
25 January 2006	Sydney	F*
31 January 2006	Newcastle	M*
31 January 2006	Melbourne	F
9 February 2006	Hobart	F*
16 February 2006	Melbourne	F
2 March 2006	Ipswich	M
13 March 2006	Brisbane	M*
14 March 2006	Adelaide	M
15 March 2006	Darwin	F*
16 March 2006	Ipswich	F
16 March 2006	Central Coast	M*
16 March 2006	Perth	M
28 March 2006	Cairns	F*
30 March 2006	Adelaide	F
5 May 2006	Newcastle	M*
5 May 2006	Kalgoorlie	M*
8 May 2006	Perth	M*
9 May 2006	Sydney	M*
9 May 2006	Geelong	F
23 May 2006	Sydney	M
30 May 2006	Sydney	M
6 June 2006	Mackay	F*
5 July 2006	Geraldton	F
7 July 2006	Wollongong	M*
11 July 2006	Newcastle	M
13 July 2006	Sydney	M
13 July 2006	Sydney	M
19 July 2006	Darwin	M*
10 August 2006	Perth	F
21 August 2006	Sydney	M
22 August 2006	Alice Springs	F
29 August 2006	Sunshine Coast	M
1 September 2006	Sydney	M
6 September 2006	Adelaide	M
7 December 2006	Sydney	M
13 December 2006	Newcastle	M

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Plate 37: Huritau (Harry) Poutapu. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 38: Harry, his children, their partners and his mokopuna. Springwood, Brisbane

Plate 39: The Poutapu grandchildren take on the adults in a game of rugby. Springwood, Brisbane

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ABBREVIATIONS

AbaF	Australian Business Arts Foundation
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ANMC	Australian National Māori Council
CAAMA	Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association
CFMEU	Construction, Forestry, Mining, Energy Union (Australia)
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Australia)
GST	Goods and Services Tax
MAQ	Multicultural Affairs Queensland
no.	number
NOHSC	National Occupational Health and Safety Commission (Australia)
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
p	page
pp	pages
Qld	Queensland
QMS	Queensland Māori Society
SA	South Australia
SCV	Special Category Visa (Australia)
SGP	Settlement Grants Programme (Australia)
SPF	South Pacific Foundation of Victoria
SNZ	Statistics New Zealand
Tas	Tasmania
Vic	Victoria
WA	Western Australia

GLOSSARY

Ahitereiria	*Australia*
ahi kā	*fires of occupation*
āpōtoro	*apostle*
aroha	*love*
haka	*posture dance*
haka poi	*a form of haka using balls on lengths of string*
hākari	*feast*
hāngī	*earth oven*
hapū	*sub-tribe*
heru	*comb*
hongi	*pressing noses in greeting*
hui	*meeting*
iwi	*tribe, people*
kai	*food*
kai moana	*seafood*
kaiako	*teacher*
kanohi ki te kanohi	*face to face*
kapa haka	*haka performance group*
karanga	*call, summon*
kaumātua	*elder(s)*
kaupapa	*agenda, plan*
karakia	*prayer*
kawa	*protocol*
kete	*basket*
kia ora	*hello*
Kīngitanga	*King Movement*
kina	*sea urchin*
koha	*gift, present*
kōhanga reo	*language nest*
kōrero	*speak, discussion*
koro	*grandfather*
koroneihana	*coronation*
kūmara	*sweet potato*
kuia	*female elder*
kura	*school*
kura kaupapa	*Māori language immersion school*
kura reo	*language school*
mahi	*work*
mana	*prestige, authority*
manuhiri	*guest(s)*
manaakitanga	*hospitality*
marae	*open meeting place (often used to mean an entire marae complex, with buildings included)*
marae ātea	*marae forecourt*
Matariki	*beginning of the Māori new year*
mate	*death*
mauri	*life force*
mihimihi	*greeting*
mirimiri	*massage*
mōkai	*slave*
mokopuna	*grandchild/grandchildren*
mōteatea	*pre-European style of song*
ngā	*the (plural)*
ngā wā ō mua	*olden times*
ngāi	*see ngāti*
ngāti	*tribal prefix (lit. 'the descendants')*
noa	*ordinary, free from tapu (see below)*
Pākehā	*New Zealander of European descent*
pakeke	*older person*
pākeke	*older people*
pānui	*notice*
papakainga	*settlement on ancestral land*
Papatūānuku	*Earth mother*
pāua	*a kind of abalone*
pito	*belly button (often used to mean umbilical cord)*
piupiu	*a traditional garment*
Poihākena	*Sydney (transliteration of Port Jackson)*
poroporoaki	*formal farewell*
pounamu	*greenstone*
pōwhiri	*formal welcome*
pūhaehae	*back-biting, jealousy, ill will*
pūtea	*fund, money*
rāhui	*closed season*
rangatahi	*youth, young people*
raruraru	*trouble*
reo	*language*
ringawera	*kitchen worker (lit. 'hot hands')*
rohe	*boundary (often used to mean 'district')*
rongoa	*traditional medicine*
rōpū	*group or company of people*
rūnanga	*council*
taha Māori	*Māori side or identity*
taha wairua	*spiritual side*
taiaha	*a kind of weapon*
take	*cause, reason*
take tīpuna	*claim to land through ancestral occupation*
tamariki	*children*

tā moko	*tattoo*
tāne	*male, husband*
Tangaroa	*god of the sea (often used to mean 'the sea')*
tangata	*person*
tāngata	*people*
tāngata moemoeā	*Aborigines (lit. 'dreamtime people')*
tāngata whenua	*indigenous people (lit. 'people of the land')*
tangi	*to weep*
tangihanga	*funeral, mourning (often abbreviated to 'tangi')*
taonga	*treasure*
tapu	*sacred, prohibited*
tātou tātou	*everyone together*
taura here	*urbanised Māori living outside their tribal territories (lit. 'a rope that ties')*
te	*the (singular)*
Te Ao Moemoeā	*Australia (lit. 'the land of dreaming')*
te iwi Māori	*the Māori people*
Te Puni Kōkiri	*the Ministry of Māori Development (lit. 'moving forward together')*
te reo Māori	*the Māori language*
te reo me ōna tikanga	*language and culture*
tikanga	*rules, customs*
tikanga Māori	*Māori custom*
tipuna	*ancestor*
tīpuna	*ancestors*
Tiriti o Waitangi	*Treaty of Waitangi*
tūpāpaku	*corpse*
tupuna	*see tipuna*
tūpuna	*see tīpuna*
tūrangawaewae	*tribal home (lit. 'place to stand')*
urupā	*cemetery*
utu	*revenge, payment*
wahine	*woman*
wāhine	*women*
waiata	*song*
wairua	*spirit*
waka	*canoe*
waka ama	*outrigger canoe*
wānanga	*seminar, tutorial*
whaikōrero	*formal speech*
whakamā	*shame*
whakapapa	*genealogy*
whakataetae	*competition*
whānau	*family*
whanaunga	*relation(s)*
whanaungatanga	*(family) relationship*
whāngai	*foster-child*
whare	*house; meeting house*
whare nui	*meeting house*
whare whakairo	*carved meeting house*
whenua	*land; placenta, afterbirth*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first thanks are due to Dr Liz Van Acker, chair of the Department of Politics and Public Policy (PPP) at Griffith University in Brisbane, for the offer of a visiting fellowship, and to her colleague, my friend Dr Brendon O'Connor, for suggesting me to Liz for this role and facilitating my stay in Australia.

Hekia Parata, the then Deputy Secretary for Policy at Te Puni Kōkiri, agreed to my take-up of the fellowship and singled out a report about Māori in Australia as the logical output of my time in Brisbane. My thanks are due to Hekia and to Leith Comer, Te Puni Kōkiri Chief Executive, for his endorsement of the project.

Professional survey designer Kim Saffron developed the wording and design of the survey with me. Te Puni Kōkiri web architect Deb Sidelinger and web developer Michael Stevens created the online version of the survey and ensured its functionality. Bronwyn Thomas, the then senior marketing and publications coordinator at Te Puni Kōkiri, arranged the printing and dispatch to me in Australia of 2500 hard-copy survey booklets. Deb Sidelinger dealt with data-cleansing issues arising from irregular survey responses and web developer Dylan Ryan migrated the data from XML into the survey database. Deb also entered the bulk of the hard-copy survey responses. Information architect Paul Langham provided the results for all 50 survey questions and responded to nearly 200 requests on my part for cross-tabulated results, some of which were far from straightforward.

While I was based in Brisbane, both the PPP departmental secretary, Julie Howe, and the current Te Puni Kōkiri policy group business manager (who was at the time EA to the Deputy Secretary for Policy), Kirsty Tamanui, provided excellent administrative and logistical support.

My thanks are also due to several Te Puni Kōkiri staff who reviewed an advanced draft of the report and offered comments: policy director Tipene Chrisp, acting chief analyst Steve Hunt and chief analyst James Swindells.

Other Te Puni Kōkiri staff made contributions: policy analyst Peter Himona gave me statistical advice, particularly about census practice and data, and drew a number of graphs and charts to depict early survey results; library staff Glenn Taitoko, Gabrielle Hikaka and Lulu Allen helped with interloan requests; summer intern Doug Jones entered the remainder of the hard-copy survey forms and counted the frequency of certain 'other' responses for several survey questions; executive assistant Verna Currey checked the accuracy of certain entered data; policy manager Pat Park advised on matching hapū names to iwi and helped with translations of Māori words and the placement of macrons; my two managers, policy directors Dave Samuels and Donna Matahaere-Atariki, both gave their support; senior analyst Dr John Ryks drew some graphs and gave advice about sundry other matters; and acting communications director Jaewynn McKay and senior marketing and publications coordinator Catherine Morrison helped see the report through to publication.

I would especially like to thank the Hon Parekura Horomia, Minister of Māori Affairs, and Te Puni Kōkiri Chief Executive Leith Comer for writing their forewords to the report.

I would also like to thank a number of people outside of Te Puni Kōkiri who took an interest in the project and offered encouragement. These include Kea Chief Executive Officer Ross McConnell, who kindly made available the full dataset from the 2006 Kea survey (unfortunately, I ran out of time to make use of this resource in my report), and academics such as Professor Dick Bedford from Waikato University and Dr Manu Barcham from Massey University. The then New Zealand High Commissioner to Australia, Kate Lackey, expressed both her interest and support, as did also the then Consul-General in Sydney, Peter Heenan, and his Melbourne counterpart, Mark Ingram. I must also express my gratitude to Brother Gerard Hogg and others at the Society of Mary in Wellington for loaning me a copy of Paul Bergin's thesis from the Marist Archive.

I would also like to thank Derek Fox for his advice and support and Trina Walker for copyediting the final draft and checking proofs of the laid-out report.

I would, of course, like to express my sincere thanks to all those members of the Māori community in Australia who willingly and enthusiastically shared their thoughts with me on my travels. In order to preserve their anonymity and privacy, I have chosen here not to name them, but I do express my gratitude to all those who invited me into their homes, shared their stories, interviewed me on radio, introduced me to other Māori, completed the survey or rallied fellow Māori to fill it in. I must, however, offer particular thanks to Christel Broederlow, the administrator of the www.maori-in-oz.com website, whose willingness to carry a pānui about the survey on her homepage for the duration of the survey period undoubtedly led, on its own, to a large number of survey responses. I am also indebted to Huritau (Harry) Poutapu and his whānau for agreeing to be the subjects of the case-study chapter. I must also thank Harry's nephew, Hoki-mai Chong, for introducing me to his relations.

Finally, my special thanks go to my family, Lauren, Remi and Walter.

Despite the great assistance I received in the writing and production of this report, I remain, of course, responsible for any errors.