CUZZIE BROS: THE INTERFACE BETWEEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND MAORI/PACIFIC ISLANDER MIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA

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BA (Hons)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor John Maynard and Emeritus Professor John Ramsland for their input on this thesis. Professor Maynard in particular has been an inspiring source of support throughout this process. I would also like to give my thanks to the Wollotuka Institute of Indigenous Studies. It has been so important to have an Indigenous space in which to work.

My special thanks to Dr Lena Rodriguez for having faith in me to finish this thesis and also for her practical support.

For my daughter, Mereana Tapuni Rei – Wahine Toa – go girl.

I also want to thank all my brothers and sisters (you know who you are). Without you guys life would not have been so interesting growing up. This thesis is dedicated to our Mum and Dad who always had an open door and taught us to be generous and to share whatever we have. Ake! Ake! Ake!

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of:

Upokoina Poona Ian David George

Matilda Akenanua George

Jackson Doolan and Richard Saunders
This work is a study of the Maori and Pacific Islander diaspora in Australia and its relationship to the Aboriginal community, the tangata whenua (people of the land). What has emerged from my research into Maori in Australia - a contact which began over two hundred years ago - is that for many Maori, Australia is now their home. Until approximately twenty-five years ago, Pacific Islanders did not migrate to Australia in significant numbers, preferring to move to New Zealand from the home islands. However, the economic decline in New Zealand has prompted greater migration of Pacific Islanders here, and this is now one of Australia’s fastest growing immigrant groups. This thesis offers a perspective on the struggles that have transpired within the broader Pasifika community, with its diverse views, opinions and positions from an insider perspective. It will then explore this community’s relationship with Aboriginal people in a series of contemporary settings.

In order to place this work in a cultural and historical context, there is an account of early contact between Maori and Australian colonial authorities from 1792. There is an overview of the divergent political experiences of Indigenous people in Australia and New Zealand from this early point. This is followed by an explanation of the early Maori migration to Australia in the 1960s and 70s. The rise of global revolutionary and resistance movements are discussed in relation to the activism of both Maori and Aboriginal people during this period, and the support they gave each other. The later chapters will explore the deterioration of this relationship since the 1990s, as the spirit of collectivism and pan-Indigenous unity has, arguably, diminished under the weight of neoliberalism. These chapters provide analysis of qualitative interviews with thirty-two Aboriginal and Polynesian participants. There is focus on the significant tensions between these two groups via rivalries in certain urban spaces, specifically in Logan, a south-eastern suburb of Brisbane. However, this thesis also explores more positive contemporary relationships between these two groups through the lens of the popular cultures of music and sport.
Preface

About the author:

I was born in Rotorua, the eldest of nine children in the 1950s. My father was born in Atiu and my mother in Rarotonga, both are Cook Island Maori. My parents were the first generation of Pacific Islanders to arrive in New Zealand after World War II. The early school years were difficult as my parents had little formal schooling and the cultural climate of the time extended only to New Zealand Maori and Pakeha. School administrative procedures had no box to tick for Pacific Islanders. However, by the time my brothers and sisters came through the system, they were warmly welcomed by the New Zealand Maori ‘as one of them’. Having attended Rotorua Boys High, I then spent time in Auckland inspired by the politics of the sixties.

I arrived in Sydney in 1972 and worked as a labourer on building sites. This led to my involvement in trade union activities. At the same time, I participated in the emerging Aboriginal Land Rights Movement. I enrolled in an arts degree at the University of New South Wales. By the end of 1983, I had First Class Honours with the Sociology Department. However life for a Polynesian with strong opinions was not easy in this era. I was told, for example, ‘you don’t look like an academic’. After many arguments I decided I would do an ethnographic study of the Sydney Maori community for my doctorate. I involved myself in the activities of the extended Aboriginal and Maori/Pacific Islander communities residing in Sydney. Also in 1983, a group of three Maori, including myself, began a weekly Maori radio program on Aboriginal community radio, Radio Redfern. The radio program still goes on every Saturday – the longest continually running programme on what is now Gadigal Radio.

In my capacity as a writer and community activist I have been engaged in the workings of a great number of organisations, across a broad political spectrum. As a consequence of this long involvement, this thesis has changed form and has broadened out from just the Sydney communities. In this work, I have endeavoured to contribute to an understanding of the achievements and sometimes failures of Maoridom and Pasifika towards the tangata whenua of this land. During these decades I have observed a great many events where Maori, Pacific Islanders and Aboriginal people have worked together around campaigns for social justice. Somewhat sadly, I have also witnessed a deterioration in that relationship, particularly over the last decade. As a growing number of Polynesians have come to make Australia their home I consider this work to be a contribution and reminder of our responsibility towards the first owners of this land.

Now I have returned to complete a doctorate thanks to Wollotuka, Institute of Indigenous Studies, University of Newcastle.

Mereana Tapuni Rei you have been an inspiration to your Dad!
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Research Aims and Questions

The aims of this thesis are to:

- Outline the early history of Maori in relation to the colonial authorities in Australia from the late 1700s, illustrating the very different ways Maori and Aboriginal people were treated.
- Explore the relationship between Maori and Aboriginal people, from the shared struggles around sovereignty and Land Rights in the 1970s and 80s through to the present day.
- Now, since the 1990s, there has been a considerable influx of Pacific Islanders added to the mix. This has also been a time of neoliberal policies of retrenchment, downsizing of industries and rise in insecure casualised employment. Therefore, this thesis aims to examine the impact of these factors on the relationship between these groups.

In summary, the purpose of this research is to find out how, in the contemporary environment, the Aboriginal community and the Maori/Pacific Islander migrant community regard each other and interact. This operates in several domains or sites of contact between the groups. There is a shared history of political struggle, however, there are also the current points of conflict, or tensions, arising between these communities. This thesis will also explore the roles that music and sport play in these communities.

Research questions

1. What are the perceptions and experiences Aboriginal people and Polynesian migrants have regarding each other?
2. What do participants feel about racism in Australia, both on and off the sporting field?
3. How do Aboriginal people and Polynesians use sport and music to negotiate their relationship with each other in the context of socio-economically disadvantaged areas of Sydney and Brisbane?
Introduction

This thesis will provide an overview of the relationship between Maori and Aboriginal people, that has in recent years expanded to include Polynesian Pacific Islanders\(^1\). In ethnographic terms, researchers have tended to investigate the history of Australia and New Zealand as separate entities. It has, therefore, been a challenge to find the points of intersection, especially in relation to the Indigenous peoples. Also, historians on both sides of the Tasman have explored the issues surrounding early contact and administration of New Zealand from Australia. Although these accounts have been extensive and detailed, ultimately it has been from a Pakeha\(^2\) (Anglo) perspective. I believe this is the first time such a substantial account has been researched from a Maori viewpoint. Having said this, I do not believe this material only has relevance to Maori but has a wider audience in completing the tapestry of our joint experience in relation to the two countries. This work offers a basis from which other Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers can build. For this reason, my aim has been to be accessible in a trans-disciplinary capacity, for example, Indigenous Studies, History, Sociology and Cultural Studies.

For the purpose of this thesis, the historical work begins with a brief examination of the British colonial presence in Australia and New Zealand where the trajectory of intrusion, occupation and domination of both groups began over two hundred years ago. However, although both groups suffered greatly during the dual processes of colonisation and missionisation, their treatment was frequently very different. It is in no way the intention of this author to diminish the experience of cultural dislocation and trauma involved in the British occupation of New Zealand. Maoridom collectively experienced a dramatic reduction in numbers from the introduction of European diseases, as casualties of military encounters,

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\(^1\) In the context of this thesis, ‘Pacific Islanders’ refers to Tongans, Samoans, Cook Islanders and Niueans who have migrated in the last two decades, and does not reference ‘Pacific Islanders’ in the historical context of indentured labourers to Australia often referred to as ‘Kanakas’. The use of ‘Polynesian’ in this thesis includes New Zealand Maori and the discrete ethnic Pacific populations described above.

\(^2\) Originally ‘Pakeha’ referred to a ‘stranger’ or someone who was not Maori. In modern usage it commonly refers to someone of Anglo origin, particularly an Anglo New Zealander.
and hunger from disruption of traditional food supplies during the early colonial years (Bentley 1999; Kunitz 1994). The theft of tribal lands is discussed more fully below. Maoridom suffered greatly and continue to experience the repercussions of colonialism in New Zealand.

In Australia, the colonial government’s treatment of Aboriginal people was shocking, barbaric and disgraceful. As with other colonised peoples (including Maori and Native Americans), many were summarily exiled from traditional lands, starved and killed in bitter land disputes. Again, many survivors of these early times were lost to European diseases. However, the greatest condemnation must be reserved for the moral blight on Australia of refusing to acknowledge Aboriginal people in any practical, legal, or humanitarian sense whatsoever – *terra nullius*. On occasion, the same people were involved with both groups. The Reverend Samuel Marsden, for example, was a man feared and despised by convicts and Aboriginal people who referred to him as ‘The Flogging Parson’. However, for Marsden, Maori were special, a chosen group in the eyes of God. According to Salmond (1997) Marsden, who was charged with bringing a version of Christianity to New Zealand, was concerned about the lawlessness that was happening there and he felt sympathy for the Maori. He was instrumental in Maori chiefs being brought to Australia and receiving ‘red carpet’ treatment when greeted by the Governor. This disparity in the simultaneous treatment of the two Indigenous groups speaks to the religious, philosophical and ‘scientific’ understandings of this time.

The colonial concept of hierarchies of race

Maoridom, with its hierarchical structure of chiefs, subordinates and recognisable land ownership practices, was regarded by the Europeans as representing the ‘Noble Savage’ (Howe 1988). In contrast, there was no understanding of people who did not appear to ‘occupy’ land in the European sense. Nomadic people - who were in fact, seasonal travellers in their own country - were regarded as ‘landless’. Not only were Aboriginal people regarded as landless, the colonising powers declared the land was without people - *terra nullius*. These fundamental distinctions undoubtedly contributed to the way in which each of these groups were treated in the process of colonisation and missionisation. Anne Salmond (1991)
describes how the Europeans regarded the peoples encountered in the colonising process. While all non-whites were considered ‘savages’ there was a distinction:

One was the image of the bestial savage, sometimes gigantic and physically monstrous as well as brutally cruel, which derived from mediaeval bestiaries and theories about demons. The other was the ‘savage’ as an innocent, happy child of Nature, free of the corruptions of ‘civilised’ society, the Utopian inheritor of the biblical Garden of Eden (p.95).

In this hierarchy, white (Anglo) characteristics represented intelligence, progress and ‘civilisation’; and inevitably, the further away from white, the more distant the subject becomes from these values. This European mindset of Anglo/Aryan superiority resulted in the gradation of colonised people, through a European lens, into different racial groups, and within racial groups, partitioned by colour (Ounei 1992). Jolly and Manderson (1997) also explore this colonial/imperial premise in the Pacific context: that Polynesians were regarded somewhat differently from those who are significantly darker. Within such a paradigm, Aboriginal people fared badly. In New Zealand, there were significant attempts to construct Maori as an offspring of the Aryan ideal. As Belich (1996) suggests, Maori were considered the ‘best of savages’ and considered almost to have the potential of being white. There were many fanciful attempts to invent new ethnographic histories for Polynesians. One stands out as particularly absurd. A key publication, *The Aryan Maori*, by Tregear in 1885 claimed categorically that Maori were of pure Aryan descent. New Zealand government sources (Te Ara New Zealand 2012, p.5) remarked that this would mean: ‘...that the British colonisation of New Zealand was therefore a family reunion’. Although Tregear was mocked, even at this historical time, this view - that Maori were somehow different and ‘better’ from other native peoples - was widespread.

Of concern in relation to this thesis, is how this idea of Maori being somehow ‘better’ than other colonised peoples (both through lighter skin colour and/or securing a treaty), has become internalised and validated. As a result of the vagaries of history, Maori were represented as formidable in war - worthy opponents - whereas other colonised groups who also engaged in sustained confrontation and guerrilla campaigns were excluded from revisionist histories of Africa, India and Australia, for example. In some ways, this gets reproduced as a ‘regime of truth’. While it is not the intention of this thesis to deny Maori pride in their resistance, it is often implicitly and explicitly expressed in terms of ‘We are the warriors, feared by all, and others should have just fought harder’. This view of superiority
was brought up by respondents in this study. Many Aboriginal participants referred to an ‘arrogance’ amongst Maori and Pacific Islanders, and some Polynesians themselves expressed this. This was frequently accompanied by a resentment and resistance to being called ‘Black’. For example, one Cook Islander said: ‘We’re not Black, we’re ... bronze!’ (pers. com). Although said as a joke it reflects a position that sometimes manifests in Polynesian behaviour towards Aboriginal people. There were also other Polynesians who addressed this issue because they were embarrassed by it. It is evident that the colonial powers ultimately behaved differently in New Zealand than Australia. Arguably this may have been in response to a combination of factors including one country being a penal colony versus a destination for free settlers, colonial perceptions of skin colour reflecting capacity for other ‘civilising’ behaviours, and the fact that Maori were comparatively sedentary with defined boundaries of land. Given that Maori were never defeated in a comprehensive military victory by the British, Maori accomplishments in strategy and battle were necessarily acknowledged. In combination these differences culminated in the British negotiating with Maori in the form of the Treaty of Waitangi, while in Australia policies were enacted to prevent Aboriginal people being regarded as potential treaty partners (see below).

The Treaty of Waitangi

In exploring the interface between Maori and the colonial authority in New South Wales, and the evolution of this relationship, I have dealt extensively with the Treaty of Waitangi. This is firstly to reflect the high priority Maori people have historically given the Treaty, and also to discuss the prominent role of Sydney Town in the creation, negotiations and delivery of the Treaty. The other significant element in the discussion of the Treaty is that it is a point of distinction between these two colonised groups as Aboriginal people have not been awarded the status of Treaty partners in the Australian context.

There is also the issue of the rather special place New Zealand Maori inhabit in the minds of many Indigenous peoples. In my own experience I have had extensive discussions with Aboriginal, and other Indigenous people, who have expressed the desire to emulate the status of Maori citing the fact Maori were beneficiaries of a treaty. For many Indigenous people who have never been party to a treaty it remains a goal, however abstracted, that represents a partnership of some kind with the dominant government powers. It appears to offer some form of legal protection and recognition. A close examination of the Treaty of Waitangi is important because it does play a central role in the relationship of Maori people with the
government of New Zealand. It has remained the source of a complex mix of pride, discontentment, betrayal and resistance. For this reason in particular, details of the hypocrisy, deceit and ‘double speak’ inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi contain lessons for all Indigenous people. At the time of introducing the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) it was apparently intended to represent a humanitarian model for Indigenous groups around the world (Joseph 2004). However, despite years of preparatory discussions and drafting being done in Australia, Aboriginal people did not get a mention: their human rights were completely ignored. As documented extensively, Aboriginal people were considered to have citizenship status equivalent to ‘flora and fauna’ (Hirst 2002), a position that did not legally advance until the Referendum of 1967.

For many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people the concept of a treaty invokes notions of legality, responsibility, accountability and redress that is somehow inherent in such a document. For example, in addressing the Australian government’s appalling record in regard to Aboriginal health, some authors look to the New Zealand Maori and Native American experiences, for whom treaties have formed a framework for linking health with issues of power, autonomy, self-determination and economic status (Caston 2003; Ross and Taylor 2002). Durie (2007) and other scholars argue the Treaty of Waitangi may give a language (lip service) to these elements being connected and essential to improving health outcomes, however, whether this translates into real engagement or benefit is questionable. Given the appalling state of Native American health, as well as Maori occupying the lowest percentiles of health statistics, I am not sure a treaty - any treaty - has been successful in delivering on the promises made. While, arguably, the Treaty of Waitangi does give Maoridom a legal position to inhabit, it cannot redeem the cultural damage done. It currently continues to fail to protect land or resources, or restore the majority of land or resources that were originally taken.

As a result of the Treaty, Maori land came under the direction and jurisdiction of the Crown, the governor, and the white settlers who were arriving in record numbers. Maori land was subject to the ‘pre emption’ clause allowing the government first right of purchase. That land could then be re-sold to the settlers with a comfortable profit margin (Bernholz, O’Grady and Zillig 2012). The Treaty quickly marginalised Maori people. The hope and good faith
generated by the Treaty quickly disappeared, land was lost and tribal groups fractionalised.\textsuperscript{3} There was also considerable upheaval with many Maori effectively forced from rural areas into the towns and cities to find work. This is discussed further below.

Despite the dreadful colonial actions that deprived Maoridom of basic sovereignty, there were political petitions and certain successes regarding Maori claiming a small political space (King 2003; 1990). At the same time in Australia however, Aboriginal people were being forced to live under a form of institutionalised apartheid (see Under the Act 1987). This involved being compelled to live on designated ‘missions’ with all the attendant restrictions on every aspect of life and work. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt a discussion of what this represented in the lives of people who were also subject to the systematic removal of children, encompassed in the term Stolen Generations. There have been many reports into the enduring risk and trauma resulting from this policy, however few recommendations are ever implemented. This has led committed health activist, Professor Fiona Stanley (2008) to comment: ‘It makes you wonder why anyone would ever recommend another royal commission for any Indigenous issue’.

**The influx of Maori to Australia: 1950s – 1990s**

This section will be divided into decades as each decade reflects different economic, social and political realities experienced on both sides of the Tasman. Issues include the popularity of the Maori showbands, and the often inadvertent connection between these showbands and organised crime. Many of the tours to Australia, the USA, Vietnam and other countries around the world were organised by Jim Anderson, a Scotsman who was the ‘right hand man’ of Sydney crime boss Abe Saffron (McNab 2005). During these years, Abe Saffron controlled the most famous nightclubs of the era in Kings Cross and had extensive contacts with Las Vegas. The sentimental relationship that many older Maori had with Jim Anderson continues. This is despite his indictment for committing serious crimes and implication in the murder of community activist and journalist Juanita Nielson (see George and Rodriguez 2009).

The naivety of this world is contrasted with the upheaval of the ‘revolutionary’ 1960s when Maori first developed a political rapport with Aboriginal people in the modern sense. This

\textsuperscript{3} While Maori language (*te reo*) was still in use in this period, in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, it was banned.
period saw the rise of demands for independence from colonial powers globally, and what was broadly referred to as the ‘Black Consciousness Movement’. These international struggles informed the activism of both Maori and Aboriginal people during this time. The support each group gave to each other’s struggles during the following decades is described via substantial auto-ethnographic documentation of this period. I have documented incidences of racism and cultural exclusion experienced by New Zealanders in Australia, specifically Bondi, in the 1980s. The activism that emerged from this experience culminated in a growing political awareness of many Maori as to the position of Aboriginal people. This, in turn, led to the divergent New Zealand response to Australia’s Bicentenary in 1988.

In selecting these areas to explore, my intention has been to assess the impact of several key incidents on the Sydney Maori community itself, their interaction with the tangata whenua (Aboriginal people) and the reaction of the Pakeha (Anglo) mainstream authorities. Australia’s bicentennial year proved a watershed in dealings between Aboriginal people and Maori. Aboriginal groups around the country refused to participate in any government endorsed bicentennial functions and would protest where possible. I document the position of a group of Indigenous women (mostly Maori), who protested, with placards, in support of Aboriginal people in direct opposition to conservative representatives of the Sydney Maori community who were welcoming the yacht ‘Akarana’, a bicentennial gift from the New Zealand government to the Australian government. This chapter includes a positive convening of Maori and Aboriginal communities surrounding the Taonga Maori exhibition held in Sydney shortly after the above events occurred. The hosting of this event effectively brought together radical and conservative Maori with Aboriginal people in a manner which represented a healing of previous rifts. This ‘coming together’ later influenced the formation of the Building Bridges organisation which became a grass roots series of arts projects initiated between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, providing optimism for communities living in an otherwise marginalised situation. These projects continued throughout the 1990s in Australia and Aotearoa.

**Contemporary Identities – The Islanders arrive**

In the chapters described above, the emphasis has been on Maori. From the 1990s, in particular, larger numbers of Pacific Islanders began arriving in Australia, both from New Zealand and the home islands of Tonga, Samoa, Cook Islands and Niue. Combined with
Maori, this has contributed to an expansion in the visibility of Polynesians in Australia. A review of the literature in Cultural Studies, Indigenous Politics and Youth Studies reveals there has not been a significant number of scholarly articles on the relationship between Aboriginal and Polynesian people in a contemporary context. Consequently, I consider I can make a contribution to the study of this relationship.

Most Australians appear to have a benign relationship with Maori, possibly due to an attitude of putting the ‘NZ back into ANZAC’. In other words, there is some perception of shared history. This, in turn, may be reinforced by many Maori choosing to refer to themselves as ‘New Zealanders’ (Hamer 2007). Because of the extremely high participation rates for Pacific Islanders in football, many of whom are also ‘New Zealanders’, Australia has reluctantly come to embrace this presence. However, for reasons discussed later in this thesis, this relationship appears to be under a lot more strain.

For many young Polynesians born in Australia, and now increasingly, the children of Polynesians born in Australia, the question of identity is being raised and it is diverse and complex. On the question of Maori urbanisation (third and fourth migrations – see Literature Review), there are similarities with Maori/Pacific Islander children growing up in Australia who have never been to Aotearoa, or the home islands. Pacific migration to New Zealand and now on-migration to Australia, means that for many they are often twice removed from their country of ethnic origin (Rodriguez 2012; 2003).

**Neoliberalism, stress and lateral violence**

This thesis sets out to explore issues around the cultures of music and sport in relation to bringing these communities together, but also to examine the tensions existing between these communities. In relation to this discussion, the emphasis is on young men. In order to examine some of the more violent clashes that have erupted between Aboriginal and Islander communities, it is necessary to look at how young men see themselves (and each other) and how their socio-economic situation informs how they interact.

In exploring the reasons young men are so drawn to sport (and its illegitimate twin – fighting), I have first looked at colonial representations of Indigenous masculinity and then examined how certain ways of ‘being a man’ influence how young men construct their contemporary cultural identities. For both Polynesian and Aboriginal males, the limitations of
colonial representations have meant that sport is one of the few ‘permitted’ options for their masculinity to be expressed. However, even within the sporting domain, racism continues to permeate their experience.

This thesis will discuss how these issues have been played out around several high profile Aboriginal players (see Chapter eight). The primary focus revolves around Aboriginal/Maori footballer Timana Tahu and a racist incident off the field on the eve of the biggest game on the rugby league calendar. This watershed moment within league is analysed and examined from the perspective of two communities: Aboriginal and the broader Polynesian community, as well as the mainstream media in Australia and New Zealand. This event is examined in relation to other incidents such as television commentator Eddie McGuire referring to AFL Sydney Swans player, Adam Goodes, as ‘King Kong’. The achievements of Aboriginal footballers, alongside Maori/Pacific Islander players on the rugby union and rugby league fields, have been outstanding and, arguably, sport is the site where both communities come closer together and cultivate a more wide-ranging respect that carries over off the field.

Such respect and cohesion are not easy to achieve in the current economic climate of neoliberalism. Those who are already marginalised by post-colonial/neo-colonial realities are at considerable risk for a range of behaviours, that in turn, become labelled as ‘problematic’. As youth jostle for space in run-down urban areas, this can frequently manifest as lateral violence, i.e. violence that is played out within communities (domestic and other violence), as well taking the form of fighting over ethnically defined territory (Valdez 2011; Rodriguez 2011). In other words, these communities turn to fighting each other. This plays into the mainstream discourse that Waquant (2009) refers to as ‘punishing the poor’, whereby the media and wider public condemn these youth and rates of incarceration escalate exponentially for relatively minor crimes. As Lambert (2010, p308) points out: ‘Australia is a heterotopic production of country with ongoing historical effects, where multiple and shifting understandings and power relationships exist in the same real space’.

**Demographics**

The Literature Review of this thesis concludes with a section on relevant demographics for a clearer understanding of the broader concepts discussed. While not exhaustive, these statistics are included to draw the reader’s attention to some of the issues impacting on participants.
an example, the escalating number of Maori and Pacific Islanders reflects the ‘beaten path effect’, or ‘chain migration’ whereby prior immigration of extended family members and established community ties, are significant factors in explaining current immigration patterns (see Hamer 2009a; 2007). In regard to social disadvantage, both Aboriginal and Polynesian communities are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder with alarming statistics on health and education. There is also a discussion of high rates of juvenile incarceration in both these groups.

**Conclusion**

The review of historical material for this thesis indicates many points of similarity and difference between how the colonial powers behaved in Australia and New Zealand. This culminated in the New Zealand context with the Treaty of Waitangi. This is significant in that it clearly departs from the position of Aboriginal people not having a treaty and highlights the ensuing neglect of the Indigenous population. Not only has every Australian government refused to countenance a treaty, it is has taken 200 years to even say ‘sorry’. Given the marginalisation experienced by both groups, Indigenous populations survive against the odds, despite a cycle of poverty, bad health, limited educational opportunities and disproportionate violence. This combination frequently translates into high incarceration rates. It is often in jail where these two groups encounter each other. Unfortunately, anecdotal reports from both sides indicate there is a growing disregard and disrespect being extended towards Aboriginal people by Polynesians. The reasons behind this need to be explored for Polynesians to be better informed and accountable in order for the relationship between these two groups to be improved.
CHAPTER TWO: SETTING THE SCENE

How to read this thesis

In many ways this is an unorthodox thesis. Apart from academic research, it is also the product of many years chronicling the media discourse on many topics related to the experience and interaction of Indigenous people in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. Further, it has emerged from my own activism in relation to these issues. As a consequence, it is written – and hopefully organised – in such a way to make sense of these varying influences. The over-arching theory and methodology for this thesis has been Kaupapa Maori outlined here and discussed more fully in chapter four.

Since the 1990s, Kaupapa Maori, usually translated as the ‘Maori way’, has gained both creditability and momentum in the field of Indigenous methodology and theory. It is widely used in New Zealand and the Pacific, with adaptations for Fa’a Pasifika (the Pacific way). Increasingly it is being adopted in relation to studies with Indigenous people internationally (see Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith eds 2008). Kaupapa, as it is generally called, was originally conceived by Graham Smith in relation to Maori education (1997; 1992). This body of work has been built on by other scholars such as Pihama and colleagues (2004) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. It would not be an overstatement to say Linda Smith’s work has inspired Pacific scholarship in regard to building research capacity in the Pacific in the last fifteen years (Smith 2000; 1999, Baba et al 2004).

Kaupapa Maori research methodology demands that local knowledges and ways of seeing the world be employed in order to understand complex social issues. It further requires a post-colonial critique to help make sense of contemporary marginalisation. In the words of Graham Smith: ‘Kaupapa Maori is the philosophy and practice of ‘being Maori’. It assumes the taken for granted social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Maori people’ (Smith 1992, p.1). It is obvious to me that this is the most appropriate and legitimate framework in which to conduct this research.

The research and participants

In the mid 1980s, I spent nearly two years in the Mitchell and Fisher libraries in Sydney taking detailed notes from their archives regarding the colonial history discussed in the Literature Review. As a community activist in Australia, I have used primary source
materials from the original campaigns. I have also written a considerable number of articles over the years for Maori and other community newspapers in Australia and New Zealand. In addition, there has been a written commentary for a weekly radio programme (now Gadigal Radio in Sydney). These have formed background information for the auto-ethnographic chapters about the experience of Maori in Bondi in the 1980s (chapter five) and Building Bridges (chapter six).

Because of this ‘grassroots’ experience, I was able to draw upon a great many people’s experiences over this period of time. Details are explained in the Methodology section of chapter four. For this reason, not all quotes are contained in the ‘data chapters’, but rather are distributed throughout the body of this work.

What’s in a name?

Aboriginal people are referred to in this thesis as Indigenous, or by the broad regional name such as ‘Koorie’ or ‘Murri’ unless otherwise specifically stated. In the first sections of this thesis (Introduction/Literature Review), I speak mainly to the experience of Maori. This is due primarily to the fact that the early historical period concentrates on the focus of Australia and New Zealand. As pointed out, ‘Pacific Islander’ refers to Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders and Niueans. These populations were not here during those early times in any significant numbers. There is not room to do justice to the experience of Pacific colonisation in this thesis, so the decision has been made to incorporate ‘Pacific Islanders’ in the modern sense of the Polynesian migration to Australia in the last 20-25 years. It is important to distinguish the term ‘Pacific Islander’ in this thesis from how it has been more typically used in Australian scholarship. In the Australian context it is often used to refer to Melanesians; often the story of the Kanakas being brought here as indentured labourers⁴.

I use ‘Pacific Islanders’ to describe these Polynesian migrants, including myself, during the years of the late 1980s until more recently. In keeping with trends in New Zealand, and now in Australia, young Pacific Islanders are collectively referring to themselves more often as

⁴ Also now in New Zealand, depending on context, ‘Pacific Islander’ is inclusive of people from Fiji, Tokelau and Kiribati.
‘Pasifika’, or ‘Pasifika youth’. Therefore, when talking about the contemporary experience, my language shifts from ‘Pacific Islander’ to ‘Pasifika’ where appropriate to acknowledge this.

**Why focus on the men?**

This thesis contains stories of many brave, talented Aboriginal and Polynesian women. Also women from these communities were interviewed. I have mentioned how Aboriginal and Maori women were engaged in a sustained and memorable series of protests in the 1980s and 90s. Of course, it is almost beyond dispute that it is women who are holding these communities together. However, as the thesis became more focused, it became obvious that it is the men who are at the centre of how communities are dealing (or not dealing) with issues of violence and who are at the forefront of my exploration of sport as a vehicle for change. My focus is in understanding what is motivating these young men - and what they identify as building on the good things and diminishing the bad - that I believe is important. Men need to become good partners, fathers, uncles, sons, brothers and cousins. At present, they are struggling. This is my small contribution towards that change happening.

**Small linguistic matters**

I grew up in New Zealand with parents who spoke ‘Island’ (Cook Islanders speak what is called ‘old Maori’) therefore, many terms are provided in Maori. However, to make things clearer for the reader from this point a few things should be noted:

- *Pakeha*: It probably came from the pre-European word *pakepakeha* denoting mythical light skinned beings (Durie, 2003). Many Anglo-New Zealanders refer to themselves in this way and are happy to do so. From this point in the thesis it may be used to talk about Anglo New Zealanders, or in some cases, Anglo Australians. It will not be italicised.
- *Palangi* is the ‘Island’ word for Pakeha and will be used in some direct quotes.
- *Aotearoa* is the Maori name for New Zealand and is used interchangeably.
- In other instances where I have used a Maori or Islander word or phrase, an English translation is provided in brackets.
What the numbers tell us: Some basic demographics

The key issues in relation to this thesis centre around the ‘common ground’ of marginalised communities and how this often means these groups are sharing stressful, run-down urban and regional spaces. This section outlines the accelerated rates at which Maori and Pacific Islanders are migrating to Australia and where they are settling. I have also drawn out the similarities between Indigenous and Polynesian communities in terms of health, education, employment and unemployment. There is also a brief analysis of detention figures for Indigenous youth. Jail has been cited by respondents in this thesis as another ‘flashpoint’ of interaction as inmates tend to be divided along the lines of race/ethnicity. It is important to understand these figures as they underlie and reflect so many of the social issues impacting on these communities.

Trends in Polynesian migration to Australia

In 2011 there were 128,430 individuals living in Australia who identified as Maori by ancestry, either alone or in combination with other ‘ancestry’. In the decade to 2011, Maori increased their share of the New Zealand-born population resident in Australia from 13.8 percent to 17.1 percent (Kukutai and Pawar 2013). However, even these rapidly escalating statistics are regarded as being an under-estimate. Hamer (2009a; b; 2007) has done an extensive series of calculations as to how many Maori are resident in Australia. Hamer estimates the actual figures may be significantly higher again than the official ABS number and cites a range of methodological and sociological factors contributing to this. Firstly during the late 1980s, at the time many Maori were travelling to Australia, airlines deleted the ‘ethnicity’ question from arrival and departure cards, and the ABS itself dropped the issue of ‘ancestry’. Also many Maori travel and identify in official forms as ‘New Zealanders’. These factors are then compounded by the relatively low engagement of Maori with completing subsequent census and voting registers. In Hamer’s (2007) qualitative study with over 1,200 Maori, 75 percent admitted not becoming citizens, a process referred to as ‘having the operation’. Far less work has been done to break down the statistics concerning Pacific Islander migration. Available figures (ABS 2006) give a total of 72,082 Polynesian Pacific Islanders, however, it would be reasonable to assume that this may also be an under-estimate for the same reasons cited above.
Maori and Pacific Islander migrant populations in Queensland are growing rapidly, with New Zealand being Queensland’s largest source of migrants (Queensland Health 2013; 2011; 2009). These reports also cite additional research and ‘community advice’ supporting the analysis that Polynesian numbers are routinely under-estimated. Given that most Pacific Islanders come directly from New Zealand (although more are steadily arriving directly from the islands), it is worth briefly mentioning population trends in this regard. Six out of ten Samoans and Tongans live in New Zealand, while for Cook Islanders and Niueans it is seven out of ten (Callister and Didham 2007). When you consider that a great many are also resident in the United States and other destinations, it would become apparent that there are dwindling populations in the home islands. This reflects a combination of ‘push/pull’ factors. Young people are undoubtedly attracted to bigger cities, but essentially it is a question of economics. Primarily, there is the economic motivation represented by greater employment opportunities in a larger country. As John Connell’s work on Pacific migration indicates: ‘Migration is largely a response to real and perceived inequalities in socio-economic opportunities, within and between states’ (2009, p.55).

According to the World Bank (2010) Tonga has a per capita income of US$3,380 and Independent Samoa US$2930. These are truly shocking figures and more usually associated with Third World countries. It should not be surprising then, that these countries depend on stipends from relatives working overseas. It has been estimated that up to a third of the GDP of the small Pacific island nations comes from monies sent from abroad (Singh 2005). Given how high the poverty rates are in these countries, it should also perhaps not be surprising that people take comfort in their religion. Pacific Islanders are extremely religious with 97% of the relevant populations describing themselves as Christian. This will be discussed further in regard to community relationships in Logan, south east Queensland, in chapter seven.

In addition to these figures, there are certain other characteristics of the migration pattern. As identified by Hamer (2007) and others, Polynesians have an extremely high rate of ‘chain migration’. Otherwise known as the ‘beaten path effect’, it means that the more people who migrate, the more likely it is that others follow. In Hamer’s calculations as many as thirty relatives may follow the original economic migrant. It is obvious then, that the number of Polynesians permanently resident in Australia is likely to rise steadily.
Spatial Distribution

Sydney is the most expensive city in Australia and also has the highest Indigenous population. The impact of the rising cost of living, accompanied by a parallel increase in other social stressors, has deep repercussions upon the poor and the marginalised. Along with the large Aboriginal population, the Maori and Pasifika communities continue to produce alarming health statistics and their children will mostly receive a second class education. In the poorer suburbs of Sydney, its citizens grow up around poor health facilities and public schools with inadequate resources. These communities will, therefore, have to tackle the increasing level of social problems that are part and parcel of high rates of unemployment, bad health and poor education.

While many Maori and Polynesian youth tend to want to stay in Sydney, enjoying the recreational pursuits of the big city, now more Polynesians are moving to south east Queensland and in some cases Western Australia following the mining boom. According to the Queensland Government Health report (2013), the number of Maori living in Queensland (n=48,821) was about the same as the number estimated to be living in Northland in New Zealand (n=50,800). This reflects a radical spatial reorganisation of Maori in Australia between 2001 and 2011. Between 2006 and 2011 alone the Maori population in Western Australia increased by 87 percent. It is on track that Western Australia will supersede New South Wales to become the second most populous state for Maori behind Queensland by 2016.

For the first time Sydney and Melbourne are no longer the main destinations. The Sydney exodus will continue with many older members of these communities being driven out by the exhorbitant cost of housing. While some Maori and Pacific Islanders who choose to work and live in Australia will return home (either to New Zealand or the home islands), the reality is a significantly growing proportion will not return. This is evidenced by the fact that older Polynesians are now being buried in Australia – something that would not have occurred even 10-15 years ago.
Comparative statistics with Aboriginal population

The Polynesian migrant community is young and the birth rate much higher than that of the Anglo population. According to New Zealand data, approximately two-thirds of the Polynesian population are under 30 years old. However, in Australia it is even more marked: 80 per cent of the Australian-born Maori population was less than 25 years old in 2011 (Kukutai and Pawar 2013). In Indigenous Australia, 50 percent of Aboriginal people are aged under 20 (Stanley 2008). In addition, as Stanley points out, one third of Aboriginal babies are born to teenage mothers.

For Maori, the life expectancy for women is 70, and for men, 67 years of age (a differential of seven years from Anglo New Zealanders (Social Report 2010). Pacific Islanders tend to be living longer. Despite extremely high rates of heart disease, diabetes and other obesity-related illness, the estimated life expectancy for Pacific men was 73.9 years and 78.9 years for Pacific women, four years less than for the total population (Stats New Zealand 2013).

However, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW 2010) put the estimated life expectancy at birth for Aboriginal women at 64 years and 59 years for men, approximately 16-17 percent lower than overall Australian population. Australia, therefore, has the dubious distinction of having a dispossessed Indigenous minority whose men, on the average, will not live long enough to claim a retirement pension.

Another ‘uncomfortable’ similarity in statistics is that of premature deaths through untreated illness, violence and accidents. Hirini et al (2013) estimate 30.2 percent of Maori lost loved ones to homicide, suicide and accident and Aboriginal figures are as high or higher (ABS 2013). In terms of use (or loss) of traditional languages, most Indigenous Australians reported English as their primary language spoken at home. Those who speak an Indigenous language numbered 12 percent, although the figure may be higher as the Census does not include people who speak an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language outside the home. In 2011, 6.3 percent of Maori living in Australia spoke te reo (Maori language) at home, slightly higher than the 5.7 percent recorded in 2006. While the proportionate increase was very modest, in absolute terms this translated into an additional 2,788 speakers of te reo or an increase of 53.2 percent. For Pacific Islanders, it is much higher. In Lakisa’s study of Islander footballers (Lakisa in Codzow 2013), 68 percent indicated they spoke another language at home other than English.
Education

Figures from the study of Maori in Australia (Kukutai and Pawar 2013) reveal considerable differences in educational achievement, not just between Maori and non-Maori, but between New Zealand born and Australian born Maori. In 2011, less than half of all NZ-born Maori migrants of prime working age (25–54 years) living in Australia had left school with a Year 12 qualification (45 percent). This was much lower than the Australian-born population. New Zealand-born Maori also had the lowest rate of post-secondary qualifications (4 percent), less than the proportion of Australian-born Maori (5 percent) and dramatically less than New Zealand-born Pakeha (59 percent). Among 20–29 year olds, Maori male migrants were also the least likely to be engaged in education. Overall, Maori migrants were significantly less educated than Australian-born Maori, non-Maori migrants, and the general Australian population at the same ages.

This is borne out in a report by Queensland Health (2009) that indicated the Queensland Maori population had a low level of post-school qualifications – only 3 percent of the Maori population had a bachelor or post-graduate level qualification compared to 18 percent of the total Queensland population. Kukutai and Pawar (2013) have calculated that the rate for Maori migrant women was about three percentage points lower than males, with the difference especially marked at ages 25-29 years. This was suggested as being associated with a higher probability of having children at younger age and the influence of non-labour market factors, such as having a partner who is the prime income earner. In contrast, in New Zealand, the number of Maori women who completed tertiary qualifications, grew 201 percent, from 3,999 to 12,049, over the last ten years. Allowing for this gender–specific advance, the figures would then indicate that Maori men are still struggling in the education system.

It was harder to get ethnically specific figures for Pacific Islanders in Australia, so again, using New Zealand data, the figures for Pacific Islanders are similar: about a third of Pacific Island women leave school with no qualifications, but the statistics for Pacific Island men are much worse. An Auckland study revealed less than fifteen percent of Pacific Island men had a post–school qualification of any sort (Paterson, Tukutonga, and Abbot 2004).
In listing comparable Aboriginal statistics, I have concentrated on the trends. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) tables of social trends produced for the Reconciliation Australia Fact Sheet (2008) make interesting reading. Despite ‘improvements’, in these statistics, the numbers are still shocking and should be a source of shame to the Australian government. For example:

- In 2006, Indigenous young people aged 19 years had definitively lower rates of Year 12 completion than non-Indigenous young people of the same age overall (37 percent compared with 74 percent) and across all remote areas.
- There was an increase in participation in education for Indigenous people aged 20-24 years (from 11 percent in 1996 to 13 percent in 2006).
- In 2006, just over half (51 percent) of all Indigenous 15-19 year olds were participating in education, up from 43 percent in 1996. This increase occurred in major cities as well as regional and remote areas. The biggest proportional change occurred in very remote areas, increasing from 22 percent in 1996 to 28 percent in 2006, representing a 27 percent increase.
- According to the ABS (2008a) only 32.3 percent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders had a non-school qualification.

There are many factors feeding into the poor educational experience and outcomes for Indigenous students and also other non-Anglo students in Australia (see Ford 2009). Extensive work has been done in relation to Polynesian education by Professor Graham Smith, Epeli Hau’ofa and others. For Indigenous and Polynesian children who are raised in a consocial/socio-centric environment at home, it is very difficult to adapt and succeed under the individualistic model of modern Western education. On top of this, in regards to the curriculum, their world does not exist. Thaman (2009) argues that teaching and/or learning environments of most formal educational institutions are not culturally democratic. This is both in relation to curriculum content and pedagogical methods. She claims that this is because most schools require students to ‘hang their culture at the school gate’. As Maori actor, Nancy Brunning put it: ‘School’s the place where you’re supposed to learn your history, but I had to leave to find out what really happened’ (Brunning in Brown, 1994, p.178).
Employment and unemployment

According to New Zealand government statistics, household incomes, educational achievement and consequent employment prospects are significantly below those of their Anglo counterparts (Poata–Smith 2007). In Australia, while employment itself may be higher than in New Zealand, the patterns remain the same. The Kukutai and Pawar (2013) study revealed that Maori who lived and worked in Australia in 2011 were disproportionately concentrated in lower skilled jobs by comparison with the national Australian workforce. Nearly four out of every ten employed Maori migrants in Australia worked as a labourer, machinery operator or driver. This proportion far exceeded the share for non-Maori New Zealanders (19 percent), or Australian-born Maori (22 percent). The over-representation of Maori in ‘blue collar’ occupations was especially apparent for men. Given that educational levels are marginally lower for Pacific islanders, it could be safely assumed that these patterns are applicable. As one commentator noted: ‘Large numbers of people in the Pacific Islands migrate in search of the three Es: education, employment and enjoyment. Often they end up instead with the three Ds - jobs that are dirty, difficult and dangerous’ (Horton in Field, 2013).

In New Zealand in the decade to 2008, the average unemployment rate for Maori appears to have been halved, from almost fifteen percent to approximately eight percent of the overall Maori population. Statistics incorporating gender are even more revealing. The number of unemployed Maori women decreased by almost a third, largely in response to government policies and sanctions on welfare payments (Department of Labour 2007). Many authors express concern that these statistics disguise high rates of under-employment and part-time employment masking the real figures of joblessness for both men and women.

In terms of Aboriginal employment/unemployment, there has been a great deal of manoeuvering around alleged ‘incentives’ and more commonly, sanctions for non-compliance with work programmes. In the 2006 Census, the participation rate of Indigenous people aged 25–44 years was 62 percent compared with 83 percent for the non-Indigenous population of the same age. For those aged 15–24 years, the employment rate for Indigenous

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5 Note: Figures cited here are for ‘registered unemployment’, not the ‘jobless rate’. Apparent improvement in unemployment looks positive only when compared to record high Maori unemployment rates of 80s and 90s.
youth was 51 percent. These appalling figures are discussed in neutral bureaucratic language: ‘Indigenous Australians benefited to some extent from the economic prosperity of the period from 1996 to 2006, with a slight rise in the labour force participation rate (from 53 percent to 55 percent) and a considerable fall in the unemployment rate (from 23 percent to 16 percent)’. As at 2012, there was no significant improvement (see ABS 2012).

Also, with both Aboriginal and Polynesian communities, the denial of welfare payments because of government sanctions and ‘breaches’ means more people rely heavily on other family members. This in turn contributes to household overcrowding. All communities represented in this thesis have household numbers above the Anglo average and this is also reflects other forms of social disadvantage (Walter and Sagers 2007; Bailie 2007). The ‘official’ Aboriginal rates (Census Quikstats 2011) are 3.3 persons and a household income of $991 (the Anglo Australian rate is 2.6 occupants and $1,234 income). For a variety of sociological and methodological reasons, these figures are unlikely to reflect the true numbers of people in households over a period of time, or the relative income of that household.

In the current neoliberal climate, there is no real discussion of government policies forcing people into poorly paid, demeaning jobs or of people who have fallen ‘off the radar’ completely because of bureaucratic complexity and demands. In the case of Polynesians there is progressively more evidence that there is a ‘hidden’ higher employment rate due to government policies of not allowing ‘New Zealanders’ access to benefits for two years after arrival. In general terms, both groups tend to have to live in areas which are affordable and not well serviced with infrastructure, public transport or quality schools. In other words, they are sharing geographic areas in greater numbers than has previously occurred.

**Off to the Big House: Indigenous and Polynesian youth and jail**

Waquant (2009) offers a critique of neoliberalism and its accompanying ideology of criminalising the poor and the marginalised. He deals extensively with the trajectory of young men in this climate, particularly African-American men, and North African men in France. He speaks of ‘dispossessed and dishonoured populations [by status or origin]’ (p.4). This is a process whereby relatively small ‘street illegalities’ are described and punished in an increasingly ferocious manner. According to Waquant the current socio-economic model
produces a regime that may be called ‘liberal paternalist’. It is permissive at the top, allowing rewards, privileges and exceptions to be made for corporations and upper class members, and paternalistic and authoritarian at the bottom. In this way, there is an erosion of the welfare state and its ‘conversion into an instrument of surveillance and discipline’ (p.8). In other words, what begin as petty diversions from boredom and lack of engagement and opportunity, progressively lead to more severe state responses.

In the Australian context, as an example, the regional country town of Bourke has a population of only 3,000 people and yet recently topped the state for six out of eight criminal offences including assault, break and enter, car theft and malicious damage to property. The Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (in Olding 2013) suggest this makes Bourke more ‘dangerous’ than many other countries in the world when compared to UN data. Police numbers have swelled to forty. Eighty percent of those incarcerated are Aboriginal.

Since 1981, there had been an overall decline in both the number and rate of persons aged 10 to 17 years in juvenile detention in Australia. However, since 2004 it has been going up again (Richards 2011). A range of factors, including legislative, policy and demographic changes have shaped trends in juvenile detention across Australia's jurisdictions. Indigenous juveniles have been substantially over-represented among the juvenile detention population in Australia since such data has been collected (1994). Although Indigenous people are also over-represented among adult prisoners, over-representation appears more pronounced among juvenile detainees. A higher proportion of juvenile than adult detainees is Indigenous: 54.7 percent of juvenile detainees were Indigenous, compared with 24.3 percent of adult prisoners in Australia (ABS 2008). Further, a truly disturbing statistic is that a far higher proportion of juveniles in Australia are remanded than in the adult population. As at 30 June 2008, 23 percent of adult prisoners were on remand compared with 59.6 percent of juvenile detainees (ABS 2008b). This is an increase of 27 percent since the year 2000 for juvenile detainees. To sum up these figures, in New South Wales, Aboriginal young people make up just 2.2 percent of the general population, but over half of the detention population. Aboriginal young people are also 28 times more likely to be placed in juvenile detention than non-Indigenous young people (Aboriginal Legal Service, 2011). A report for the Law and Justice Foundation (2003) also points out that although it is difficult to be precise, it is evident there is a rapid increase in the number of other non-Anglo youth, including Maori and Pacific Islanders who appear to be over-represented in the system. This becomes
progressively important as Indigenous and Polynesian youth encounter each other in yet another ethnically defined and negative space.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Section One: The Historical Background

Aboriginal, Maori and Pacific Islander peoples were all colonised by the European powers around the same period of expansionism. In this sense they share the horrors of the impact of introduced diseases, loss of sovereignty and in many cases, dismantling of traditional lifestyles and tribal identities. However, there are also many differences in how the trajectory of colonisation unfolded in Australia and New Zealand. As explained in the Introduction, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully explore all points of similarity and difference. For the purpose of this Literature Review, it is intended to provide a ‘timeline’ drawing attention to certain key historical events and turning points up to the end of World War II and the rapid urbanisation of the 1950s. It will then examine how both groups supported each other during the political struggles of the 1960s and 70s. This is followed by a discussion of the onset of neoliberalism since the 1980s and how this has impacted on both sides of the Tasman, leading to an upsurge in migration of Maori, and also Pacifica, to Australia. The second section will explore the post-colonial legacy of how Indigenous masculinities have been constructed. As other chapters of this thesis revolve around sport, racism, and, unfortunately, incidences of violence between these communities, I have concentrated on the literature that helps understand how socio-economic disadvantage combines with concepts of contemporary identities and masculinities contribute to this violence.

The literature review for this thesis has in many ways been a discouraging experience. Firstly because there is so little academic material concerning the interrelationship between Aboriginal and Maori people, and secondly because the content that is available is overwhelmingly derogatory of Aboriginal people. For example, one site positioning itself as ‘historical’ describes the difference between colonisation in Australia and New Zealand. Summing up the post-colonial identities of the Indigenous peoples was the following statement:

The Maori have a warrior-style identity, but feel that their treaty with the British was
never honoured by the other side. On the other hand, the Aborigines have more of a victim identity. They feel that they were wronged by Christian missionaries, and that their peaceful life was shattered by English soldiers (Convict Creations 2010, p. 3).

This perception reinforces the tacit ‘Maori as Warrior’ label and does not explore issues of introduced diseases, land loss, banning of language and other issues in the direct colonial aftermath, while placing Aboriginal people firmly in the status of ‘victim’, a seemingly self-appointed role. In more serious academic work, Howe (1988) sums up this contrast and argues that many of the differences in the trajectory of race relations in the two countries had their roots in how the settlements were conceived: Australia as a penal colony, and New Zealand as a home to ‘free settlers’. Early trading and commercial enterprises were reliant on Maori labour and cooperation while Australia used convict labour. This understanding of the economic relationship underpinning the ‘better’ treatment of Maori is discussed more fully below. However, Howe also points out that even the roles of missionaries differed markedly in both countries:

European settlement began with missionaries who came to New Zealand specifically to convert the Maori, whereas the missionaries who went to the early Australian colonies preached to the convicts and their guardians, and many would have nothing to do with the Aborigines, believing them beyond redemption (Howe 1988, p.605).

While this may be the case as a generalisation, it should also be pointed out that various missionary bodies behaved differently, and some more positively, towards Indigenous peoples, for example, the Aboriginal Inland Mission and United Aboriginal Mission (see Djenidi 2009). Some played a significant role in agitating for improved conditions. Nonetheless, objectives of social policy and the labelling of Indigenous people continued to play a role in the shaping of opinions in regard to both Maori and Aboriginal people. The political options available to Aboriginal people in the parallel years to the story of Maori political aspiration were seriously diminished. This thesis will therefore discuss how fundamentally different approaches to Maori and Aboriginal people not only impacted on colonial treatment of the two groups, but also has repercussions still felt today in terms of how these two groups are perceived and regard each other.

Divergence of experience
The hierarchical social structure and caste system of the Maori was recognisable to the Pakeha. The fact that Maori had a system of ‘nobility and commoners’\(^6\), in some way conveyed a familiar social order to the colonising Europeans. The more egalitarian Aboriginal social structures, however elaborate, were not valued in the same way. The sophistication of Aboriginal societies, language and art remained invisible to the Anglo-European. In addition there is now evidence that when a positive account of Aboriginal social life was observed, it was denied, or in some way expunged. As one early settler observed: ‘Natives are numerous on Victoria and Ord and are very treacherous, a fine race and very independent’ (Crawford 1885). The positive description of a ‘fine’ and independent population is qualified by defining defence of land and survival itself as ‘treacherous’. Another example is Captain James Cook’s observations of the traditional people of North Queensland. Cook detailed the health and happiness of the overall population and the fair way in which all tribal members were treated. According to Collingridge (2007), these entries were vaguely threatening to the entrenched class society of Britain and were effectively ‘blacked out’ of Cook’s work until recently.

In what Blackburn (2010) refers to as the ‘post-frontier’ era, the late 1800s, Aboriginal people were subjected to diverse and repressive policies depending where they lived. In the Northern Territory, where land was not so greatly in demand by white settlers, tribal people continued to live on traditional lands. In the Eastern and Southern states, Aboriginal people became part of a bigger industrial underclass or, for women, domestic service. Like poor whites, they worked for pitiful or non-existent wages.

One of the most significant historical differences between colonialism of Australia and New Zealand was the reserve or ‘mission’ system in Australia. Again, there were considerable differences between states with New South Wales implementing smaller ‘reserves’ while Queensland chose the much larger mission model. Queensland was the first to introduce the bill, the ‘Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act’, in 1897 followed by Western Australia 1905, New South Wales 1909, and South Australia 1911. This then became the prototype legislation for the Protection of Aborigines Act (Armitage 1995). Variations of this act led to the segregation of Aboriginal people from white Australia. The Act was updated in 1939 as the Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Act. This was

\(^{6}\) The extent to which these may terms may have been European constructs themselves is debated.
accompanied by the Torres Strait Islanders Act. Every aspect of people’s daily lives was prescribed by the Act, as it became known in the Aboriginal community, and fear and resentment of the Act continues to the present day.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were continually excluded from consultations or participation. As the ‘Founding Fathers’ were engaged in drafting a Constitution for the Commonwealth of Australia (1901) Aboriginal Australians were specifically denied legal status under the new Commonwealth Parliament and were excluded from any census. These historic and legal omissions affirmed that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were not viewed as equal citizens. This prohibited these populations from having the same rights, responsibilities and benefits of other Australian citizens and served to highlight their exclusion from Australian society more generally (Under the Act 1987).

During this same period of history, Maori had some degree of political independence. This is not to diminish the impact of land loss, and family and cultural breakdown as people moved from tribal land in search of work, as well as other forms of marginalisation in their own country. However, there was a fundamentally different political process between Maoridom and the Europeans. Blackburn (2010) describes the difference between the two groups as falling into several key areas. Firstly, there was an awareness of the differences in the white treatment of the Maori and Aboriginal People. There was also the significant difference in the political representation available to Maori, and as Blackburn and other authors suggest, this was largely underpinned by the relative economic independence of Maori in the early years of colonisation: ‘Maoris ... were keen to adopt European ideas and technology, and to do business with Europeans from the first moments of contact’ (Howe 1988, p.604). Although this could not be said to be true for all Maori, there was indeed a great deal of economic activity in these early years.

**The Maori economic boom – the early years**

Anne Salmond’s work (1997) traces the years 1773-1815 in considerable detail. Once the scientific explorers had surveyed places in the Pacific for European use, a period of business exchange between Europeans and Pacific Islanders developed. British penal settlements were established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island. Salmond describes the extensive
interactions between Maori and Pakeha during these years. European ships carried convicts and basic supplies and searched for cargo for the homeward journey. Maori sailed themselves and with Europeans to Norfolk Island, Port Jackson, Tahiti, Tonga, Fiji, South America, Britain, North America and India. Salmond refers to these men as the ‘Maori explorers’.

In the early 1800s, three rangatira (tribal chiefs), Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro, all sailed on the Active to New South Wales. Reverend Samuel Marsden had purchased the Active to guarantee the safety of Maori during such voyages. The chiefs were offered free passage and a return trip to Aotearoa. They were shown blacksmiths’ work, carpentry shops, planking of brick houses and agricultural methods. This was to excite a spirit of trade, mixed up with an evangelical message. The Maori chiefs were definitely interested in the trade but feared that the arrival of missionaries would lead to more Europeans following who could take over their land, destroy their way of life and reduce them to slavery. They were also very aware of the fact that Aboriginal people from New South Wales had been shot and killed, whether by colonial officials or settlers. Around this time, the Reverend Samuel Marsden knew that the survival of the mission in New Zealand depended upon protection by the chiefs, and he did his utmost to nurture their goodwill.

According to Binney’s research (2004; 1987) before the chiefs Korokoro, Hongi Hika and his nephew Ruatara departed in November 1814, they had been invested by the New South Wales government with an Authority to prevent the kidnapping of their people by whalers. It was well intentioned but legally very doubtful. This particular visit (Ruatara’s last journey to Port Jackson) had created the thread that would bind New Zealand to the large framework of colonial and British trading interests. By vesting authority in the chiefs, and by appointing Thomas Kendall as Justice of the Peace, Governor Macquarie was making a public statement that the colonial government possessed a kind of jurisdiction there. When the chiefs arrived back from Port Jackson they brought with them their own selective images of power. Sometimes it was to build a town with a European church, or Te Pahi’s obsession with the gallows built for the judicial system in New South Wales. Te Pahi had his own gallows constructed. After Ruatara’s death, Hongi Hika took the role of Protector of the Mission at the Bay of Islands. Visits from whalers were encouraged and Maori continued to sail with them. The Active had Maori crewmen and also took Maori passengers. Maori crewmen were

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7 It was around this period that the word, Pakeha, with various spellings first appears in colonial accounts.
also listed on the muster books of vessels leaving Port Jackson (Salmond 1997). Governor Macquarie in 1814 assisted the missionary venture of the *Active* by instructing the captain to return with a cargo of timber and flax. This is an illustration of the collaboration of economic trade and missionary expansionism.

The *Sydney Gazette* (1821) observed the frequent visits of Maori chiefs across the Tasman. There were comments relating to the physical appearance of these men who were described as heavily tattooed, powerfully built and very athletic who seemed ‘… to enjoy much pleasure in daily parading our streets’ (*Sydney Gazette*, June 1821). However, the streets of Sydney were not always welcoming. Physical attacks were made upon their persons by stone and missile throwing. The *Sydney Gazette* used such an incident to illustrate the vital importance of the ‘lucrative trade’ with New Zealand that had grown substantially and which could be jeopardised by reports of such experiences. It was pointed out, in the colonists’ own interests, to keep on friendly terms with their visitors, lest their anger rebound upon the colonial traders in New Zealand (Binney 1987).

Commercial trade between New Zealand and New South Wales had a bumpy road in the early stages with some local Maori refusing to help and at times ships were attacked due to bad behaviour by captains and crew (Bentley 1999). However the New South Wales government persisted. The commercial trade between both countries ran a lot more smoothly when Maori chiefs organised the labour supply and the colonial merchants settled resident agents in New Zealand. This trade with New Zealand increased dramatically from 1827. Those Maori chiefs looking for a better trade deal travelled to Port Jackson to establish their own agencies, and European connections were the order of the day. An agent from a Sydney firm would inevitably be taken back to Aotearoa to complete the trade deal. According to Bentley’s (1999) account, the largest influx of traders occurred between 1829-1832, the years of the flax boom, when cargoes of dressed flax were the principal export from New Zealand. Fetching up to forty pounds per ton, flax was much in demand in Sydney for the manufacture of ropes and lines. As Maori chiefs seeking muskets for offensive and defensive warfare mobilised the economic resources and labour of their people on a much grander scale than in the past, flax trading came to rank alongside sealing and whaling as one of New Zealand’s earliest and most important economic activities.

Binney (1987) acknowledges that the growth of trade also created new needs within Maori society. The onshore whaling stations established from the late 1820’s were also principal
centres of employment. At the end of the season for the black whale (April to September), the men turned their attention to obtaining cargoes of flax. There were probably at least 30 onshore stations operating by the beginning of the 1830s founded by men from Sydney and Hobart. From 1828 there was a marked increase in vessels as recorded in the *Sydney Gazette*, sailing between New South Wales and New Zealand. The peak years were 1830 and 1839 when some 60 to 75 vessels left Sydney for New Zealand. The New Zealand exports included flax, timber, black whale oil, whale bone, seal skins, dried fish, salted pork, maize and vegetables.

The governors of New South Wales after King and Macquarie, also kept an interest in New Zealand as a potential source of resources for the penal colonies. The governors were also very forthcoming in extending hospitality to Maori visitors. Prominent in this role was the Reverend Marsden who kept introducing chiefs into government circles. He corresponded with people like Hongi Hika inviting them to New South Wales to stay with him. Marsden’s desire was to protect the Maori from exploitation and criminal violence. In 1819 he set up a seminary for Maori chiefs’ sons at Parramatta. However, this was a disaster because so many of the youths died of respiratory and other diseases (Binney 1987)⁸. Another contemplated project was to create a permanent settlement at Lake Macquarie for chiefs and their families who might emigrate. This was viewed also as a possible sanctuary for missionaries. The scheme did not eventuate, however these discussions do indicate a mutual respect between Pakeha and Maori that was not evidenced in interactions with the Aboriginal population. Marsden’s treatment of Aboriginal people earnt him the title of the ‘flogging parson’ during this same period. Visiting Maori who had travelled to Sydney town had noted European abuses of the Aboriginal population and were very wary of the ‘double-speak’ promises guaranteed to Maori people. One of the most outspoken Maori voices was Te Taonui who challenged Hobson several times: ‘We are glad to see the Governor - let him come to be the Governor to the Pakias⁹, as for us we want no Governor, we will be our own Governor. How do the Pakias behave to the black fellows at Port Jackson? They treat them like dogs …’ (Taylor in Binney 1988, p.30).

By comparison with their treatment of Aboriginal people, the British fell head over heels in attempting to do the ‘right thing’ by the Maori chiefs in Sydney. On the 14ᵗʰ February 1840,

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⁸ Anecdotal evidence amongst Sydney Maori is that the Anglican church still has this land in trust and negotiations are still underway with the Aboriginal people and other stakeholders as at 2014.

⁹ Early spelling of Pakeha, meaning Anglo-European
at a garden party, Governor Gipps attempted to explain to the seven chiefs who attended, the purposes of the proposed Treaty of Waitangi and then gave each ten sovereigns. They were to return the next day to sign. They did not return. The major reason was Sydney merchant John Jones with whom the chiefs were staying. Jones was co-partner to vast land purchases in the South Island. The New South Wales government proclamation on 18th of January had called all past and future land purchases in New Zealand into question, so the Crown’s position effectively halted Jones’ progress in Aotearoa. The chiefs had become suspicious of the Pakeha motives in relation to land acquisition.

Also at this time, conversion to Christianity was continuing at a fast pace. This new evangelism was powerfully intertwined with commerce, which some Europeans considered more effective than God in converting savages to civilisation. There is no doubt of the breadth of Maori economic engagement with the Pakeha. It is poorly appreciated in Australia, that the Maori supplied food in the form of potatoes, kumara (sweet potato), wheat, maize, pigs, fish and fruit to the colonies. According to the New Zealander of 1845: ‘The Maori are our largest purveyors of foodstuffs; so large indeed as nearly to monopolise the market and to exclude Europeans from competition’ (in Belich 1990, p.80). By the 1850s, the Maori milled the wheat themselves and transported everything to market in carts, canoes, small coastal vessels and even quite substantial schooners. They also grew and processed flax, dug kauri gum and had some share in the whaling and timber industries. Maoridom by this stage was also a significant consumer of European goods. An understanding of this economic relationship gives weight to the idea that the trade relationship between Maori and Anglo Australian and New Zealand settlers, officials, traders and sailors was instrumental in how Maori were regarded, and a point of difference with how Aboriginal people were treated during this same period.

**The Treaty of Waitangi: Its impact on both sides of the Tasman**

The Treaty of Waitangi is still the dominant political paradigm in Maoridom even though the Treaty appeared over one hundred and seventy years ago. In Australia, in the 1990s the Aboriginal umbrella organisation, ATSIC, had attempted to inform the wider public that they sought a treaty with the Australian Federal government in order to somehow formalise the relationship between the colonisers and the Indigenous population. This historical time gulf
in itself speaks of the widely differing attitudes of the British in regard to how Maori and Aboriginal people were fundamentally regarded.

When introduced by the British, the Treaty\(^\text{10}\) arguably bought out the best and worst behaviours of the colonising process. From the position of the coloniser, the British legislators were seemingly motivated by a mood of humanitarianism, equity and justice (Joseph 2004). The Treaty was regarded as a milestone in upholding the rights of Indigenous people. Maori people living in Aotearoa were going to be a model group for race relations, setting the standard for Indigenous groups around the world. Despite the early colony of New Zealand being administered largely from Sydney, this sentiment did not extend to Aboriginal people, let alone around the world. Indigenous Australians were not able to enter such a debate around sovereignty and related issues, the doors were closed and their rights completely denied.

The activities and events surrounding the Treaty of Waitangi came about by the organising of colonial interests in Sydney town. Past and present governors of New South Wales were exchanging ‘treaty data’ amongst themselves long before a version was finally presented at Waitangi by Captain Hobson and another treaty signing was held in Sydney at Government House. Sydney, therefore, had a considerable influence upon the shape, substance and frames of governance that would impact profoundly upon the native peoples of New Zealand while ignoring the Indigenous population of Australia. On the Indigenous front in 1840 one group would partially sign the Treaty while the second group would continue to be treated barbarically.

Maori people anticipated progressive changes in their lives but were quickly disappointed, betrayed and disenchanted. From the position of the Maori tribes, the Treaty represented a plethora of broken promises. Arguably, despite this disillusionment, the Treaty of Waitangi is an important document for Maori people and by devolution, other Indigenous groups globally. I have relied upon Claudia Orange’s detailed accounts (2004; 1997; 1987) and the extensive work of Bernholz, O’Grady and Zillig (2012) to offer an insight into a period of Australian history as well as that of New Zealand. This section will examine the behaviour of colonial officials and the pretence of ‘partnership’ invoked by the Treaty.

\(^{10}\) The Treaty of Waitangi is most usually referred to simply as the ‘Treaty’.
Five years prior to the Treaty in 1835, the Maori chiefs of the North Island first pronounced a Declaration of Independence of New Zealand in four articles. In this document was the following statement: ‘They [the Maori chiefs] entreat that he [King George III] will continue to be the parent of their infant State, and that he will become their Protector from all attempts upon its independence’ (see Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi, 1877, 4). By the time of the ‘signing’, a highly disputed process in itself, Queen Victoria had assumed the throne. She reassured the Maori chiefs, via the Treaty, that their land would continue to be in their charge:

Her Majesty the Queen of England, Victoria, confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession (Treaty of Waitangi cited in Bernholz, O’Grady & Zillig 2012, Appendix 1).

This appears to offer unequivocal support to the Maori claim of continued land ownership. However, it was accompanied by the ‘pre-emptive’ clause described below wherein the Crown, in fact, had total control of land. This is the core of the ongoing disputes between Maoridom and the Crown in New Zealand and highlights the multiple and contradictory versions of the treaty itself.

‘There is very little in the Treaty, at least in its English text, that had not already been expressed in earlier treaties or statements of British colonial policy’ (Renwick 1991, p.16). The key term here is ‘English’. In the many and various incarnations of the Treaty of Waitangi it is evident the Maori chiefs did not understand the intended role of the Crown, and would not have signed away their ancestral lands had they understood (or been told) that the Queen’s reassurance was empty rhetoric.

The Treaty of Waitangi represented the significant and solid dialogue between the British and Maori people. In England the pretence of ‘native rights’ was enhanced by the talk of humanitarianism and goodwill towards fellow humans. In the New South Wales Assembly, the general status of Indigenous races in international law and under British legislative practice was thoroughly discussed. This ‘Sydney debate’ was conducted with several Maori observers in the public gallery. The rhetoric of native Indigenous rights contained a far more

11 As a number of the chiefs were not literate, many ‘signed’ with a cross or other mark.
damaging racist caveat: that Maori people were not to be treated (and dismissed) like Aboriginal people.

Many of the arguments that Maori had against the signing of the Treaty were due to the way Aboriginal people were treated. Around this time, reports indicated a bloody history of violent assaults upon Aboriginal tribes. However, in the government publication of the *Maori Messenger* the official establishment line was being maintained: ‘…the Englishman came amongst you and to instruct you in the arts of peaceful industry’, while Australian Aboriginals, according to *The Messenger* had lost their land because they were ‘…savages with no industry … and very inferior…’ (cited in Binney 1987, p.21). This exemplified the ‘hierarchy of race’ that resulted in the gradation of colonized people, through a European lens, into different racial groups partitioned by colour (Ounei 1992). Within this paradigm the white man was superior in every way to the black and, somehow, the brown races were regarded as being in between.

It is indeed ironic that the British thought of annexing one group by introducing a treaty via Australia, the Indigenous home of Aboriginal people. The treaty had held a premise of partnership for Maori people (later rescinded) but offered nothing towards the recognition of the most basic rights for Aboriginal people. Subsequent governors of New South Wales went out of their way to look after Maori. Europeans were looking for guardianship from the chiefs to protect their lives and possible assets, while Maori pursued Europeans enthusiastically for possible economic advantages. During this time the contrasting approach towards Maori and Aboriginal people became stark.

**The Treaty’s effective marginalisation of Maori**

After 1840, the colony of New Zealand prospered with a sudden swell of ‘bridge building’ commercial activity. Maori produce found good prices. Maori labour was in big demand with the building of houses for the new settlers. This early prosperity did not last. By 1841, Maori discontent was now brewing particularly in the north. By 1842 James Busby and Henry Williams felt uneasy about a possible Maori backlash. Williams admitted that he knew no chief who had not expressed his distrust of the Pakeha (Binney 1987). Relations between the settlers and Maori were now at their worst in the colony. No effective system of law had been provided, and as a result Maori customs prevailed. Maori lost faith in the government and its
ability to implement its promises and fell back on traditional methods of handling affairs. However, Maoridom itself was divided.

Those Maori chiefs who had signed the Treaty continued to seek some positive change to their lives. However, Maori people were quickly losing confidence in the colonial government, especially as vast tracts of Maori land were being sold strictly and exclusively to the government – for very low prices. The idea of the government as the sole purchaser under the ‘pre-emption law’, was completely new to Maori people. Maori quickly realised when land sales did take place, the government would buy at a very low price and create a healthy profit margin between purchase and resale prices. The profit margin was to be used on further development of the colony and attracting even more settlers. The settlers needed Maori land urgently. For many missionaries the pre-emption clause was a measure of protection for Maori against land speculators. However, for Maori the pre-emption clause meant Maori land came under tighter Pakeha control (Bernholz, O’Grady & Zillig 2012). The government introduced more regulations and more ordinances in violation of Maori rights and rangatiratanga (sovereignty). With the pre-emption law, increasingly Maori were brought within the confines of the British law and Maori land was effectively controlled by the Crown. Very quickly Maori felt misled and duped by the Treaty (Cowan 1969a; 1969b). This sowed the seeds for the subsequent destruction and carnage in the form of the ‘Land Wars’ twenty years later.

What was perceived as deceit by the British in their handling of the Treaty has continued to be a rallying point for Maoridom. The essential problem remains the many versions of the text and also of translation. Over a hundred and forty years on, the New Zealand Court of Appeal, in ruling on the New Zealand Maori Council v. Attorney-General (1987) admitted: ‘There were drafts and copies and there are some differences. What is much more important and of continuing significance, the Maori language text signed at Waitangi is not an exact translation of the original English language text approved by Hobson’ (cited in Bernholz, O’Grady and Zillig 2012, p.4). Discontent over the spirit and interpretation of the Treaty has marked out the parameters of Maori resistance ever since.

**The immediate aftermath: Post-Waitangi**

For the good people [Pakeha] at home, the affair [the treaty] was made to assume the appearance of one of the purest pieces of philanthropy on the part of England in favour of the natives to protect them against European aggression; but the simple truth
is, disguise it as we may, that under this cloak of benevolence has been practised the greatest hypocrisy, the obtain possession of the country honestly, if possible, but never the less to obtain it (Bay of Islands Observer, 7th July 1842).

It was only months after the signing of the Treaty that reports were being received by Hobson of the extent of Maori unease at the establishment of British administration. They were becoming convinced that the government was inevitably going to operate against Maori interests, whether they had signed the Treaty or not.

The settler onslaught had begun. This development occurred during the decades 1840 to 1870. The Anglo-European population grew from an estimated 2,000 in 1839 to outnumber the Maori by 1858 (approximately 56,000 Maori to 59,000 Anglo-European). By 1872 the Anglo-Europeans had reached 256,000 while the Maori population was proportionately less than one fifth of that number. By the 1896 census, Maori numbered approximately 42,000 and Anglo-Europeans had reached 700,000 (McLintock 1966). Settlers from England and the Australian colonies erected townships, homes and public buildings in a number of coastal locations. Auckland and Wellington were founded in the 1840s in the direct aftermath of the Treaty, Wanganui and New Plymouth 1841, Nelson in 1842, Dunedin 1848, Christchurch 1850 (Binney 1987).

Another issue of concern for Maori at this time was that the New South Wales Legislature was debating New Zealand Land Claims. This resulted from a bill introduced on 28th May 1840. Maori fears were compounded by the actions of Governor Gipps. They questioned his right to determine New Zealand affairs, and were further concerned about whether Maori people were going to be degraded as Aboriginal people were in their own country. The main purpose of the bill was to set up an investigation of all land purchases made before 1840. The impending legislature was to tackle the many outrageous aspects regarding these land sales, such as the inadequate amounts of monies paid and the dubious contracts that were conducted. Two commissioners were appointed to hear claims. Those claims judged by the commissioners to be excessive and inequitable would become the property of the Crown, referred to as ‘surplus lands’. The bill raised important issues. It questioned the competence of Maori to enter into contracts and by implication challenged the independent status of New Zealand before the Treaty. Also raised in the New South Wales Assembly was the general status of Indigenous races in international law and British practice.
During the 1840s the government made more laws and regulations and continued to expand its activities in such matters as the control of settlements, commerce and shipping. These were all things that affected Maori communities, yet there was still no place for Maori people in the government. During the time of Governor Hobson he appointed a Chief Protector of the Maori and several assistant protectors. They were supposed to liaise with Maori communities and be guardians of Maori welfare. They also had to help the government buy Maori land. Hobson’s ‘kitchen cabinet’ consisted of a governing council of six people, all Europeans and as Governor he was in sole charge of government, responsible only to the Secretary of State for the colonies in London.

In the first twenty years after the Treaty, no resident magistrates were appointed in native districts. This left Maori out of the machinery of government in their own land. A renewed surge of Maori nationalism emerged from intertribal meetings discussing land sales and culminating in the election of Te Wherowhero in 1858. As the Maori king, he symbolised mana whenua (sovereignty over the land) as introduced by the chiefs to protect the land from further alienation. The belief was that the Maori king and the British queen could work together in partnership. In the Treaty, the mana of chieftainship and the mana of the Crown had both had a place (see notes from Reverend Richard Taylor in Binney 1987). The breakdown in this fundamental understanding and the rapid loss of Maori land with consequences for tribal identity and affiliations meant the two sides were now on a collision course in military terms.

The period of the 1860s became known variously as the ‘Maori Wars’ or the ‘Land Wars’. It has subsequently been referred to as the ‘New Zealand Wars’. Each of these terms reflects a particular interpretation of these events. British troops whose numbers peaked at 18,000 were joined by volunteers recruited in Australia and by Maori forces prepared to fight on the queen’s side. Early in the decade, there were set piece battles which gave way to protracted guerrilla campaigns on the North Island’s west and east coast. The fighting continued until the end of the decade. In 1870 the last British troops left. New Zealand from now on was to receive no more monies from the English government. The colonial government was now fully responsible for Maori people. The responsibility of Maori affairs had moved from the British to the New Zealand government. Maori could hardly believe that the Queen and her British parliament had washed their hands of the Waitangi covenant (Belich 1986). For Maori people this had deep implications for the Treaty of Waitangi.
Having not been able to win an outright victory, the colonial powers enacted the Maori Representation Act of New Zealand of 1867 that gave Maori four seats in parliament. Only the Maori people could vote for these seats. In the next fifty years these four Maori seats had produced Maori cabinet ministers in successive New Zealand governments. In the 1920s, Apirana Ngata, a Maori Minister for Native Affairs, was committed to advancing the political land rights of Maoridom. He advised Maori farmers to lobby for government assistance for land development. He then established the Stout-Ngata Royal Commission around questions of native title. He was not alone, Maui Pomare used his ministerial position as Minister for Health and Internal Affairs, to initiate other royal commissions into compensation for a number of Maori tribes whose land had been confiscated (Walker 2001).

In 1890 an Australasian Federation Conference was held to discuss the federation of New Zealand and Australia. New Zealand’s Colonial Secretary, Captain William Russell, claimed federation was impossible on the grounds of contrasting political treatment of Indigenous people. According to Blackburn (2010):

Russell said that one reason why New Zealand would not federate with the Australian colonies was because such a political arrangement may adversely affect its own race relations, where the white settlers had conceded a degree of autonomy and recognition of ownership of their land to the indigenous people (Blackburn 2010, p.3).

As different models of segregation and inclusion were debated, there were inevitable comparisons between the treatment of Maori and Aboriginal people. As Howe (1988) points out this was a period where there were common issues but more often divergent government policies in regard to Maori and Aboriginal people around the objectives and phases of social policy, the role of government institutions and effects of regional and demographic distributions of people.

**Pre and post war colonial governments in New Zealand – jostling for position**

As the 1800s drew to a close, the thinking amongst Maori turned towards the setting up of a Parliament, the desire being to forge unity amongst Maori tribes. The historical Maori word for this process was *Kotahitanga* (One People). The first *Kotahitanga* session met at Waipatu near Hastings in 1892 and annual parliaments were held until 1902. The government ignored the advice and requests of the Maori Parliament and refused to recognise it. The Maori
parliament stopped meeting. While some Maori supported this initiative it was not popular with all hapu. However, the ideas and objectives of Kotahitanga were to be resurrected in the 1970s and 1980s on both sides of the Tasman and are discussed later in this thesis. 

At the end of the 19th century Maoridom had taken a battering. The myth of Maori people portrayed as a dying race during this period captured the minds of many European commentators (see Rodriguez 2003). Maori land was quickly disappearing and the Maori population was deep in decline. The Maori kinship system had persisted but Maori strategies in tackling the Pakeha juggernaut had produced minimal results. A new tactic for Maori was about to emerge - that of having a Pakeha education. Sir Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and Maui Pomare emerged from university to form the Young Maori Party who were about to make their move into the national political arena. Some Maori observers have argued that the emergence of the Young Maori Party in the early 1900s, with the election of Maori parliamentarians, Buck, Apirana Ngata and Pomare, was a gesture that paid more adherence to the non-Maori political party structures (King 2003).

The Young Maori Party was not strictly a political party but an association of professional men that grew out of education received at Te Aute Anglican College. They rejected many features of Maori life that were frowned upon by Europeans. Young Maori Party leaders did not particularly succeed in communicating with their own people at a community level. This remains a dilemma for Indigenous politicians: how much do you compromise to have a voice at the political table? Government-initiated Maori organisations have always received criticism to some degree about their credibility, while more grass roots organisations suffer from financial limitations and struggle with minimal resources. Franz Fanon (1961) wrote extensively about the perils of the Black Bourgeoisie. Those Maori individuals or organisations who have not been seduced by financial rewards will always be suspicious of Pakeha established institutions in both Australia and New Zealand.

Before the First World War (1914-18) James Carroll, Maori minister and the Young Maori Party leader had exercised considerable influence in Parliament and on some government decisions. The influence continued over the next twenty years when Pomare and Ngata were important figures in cabinet. The colonial government seemed pleased with itself by the mere appointment of these Parliamentary seats. Extolling the ‘heroes’ of the King Country model, the Adelaide Advertiser expounded in 1926:
…not only are they represented by members of their own race in the white legislature, but they have a 'Parliament' of their own, a nomadic gathering which thoughtless Europeans may ridicule, but which affords means for ventilation and dissipation of grievances that might otherwise endure and rankle (in Blackburn 2010).

However, while men such as Pomare and Ngata helped to put Maori on the Parliamentary agenda, they did not seriously challenge the powerlessness of the Maori people. Their impact lay within the administrative and legislative framework of government (King 2003).

From the end of the First World War, the various governments saw the development of the country as more important than recognition of Maori rights. With steady expansion of settlement and road making activities thriving, the most remote Maori community came under the control of local and national governments. Maori communities with limited access to monies found it impossible to meet demands for rates. Many, in order to repay loans, had to sell their land. The Treaty offered no protection as government legislation, court decisions and dubious deals were undermining the alleged guarantees of the Treaty. This had led to resistance to conscription and an increase in Maori petitions and nationalism (New Zealand History online).

Politics, petitions and preachers

Despite the failure of three earlier petitions to England to gain redress of Maori grievances under the Treaty, the prophet/leader Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana persisted. He was the charismatic head of the Ratana church representing pre-Christian Maori spirituality and attracted many followers. In 1929, he wrote a petition with 30,128 signatures, requesting to have the Treaty ratified so that its principles would be recognised in all laws relating to Maori people, and this was presented in Parliament. These persistent efforts meant that symbolically Ratana came to represent both a Maori-defined spirituality and destiny (King 1990).

According to historian Michael King’s detailed account of this period, the Ratana church and Ratana ministers also had a political agenda of capturing the four Maori seats in parliament. When the Labour Party came into government in 1935 an alliance was established between the Labour Party and the Ratana movement. It ensured that the Treaty would become a more important part of the political scene than it had been for many years. In 1935 Tokouru Ratana
won seats for western Maori and in following elections Ratana/Labour candidates were to win and hold all four Maori seats.

Within Maoridom the Treaty was always to remain very close to the hearts and minds of the people. However up to the 1930s Pakeha interest was nearly non-existent. It was not until May 1932 that events took a sudden turn for the better when Lord Bledisloe, the Governor General, gave to the nation the house of James Busby at Waitangi. The house was to be a national memorial. The government added another 1300 acres to the original gift. The development of the Waitangi site was important too, in encouraging Maori awareness of the Treaty and the Waitangi property. To celebrate the gift, in early February 1934, a massive tribal representation of 10,000 people came from throughout New Zealand. The Maori king was in attendance and also members of the government. The 1934 celebrations marked the centenary of 1834 with the gift of the national Maori flag which became known as the flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand. A replica of the same flag was apparently flown.

All over New Zealand there was growing interest in the approaching 1940 Centennial. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 just heightened the Labour Party’s determination to have a successful Centenary. Again many tribal representatives attended and a group from the newly formed Maori Battalion. A re-enactment of the Treaty signing was staged. The nation’s newspapers described Waitangi as the ‘cradle of the nation’ and the Treaty as the ‘Magna Carta’ but behind the facade all was not happy (McHugh 1991). Other significant players boycotted these events. For many, the injustices of the 19th century had not been settled and claims were still waiting for settlement even though they had been officially recognised nearly ninety years earlier, in the 1850s. The outbreak of the war meant the government was able to postpone any solution.

During WWII there was no coercion to enlist and no conscription for Maori. The people of the Waikato, for example, were prepared to defend New Zealand but saw no reason to fight for England. According to another work by King (1977), chief Te Kanawa of the Waikato declared: ‘What difference does it make if the Tiamana [Germans] come here? The British have taken our land. They have killed our wives and children. The Treaty of Waitangi is only a delusion to make the Maori people believe that the British people will keep their word of honour’.

It would appear Te Kanawa had a point. In 1945 the Maori Affairs Committee passed a
resolution to have the Treaty printed and copies of it hung in the schools of the nation as a ‘sacred reaffirmation’. Despite such attempts at ‘inclusion’, when the Second World War ended the Massey government favoured the Pakeha soldiers by assisting them to re-establish themselves in civilian life. The same did not happen for the Maori. Many Maori survivors, in desperation, turned to the faith healer Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana and joined the Ratana church. This was a position of resistance to deteriorating living conditions and loss of sovereignty more generally. Maori were being forced to move in order to find work: ‘The period following the Second World War witnessed the urban drift of Maori from their ancestral lands into the cities, and a further diminution of their traditional ways’ (Joseph 2004, p.8).

Aboriginal people also experienced a degree of ‘urban drift’ during this time. This may have been an attempt to escape racism small country towns by moving to the ‘big smoke’. However, the continuation of the mission system and its inherent restrictions, as well as racism in the larger regional centres, meant that often people had to be able to ‘pass’ (as white) to do this. There was also the particular arrangements between mission bodies and the various state ‘Protection Boards’. These complexities mean it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a parallel description of this process. However, although Maori arguably had more ‘choice’ in moving from country to city, many of the experiences contain relevance to both groups.

Maori in an urban space – the assimilationist agenda 1950 – 1960s

After WWII most Maori families underwent a third migration. To the Maori mindset, the first migration bought their ancestors from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki to Aotearoa. The second took place from their first point of settlement on arrival in Aotearoa to their geographical iwi (tribal) location and the establishment of their hapu (extended family) and marae (meeting houses). In this third move, many Maori moved away from their tribal lands in search of work. They moved from largely rural Maori communities into the urban towns and cities. Most tribes keep a genealogical record of the first and/or second migrations.

The urban movement of Maori to the cities also brought about the first widespread contact between Maori and Pakeha since the Land Wars of the 1860s. The British, like all colonising powers realised the importance of naming. By re-naming all significant natural features such as lakes, rivers and mountains - which very often depicted territorial and tribal boundaries -
subsequent generations have been denied the traditional recognition and associations reflected in the original name. This re-naming of landmarks was accompanied by the wholesale re-naming of people (Smith 1999). The introduction of Christian/colonial bureaucratic processes, including the school system, required the westernising and standardising of names. Maori, like other colonised people all over the world including Australia, were pressured into adopting disassociated Anglo names instead of the common practice of a person’s name reflecting their tribe, region, sibling status, and accomplishments.

Along with the banning of Maori language and the fragmenting of tribal groups, colonial education had particular designs on what was expected of Maori. During the first half of the twentieth century agriculture was deemed the only suitable pursuit for boys – and Maori girls were to be primed to be farmer’s wives. This was about teaching the ‘nobility of labour’: (Barrington 1988). One exception was Te Aute College for boys. The Inspector of Native Schools talking about Te Aute College at this time complained: ‘Maori boys could be taught agriculture, market gardening, stock farming, poultry keeping and bacon curing; and yet all the resources of the estate were being diverted to literary work’ (in Barrington 1988, p.47).

Despite this early colonial mindset a number of Maori continued to do well. By the 1950s, Te Aute College was still producing consistently high results in mathematics, science and literature. However, most Maori did not have access to the high quality teaching and curriculum of Te Aute, and successive generations have not done well in the conventional school system. Barrington (1988) argues that resistance to a broad curriculum for Maori in these early years, has repercussions still felt throughout Maoridom. Hokowhitu (2004; 2003; 2002) agrees and identifies the New Zealand state education system as perpetrating the stereotyping of Maori men as physical and lacking in intellectual capacity.

Maori urbanisation continued to accelerate: from 11.2 percent living in towns and cities in 1936 to 22.9 percent in 1951. In this same year, for the reasons discussed above, only 1.3 percent of the employed Maori males were in professional technical administrative or managerial positions compared with New Zealand total of 7.7 percent (Centre for Housing Research Aotearoa 2010). At this time, however, the Maori population overall was also in recovery from the decline of disease, hunger and decimation of the Land Wars and rose to 137,326 in 1956. These numbers would continue to rise.

Life in the city
The combination of rural population dispersal, urbanisation and the lack of educational qualifications among Maori workers produced a brown proletariat in New Zealand cities. The Hunn Report (1961) documented the movement of Maori to the cities of New Zealand. In the early 1960s the official New Zealand government policy on race relations was that of assimilation and integration, i.e. the Maori population were required to become brown-skinned Pakehas. The low educational expectations of what Maori were capable of was reflected in the type and distribution of work. This meant most Maori remained in physical heavy industries, and other ‘blue collar’ jobs. In the self-fulfilling rhetoric of the time, the same thinking that contrived the notion of ‘nobility of labour’ was invoked. This translated into references to alleged special aptitudes of Maori. Examples can be found not only in the popular press of the time but also in official and semi-official documents such as the Hunn Report. Even in academic circles, stereotyping of this kind remained acceptable. Mamak and Ali (1979) refer to the Maori aptitude for operating mechanical equipment and praise Maori truck drivers12. Another strange suggestion around this time was that Polynesians should learn morse code. This it appears, was because one observer had described Samoans as being exposed to the intricate rhythmical patterns in their ‘native music’ (Kawharu 1975, p.127).

Maori people were now moving in a Pakeha-defined world. The Pakeha suburbs operated very differently from the rural Maori communities. Urbanisation raised new issues and possibilities associated with developing a more progressive definition of the boundaries within Maoridom. There was a need for people from differing tribal backgrounds to devise ways of cooperating with one another. Differences of kawa (working principles/protocols) had to be worked out. The new concept of urban marae, or meeting house, that occurred with the growth of the cities, had to be tackled and understood. During this time it was more common for urban Maori to return to the rural marae for big events.

Many of the optimistic assumptions about urbanisation were that the Maori would get better housing, education and social services and become integrated into the economy and society. Gradually a good proportion were represented in semi-skilled trades, and others employed by various bureaucracies and businesses. It was an era of high employment generally (Ministry

12 Personally, I have yet to receive any satisfaction from trucks, tractors and bulldozers, nor have many thousands of other Maori in New Zealand or Australia. More pointedly, the question should be asked: Who owns the trucks?
of Business, Innovation and Employment 2009). During this boom period of the economy in New Zealand there was a strong labour market of comparatively well-paid unskilled jobs that attracted Maori people in large numbers to the towns and cities. These were mainly on construction sites, freezing works, the timber industry and the services sector. Another urban attraction apart from the monies that could be earned, was the recreational pursuits and the city lifestyle for young people. There were more choices, options, opportunities and more excitement. Success could be found in the city and not in the country.

The myth of biculturalism and the birth of Waitangi Day

In the early 1960s, the official government policy of assimilation and integration was alive and well in New Zealand. The Hunn Report had produced much controversy, but its central message was clear: Maori and the Pakeha were ‘integrating’ - a euphemism for the long standing Pakeha policy of assimilation. By the end of the 1960s the government was talking of ‘biculturalism’. Bell (2006) argues that biculturalism in this context sanctions the white settler to ‘forget’ the damaging role of the colonisors while preserving white privilege. In New Zealand this was accompanied by the wholesale co-option of Maori imagery as symbolising the new country. Jahnke and Ihimaera (in Adsett and Whiting 1991, p.56) express concern that the sovereignty of Maori art is still compromised by this post-colonial vision of New Zealand. ‘…while colonialism may be over, biculturalism may represent a new kind of colonialism equally oppressive to full Maori expression’. As Rodriguez (2003) points out, the inference around biculturalism is that the non-Anglo ‘Other’ is capable of operating in the Anglo world, as opposed to two cultures being equally valued. Despite the limitations of biculturalism as an equal partnership, there has inevitably been a process of cultural transference. As Durie (2007, p.20) explains: ‘New Zealand as a whole has absorbed Maori values, culture, aspirations and ways of doing things that has substantially changed the national ethos’. This is described in the Australian context of multiculturalism below.

Pakeha interest in Waitangi continued to be based on the historical nature of the Treaty. From the late 1950s annual ‘New Zealand Day’ celebrations were broadcast and televised to the nation: a Pakeha mixture of rhetoric and sentimentalism. The Governor General’s speech became a feature, emphasising the legendary good relationship between Maori and Pakeha. The common theme was the forming of one nation from the partnership of two races by the sacred compact. The Governor General talked of how ‘… it [the treaty] bought together two
fine races who settled down together to achieve full nationhood for a young and underdeveloped country under the Queen’s peace and law’. Governor General Lord Cobham, reiterated the same theme in 1960 before 7,000 onlookers ‘…over 120 years, the pattern was set and a new tapestry planned in which light and dark threads were interwoven to form the completed study of a new nation’ (*New Zealand Herald*, February 8, 1960).

Despite this rhetoric, Maori remained at the bottom of the social statistics. During Labour’s fourteen year administration, it was able to initiate some changes in housing, education and social welfare but all governments before and since were not going to sacrifice any electoral support to advance Maori interests. It was perceived that there were not any votes to be gained by promoting Maori causes. Labour did act by giving Waitangi Day official recognition. Eventually in 1976, it declared the 6th February would be known as Waitangi Day. The continuing ceremonies at Waitangi constantly referred to the phrase ‘one people’ meaning Maori and Pakeha. Early Maori activists had employed the phrase *Kotahitanga* (one people, meaning bringing all the tribes together), a pan-Maori vision. Therefore the use by Pakeha government officials and others of this phrase provided a platform for Maori criticism. Maori protest had always centred around the Treaty of Waitangi. From this point, the modern waves of resistance began. From the beginning of the 1970s race relations between Maori and Pakeha began to deteriorate more publicly. This also affected how Maori in Australia felt about the ‘celebration’ of this event. How this manifested in the contemporary expression of Waitangi Day in Australia is discussed more fully below in chapters five and six.

**More canoes – upsurge of migration from the Islands to New Zealand**

While Maoridom was challenging many of the assumptions about New Zealand being a united country with the best race relations in the world, another phenomenon was happening. Around the 1960s and 70s Pacific Islanders began to migrate to New Zealand in significant numbers. Previously, in 1945, there were approximately 2,000 Islanders. By 1976 there were more than 65,000 representing 2.1 percent of the population (*Statistics New Zealand* 2012). Post-colonial governments had continued to ignore the small island nations of the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Tonga. At this time, Islanders came to New Zealand in search of work. Men were employed in large-scale industries such as the construction and timber
industries, meatworks and so on, while the women were employed as cooks and chambermaids. These numbers continued to climb dramatically. Despite more restrictive immigration policies introduced by New Zealand during the 1970s, Islanders from the countries mentioned continued to retain right of entry.

During this time, the Islanders moving to New Zealand were getting jobs and having babies. It was a youthful population with fertility rates almost double that of Anglo New Zealanders. Culturally specific communities with strong language ties to their island homes grew exponentially (Statistics New Zealand 2012). This was to make New Zealand the home of the greatest number of Polynesians in the world. Further figures on the scale of Pacific Islander migration to New Zealand, and then subsequently to Australia, have been given in chapter two and are also examined in chapter seven. However, during this period most Islanders were moving to New Zealand, while more Maori were beginning to look across the Tasman.

Migration to the Land of Oz - The Sydney Maori community during the 1960s and 70s

As discussed above, for some Maori there was the discovery that ‘detribalisation’ due to urban drift and assimilationism could be compensated by a form of pan/ or multi-tribalism. This experience for many Maori was viewed as a source of additional strength and optimism for the challenges of the future. It was also particularly important for those Maori who made their decision to shift ‘roots’ to Australia. Many of the early Maori who came to Australia were musicians. This was an extension of an existing Maori tradition. According to Dix (1988) the Maori sense of melody had become legendary even before music was recorded. Maori concert parties first ventured to Britain during Queen Victoria’s reign and no visit to New Zealand was complete without experiencing a Maori choir in full voice. When Australian recording engineers travelled to New Zealand in the 1920s it was Maori music they sought and it was an all Maori group, the Ruru Karaitiana Quartet which featured on New Zealand’s first homegrown record.

After WWII, the popularity of Maori concert parties which were mainly family, or church based groups, began to decline with the rise of Maori showbands. The famous lullaby ‘Pokarekare Ana’ remained in the showbands’ repertoire but the onus now shifted to the pop music of the Pakeha. These groups survived through sheer variety of song and dance routines for every occasion. Some of the Maori showbands that arrived in Sydney during the early and
mid-60s were the Maori Hi-Fives, the Sundowners, the Trade Marks, Volcanics, Quin Tikis and the Keil Isles. Some of the Maori soloists would combine their performances with different showbands depending who was on the road. People like Ricky May, Sonny Day, Leo De Castro, Billy Christian, Tony Williams and John Rowles performed with many bands. Groups had members past and present who depending on their availability, would join forces to ensure ‘the show went on’ (Samuels 2000).

The first Australian destination was Kings Cross, Sydney. The gigs then extended to Queensland, specifically the Gold Coast and Surfers Paradise. The more successful bands toured Vietnam and South East Asia. The pick of the gigs was the tour that ultimately had Las Vegas, USA on their itinerary. Maori showbands which were musically a sentimental mix of Sammy Davis Jr, Elvis Presley, Motown and popular Maori classics, were perfectly suited to the American audience. Las Vegas became the retirement village for a lot of Maori showbands as documented by a reunion in the late 90s. Dover Samuels, formerly a minister for Maori Affairs in the government of Helen Clark, was part of the showband era in Sydney. He recalls his impressions of twenty-one years spent here:

This was at the time of the first exodus of Maori entertainers to Sydney. I had friends over there saying ‘there’s plenty of work, come on over’. Then we formed a Maori entertainers’ rugby league and rugby union team. That became a social focus. Howard Morrison was kaumatua [elder statesman] and we all hung together and looked after each other (Samuels 2000, p.21).

Samuels’ description of good wholesome Maori boys enjoying the delights of Sydney during the 60s and 70s reflects the untroubled apolitical world of Maori boy meets Pakeha girl and then sings Elvis songs. This was a period of innocence, naivety, good company and a decent income. Many of Samuels’ generation had equivalent experiences of good fortune and fun in Australia. These entertainers were very popular. In this interview Samuels remembers: ‘Sydney was wild, we were welcomed by the Aussies. You didn’t have to worry about being invited to a party on Saturday. You had so many invitations it was hard deciding which place to go’.

In the mid 60s, it appeared that every Maori living in Sydney was attached to or part of a Maori showband. They were certainly the most identifiable Maori group to arrive in Sydney during this time. They lived and rented flats around the Kings Cross area and neighbouring suburbs. The growing Sydney Maori population was concentrated around those suburbs and
by the 1970s many Maori had moved into the Bondi, Waverley area. As Samuels points out: ‘The whole tribe was there at Bondi’. One of the crowning glories of the Bondi population was the all-Maori rugby league team called the Astra Knights. Turi Gillies, a Maori working in Kings Cross and living in Bondi at the time remembers this as a time when Maori and Aboriginal people worked together:

In the early 1970s we had a lot of contact with the Redfern All Blacks. We mixed with them a lot. We were the Astra Knights and half the team helped to build houses in Everleigh Street. That’s when they [Koories] started coming over to the Astra Hotel in Bondi and we started organising games. There was Mick Mundine. They used to come to our socials - Tony Mundine, Dwight Phillips and Sol Bellear. We had a softball team. Bob Bellear would hang out with us. Lo and behold he ended up a judge at the Downing Centre! Bob was in our softball team.

This, however, was also a time of marked racism towards Aboriginal people attending many venues. Many of the parties that issued invitations to Dover Samuels and other Maori musicians, may well not have included Aboriginal guests. Gillies, at this time was working ‘on the door’ of several well-known Kings Cross establishments: ‘In the 1970s around the clubs at the Cross - Aborigines - they wouldn’t let them in. I would let them in because I was going out with an Aboriginal girl’ (pers. comm). This is another example of the racism that forced some Aboriginal sportsmen, musicians and others to choose to ‘pass’ as Maori, Afro-Americans, or white, to avoid exclusion. There are stories from this time of Aboriginal musicians who performed for the Troubadors and Prince Tui Teka who played to sell-out crowds. These issues were also addressed in the film, The Sapphires (2013; see also Maynard 2002). Ramsland and Mooney (2012) take up this issue in regard to Aboriginal sportsmen. Using the example of the boxer, Dave Sands, the *Adelaide Advertiser* (September 8, 1949) resorted to poetry rather than call him Aboriginal - ‘Australia’s dapper, dark-skinned, dreamy-eyed boxing enigma’. As these authors point out: ‘It may be the case that this racial amnesia resulted from the fact that sections of the white community found it difficult to associate success with Aboriginality’ (Ramsland and Mooney 2012, p.116).

Unlike Australia, throughout the 60s and early 70s the best of the Maori showbands were synonymous with being cultural ambassadors for their country (George 2005). Contemporary Maori music still has elements of the showband tradition as evidenced in the strong vocal performances and multi-part harmonies. The 1970s cabaret model meant that many performers from that generation targeted their appeal to a special part of Australia -
mainstream or white Australia. Despite the political limitations of those on the cabaret circuit, the genuine popularity of these bands and individual performers cannot be underestimated. They were a source of pride for many Maori and an inspiration for the subsequent generations of performers.

However the showband tradition with its ‘feel good, forget your troubles’ message was about to be overtaken by a younger musical trend. The political pendulum of Indigenous communities was swinging towards another section of Australia, namely Aboriginal Australia. Indigenous sentiments, fuelled by the Land Rights movements on both sides of the Tasman were beginning to make their impact. Consequently, although the showbands have a nostalgic appeal for many Maori, they were replaced by bands with a very different message. The band Herbs, with their album ‘Light of the Pacific’, highlighted the French nuclear testing programme and helped galvanise New Zealand to stand against nuclear powered American ships entering their waters. Herbs and other Maori bands began to explore their own Maori sound and identity rather than reproduce American popular music. Progressively, there was a divergence between the apolitical ‘feel good’ music and music with a message.

Similarly, with Aboriginal communities, while traditional language and cultural practices had been denigrated, singing, and music more generally, became both a retreat and an expression of resistance. In both communities there was a desire to escape difficult daily realities with the Motown classics. The international success of the film ‘The Sapphires’ is testament to this period of talented Aboriginal performers. However, as with Maoridom, there was a parallel surge in political awareness more generally that was reflected in the work of great individual Aboriginal songwriters and bands. These include: Kev Carmody, Bobby McLeod, Archie Roach, No Fixed Address, Coloured Stone, the Warumpi band, Yothu Yindi and many others. In many ways, it is the music that forms the archive of many areas of resistance for both Aboriginal and Maori people.

Section Two: Emergence of the Political Struggles in Australia and New Zealand in the 1960s and 70s

Resistance to colonial history
The growing political awareness of the 1960s and 70s did indeed have deeper roots. The colonialist education model did not include stories of resistance from Indigenous people. In order to redress these considerable omissions, academics such as John Maynard (2007) depart from the standard history books and introduce an Indigenous voice and perspective. Maynard describes the Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, and his calls for sovereignty and recognition of his people, as the ‘father’ of Black activism. Garvey’s oratory and writings inspired the formation of political groups to promote a global Black political agenda. His voice was heard as far away as Australia during the 1920s. As early as 1907 a group called the Coloured Progressive Association (CPA) had formed in Sydney. This group was comprised mainly of African American, West Indian and African international sailors. However, Aboriginal wharf labourers were also involved. The CPA held a farewell for African American boxing sensation Jack Johnson in Sydney in 1907. At this event the Black hero, Jack Johnson, met Maynard’s grandfather, Fred Maynard, and others and inspired them to mount campaigns, which were to become the foundation of Aboriginal resistance and activism in the early part of the twentieth century.

Attwood and Markus (1999) have recorded and analysed documents from Aboriginal organisations to form the basis of their work to record the struggle for Aboriginal rights. In the early years, between 1911 and 1927, the main supporters of this struggle were somewhat ironically white European Christian church groups. In the mid 1930s Aboriginal support organisations referred to the parliamentary representation of Maori in New Zealand as an example of improved race relations. From this perspective, it would appear that New Zealand was more progressive than Australia. However, soon there was to be a great anti-colonial push from many countries that reinvigorated ideas around racism and the rights of displaced and downtrodden peoples.

Since the 1950s new models of protest had emerged from overseas, in particular, Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights movement. Alongside, ‘peaceful change’ there was also a new thrust of anti-colonialism in many countries, including many African nations. Leaders were much younger, aggressive and rejected white leadership. This was in many ways a period of heightened awareness via the internationalism of student-driven protests in First World countries more generally in the 1960s. The social policies under which Aboriginal people’s civil rights were curtailed - in regard to where they could live, their right to vote, drink alcohol, own property, requiring approval to marry and other severe social sanctions,
were called into question: ‘The hypocrisy was so apparent that in the later 1960s all state governments, with the exception of Queensland, slowly began to confer at least theoretical civil rights upon Aborigines’ (Howe 1988, p.589). This hypocrisy of Australia’s position in relation to the treatment of Aboriginal people generated a debate which in turn led to the founding of the Institute of Aboriginal Studies in 1964.

In 1965 a group of Sydney university students undertook a campaign with the title of the Freedom Ride. This involved white students such as Ann Curthoys and Jim Spigelman as well as Aboriginal representative, a young Charlie Perkins, taking a bus around country towns in New South Wales. The idea was to challenge the entrenched, systemic racism of these towns (see Churthoys 2002). Confrontations with ‘rednecks’ in Moree and Walgett were recorded and reproduced in Rachel Perkin’s documentary of the same name (Freedom Ride 1993). Although there were many points of collision and resistance, the Freedom Ride is an important emblem of resistance in this time.

The early 1970s marked an escalation in awareness of Black issues globally. The Communist Party of Australia began to show an interest in these issues, particularly in relation to the atrocities of apartheid in South Africa. Aboriginal activists Gary Foley, Paul Coe and Chicka Dixon argued to young white university students – and anyone else who was prepared to listen – that while they were concerned about what was happening in South Africa, the same thing was happening in Australia. Every country town in Australia was effectively segregated along racial lines: where you could live, who would be served in shops, who could sit in a park, who could swim at the local pool was determined by colour…this was apartheid. As a result, in 1971, a strategy was devised to interrupt the Springbok rugby tour by removing the goal posts before, or even during a game. Although the action itself did not eventuate, there were arrests (see Keenan 2014)13 The momentum from the anti-Vietnam protests, combined with a degree of support from the Communist Party (mainly through Dennis Feeny) led to a handful of committed students working with Aboriginal protestors to organise the Black Moratorium marches. Around 500 Aboriginal people were at the forefront of a 6,000 strong demonstration from Redfern to central Sydney. The slogan was ‘Ningla-na – we are hungry for our land’. The unions were now behind this and similar actions (Solidarity 2010).

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13 This was a decade before the anti-apartheid protests against the Springboks in New Zealand.
This was an exciting time and a spirit of international cooperation and awareness of the struggles of Black people contributed to a feeling that things could and must change. In 1970, Black activist, Bobby Seales had published ‘Seize the Time’ in the United States. In many ways this book brought the Black Panthers to the attention of a wider audience, along with the works of Huey Newton and George Jackson. Organisations such as the Black Panthers which began in the USA had chapters in Australia and in New Zealand, the Polynesian Panthers. Dennis Walker and Sam Watson co-founded the Australian Black Panther Party in Brisbane on the 1st August 1972, with Walker declaring the Party to be ‘the vanguard for all depressed people, and in Australia the Aboriginals are the most depressed of all’ (in Clemons and Jones 2001, p.24). Lothian (2005) commenting on the effect of the Black Panthers in Australia suggests that the influence of the Black Panther Party in America was not simply its name, or even its political rhetoric. She argues that Aboriginal activists were inspired by the community service programmes devised by the Panthers and that this, in turn, contributed to the setting up of the free Aboriginal medical and legal services (see also Watson 1993). It was at this period that the Tent Embassy was initiated in the grounds of Parliament House in Canberra. Gary Foley was one of the original activists involved in the ad hoc setting up of what became the Tent Embassy. He describes it as: ‘…by far the most successful Aboriginal action of the 20th century’. (See Creative Spirits Online for a detailed account of this grassroots protest).

Responding to international momentum in regard to Indigenous rights, the Tent Embassy in 1972 became a touchstone for the Land Rights Movement (Attwood and Markus 1999). Maori and Aboriginal activists (and to a lesser extent, Pacific Islanders) continued to support each other during this time. The Maori builders who had helped build houses in Everleigh Street, went down to the Tent Embassy. Well known Aboriginal singer, Marlene Cummings was part of a delegation that went to New Zealand to meet with the Polynesian Panthers and the radical Maori group, Nga Tama Toa.

When I was 18 I went to Auckland. I was a bit of an activist. I was in the Black Panther party established in Brisbane and I met Wil 'Ilolahia of the Polynesian Panthers. I had to get out of the country - not because I was a criminal - but the cops were always trying to get Blacks who were outspoken and taking a political stance. I stayed with Syd and Hana Jackson. They were part of a group called Nga Tama Toa and Wil came over for the Tent Embassy (pers.comm.).
This story reflects the pressures Aboriginal activists were under in Australia, particularly in regard to the police. Again, the themes of music and resistance come together. For example, Wil 'Ilolahia, who was instrumental in the setting up the Polynesian Panthers, also managed the band Herbs who captured the imagination of young Maori and Islanders.

**Common ground - resistance identities of the 1970s and 80s**

**Wahine Toa – Warrior Women**

The 1970s was a period in which feminism and the application of more critical, culturally appropriate approaches to research were being hotly debated. For Maori women, the position of Western feminism did not accord readily with their lived experience. Historically, Maori women have a reputation for being staunch. For example, Sir Joseph Banks, coming from repressed Victorian England, offered his description of young Maori women he encountered in New Zealand. These women were ‘…as skittish as unbroke fillies’ (Johnson & Pihama 1994 in Smith 1999, p.9). In pre-colonial times, women could own land and have considerable political influence. In Binney and Chaplin (1986) there are detailed accounts of the diversity of power vested in Maori women, particularly women of high caste. Women with religious power had the authority to enforce *tapu*, or sacred laws. Women were repositories of knowledge and family history. The education of the children was the particular concern to Maori women. Warfare and oratory may have been primarily male activities, but even in those, women participated. In certain circumstances, and in certain tribes, women could instigate war by their speeches, could take part in *haka* or issue a statement of unity. Women even fought in war – certainly in the 19th century. Women also mediated for peace. Many of the economic activities were shared (see also Johnson and Pihama 1994; Brown (ed) 1994). Megan Tunks identifies this ability for women to cope, even in a post-colonial context, under enormous social and economic pressure: ‘Maori women have been more disadvantaged than Maori men but the women seem to have that willpower to succeed’ (in Brown (ed) 1994, p.98). This warrior tradition was brought into play in light of political struggles of the 1970s and 80s in particular.

**Gender: Indigenous debates**

The Western feminist movement noted that all sisters around the world shared universal characteristics and also suffered from universal oppressions. One of the more significant
challenges to Western feminism came from women of colour - Third World, Black and Indigenous women. Recommendations, committees and motions to discuss the role of male behaviour, without addressing imperialism and racism, were considered by women of colour and Indigenous women as inadequate in their analysis. As pointed out by Linda Smith (1999, p.154): ‘…Western feminists have attempted to define the issues for Indigenous women and categorize the positions in which Indigenous women should be located’. Indigenous women held an analysis of colonialism as a central tenet for any real understanding of the struggles they experience in their daily lives. Colonisation was recognised as having had a destructive effect on Indigenous gender relations that reached out across all spheres of Indigenous and post-colonial societies. Hence, attempts to criticise and denigrate Indigenous men collectively were resisted because for Indigenous persons the issues they face are far more complex. At the end of the day Indigenous men and women have to live together in a world in which both genders are under attack. Consequently one of the most enduring criticisms of Western feminism is that it has conformed to some very fundamental Western European world views, value systems and attitudes. Indigenous women have argued their approach embraces a different value system from those of Anglo women who live in First World Nations:

For Maori women, all our concerns as women centre around the fact that we and our people have no say in the shaping of our own destiny as a people. That the rules in this country were made by immigrant races and nations and were not made for Maori by the Maori. We are forced to live apart from the resources of the land and apart from the cultural and spiritual values which makes us what we are (Awatere 1982, p.43).

According to these authors, Indigenous women across many different societies are situated within an entirely more complex set of relationships. They also maintain these social structures and beliefs are embedded in collective endeavours that shape the organisation of their cultural identities. Indigenous women have further argued that their traditional roles include full participation in many aspects of political decision making, despite marked gender separations. Such roles should be considered as complementary, in order to maintain social harmony and stability. However, this is not to say there has been no challenge to the hegemony of Maori men during the challenging decades of the 70s and 80s.

Certain lessons had been learnt from the 1970s regarding the extent to which Maori women could and would participate in social change. There were women within the radical Maori
group, Nga Tamatoa, for example, in New Zealand who were able to interpret and apply theoretical feminist analysis to their own position:

For many young Maori women involved in activist movements like Nga Tamatoa, an increasing consciousness of their role as ‘black’ women emerged gradually from the mid-1970s and crystallised around the frustration and anger experienced by Maori women during the Maori land rights movement (Te Ahu, Evolution of Contemporary Maori Protest, n.d.)

**It always comes back to the land**

In New Zealand, post World War II assimiliationist policies had largely been effective in that most Maori had assumed English names, dressed in western clothes, and encouraged their children to speak English, perceiving this to be the way forward. Then came the more radical class and race politics globally of the 60s and 70s coupled with a push for Land Rights for Indigenous peoples. It was arguably the latter which was most influential in re-igniting cultural identity for Maoridom (see Walker 2004).

The turning point in the Land Rights campaign in New Zealand came with the Bastion Point and Raglan protests in the mid-1970s. For the first time older distinguished Maori, conservative Christians and the young radicals had common ground: stop the theft of Maori land and insist on the return of other tracts of the country deemed to be illegally obtained (Awatere 1982). With the slogan ‘Not One More Acre’, the land marches (*hikoi*) headed by Dame Whina Cooper and Eva Rickard rocked the Pakeha establishment. Thousands of Maori and younger Pakeha supporters walked to these sites and occupied them for some weeks. This new ‘cultural nationalism’ caught Anglo New Zealand by surprise, as New Zealand had prided itself on the treatment of ‘its’ Indigenous people and thought a bicultural New Zealand a *fait accompli*.

The groundwork of these groups in the 70s continued into the 80s and saw the formation of groups like the Waitangi Action Committee that organised annual protests at Waitangi Day under the slogan ‘The Treaty is a Fraud’. However, it was the Springbok tour of 1981 that divided the nation. The people of New Zealand were forced to make a choice between their love of rugby and their political commitment to make a stand against the blatantly racist regime of South Africa. The protests divided families and anecdotal reports suggest that almost half the population of New Zealand was somehow involved. Aboriginal activists also crossed the Tasman in support and helped stop the game in Hamilton. Maori women were
prominent in this action. The 80s consequently represented the turning point in race relations. Maori became aware of their disproportionate representation in terms of low income, high unemployment, higher rates of imprisonment, and high rates of state dependency (Te Ahu 2007).

This sparked a debate about divergent values. Traditional Maori values of collectivism and support for family and clan had not been destroyed. Pakeha society was seen as competitive, exploitative and valuing material and individual success. This was deemed at odds with traditional Maori values. In turn, this translated into pressure for Maori language programmes and Maori studies at tertiary institutions. In an attempt to appease Maori discontent and resultant social upheaval, the fourth Labour Government of 1984 announced a commitment to increasing Maori representation in Parliament, extending the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear Maori grievances and promote an official policy of genuine ‘biculturalism’. This was not enough.

In this climate of post-colonial discourse and race politics of the 1970s and 80s, activism on both sides of the Tasman flourished. It was also a time when there were clashes between the values of the older and younger generations, but also bonding. The issues broadened out from Land Rights and sovereignty to include a range of social justice issues. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to detail the many and various campaigns fought during these years. However, in the context of this work, I would like to draw attention to various Aboriginal organisations, including Radio Redfern, along with Maori and Pakeha supporters of Radio Redfern, that were at the vanguard of establishing special days like January 26th as ‘Invasion Day’. Aboriginal activist Tiga Bayles famously broadcast this event from the Bondi Pavilion to the discomfort of many beachgoers. Later, this became ‘Survival Day’ and the counter-celebration of February 6th, Waitangi Day, became an annual event in Bondi. Artists like Mixed Relations, Kev Carmody, Archie Roach and Ruby Hunter made special visits to their Aboriginal brothers and sisters in Sydney metropolitan jails. The support of Aboriginal and Maori activists for each other’s campaigns during this period, will be explored further through the forum of Building Bridges (see chapters five and six).

In many ways this was a period of optimism. In New Zealand there were language revival programmes started (*kohanga reo* – language nests), and a range of cultural programmes in schools and jails. In Australia, the Aboriginal Medical Service and Aboriginal Legal Service
became models whereby Indigenous clients could work with their own. They produced excellent results with what resources were available. However, very little has appeared in ‘standard’ Australian history books in relation to those Aboriginal people who fought for dignity and recognition. The neglect and omissions in regard to Aboriginal history have been occasionally re-visited with a patronising retrospective view such as Shaw’s work originally published in the 1930s. In the revision (1972), the author suggests that: ‘...though neglected and often maltreated for a century and a half ...[Aboriginal people] may derive consolation from knowing that they, and not the British, provide the name for the national capital, Canberra’ (Shaw 1972, p.286). It is hard to image a more bizarre and inadequate response. These absences are of concern to Aboriginal activist/historian Gary Foley. Foley (2013) asks where is the recognition for people such as Bill Ferguson, Jack Patton, Pearl Gibbs, Ken Brindle, Gladys Elphick and many others? As pointed out by Foley (p.27), most young Aboriginal people have not heard of the multitude of activists through the generations and ‘even less have heard of the great unknown dead heroes of my generation such as Bruce McGuinness, David Anderson, Albert Haydon, Billy Harrison, Black Allan Barker, Essie Coffee, Lin Onus, John Newfong, Billy Craigie, Isobel Coe …’ – the list goes on of committed activists who deserve to be remembered and acknowledged.

What happened to Reconciliation?

Leading into Federation in 1901, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were largely excluded from consultations or participation. The ‘Founding Fathers’ sought to draft a Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, whereby Aboriginal Australians were specifically denied legal status under the new Commonwealth Parliament and were excluded from any census. As described above, these historic omissions ensured that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were not viewed as equal citizens and were not entitled to the same rights, responsibilities and benefits of other Australian citizens. This effectively guaranteed, in law, their exclusion from Australian society more generally. The referendum in 1967 to include Aboriginal people in the census, should have heralded a new era in which Aboriginal people would be treated fairly. Despite dismantling of the ‘missions’ shortly after the referendum, and the setting up of dedicated services, statistics around Aboriginal health, welfare, and employment have not significantly improved. There is also the pain represented by the dramatic dislocation of the Stolen Generations. Some Australians have acknowledged this and went on to push for the concept of ‘Reconciliation’.
According to the government website for ‘Reconciliation Australia’, this movement is about ‘building relationships for change between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians’ (Reconciliation Australia 2011). What drives the ‘reconciliation’ debate and who benefits from this, is an under-researched area. From the perspective of this thesis, Short (2008) offers an analytical examination of the colonial constructs of reconciliation. Reconciliation began as a response to a growing campaign for a treaty and ended up being a smokescreen for the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and their continued political and social subordination. This process is summed up by Short in describing the decision on the final name for this body: ‘The original title of the official reconciliation body was to be the Council of Aboriginal Reconciliation and Justice but justice was viewed by the minister’s advisors as excessive and was subsequently axed from the final version’ (Short 2008, p.11). This work presents an insight of how then Prime Minister Paul Keating created an image of protecting Indigenous rights but did not include right of veto over future mining development. According to Short, by the 1980s some Aboriginal leaders had become ‘managers’ with the job of implementing government policy and, arguably, this may have blunted the momentum of Aboriginal progress.

A similar process happened in New Zealand. By the 1980s, the Pakeha view of the Treaty of Waitangi was one of neglect. From a Maori perspective this was a sacred document that contained the spirit of their ancestors. For conservative Maoridom, the Waitangi Tribunal which was charged with the hearing of Maori land grievances, offered hope. Maori leaders continued to advocate that the Treaty provided the basis of future policies: ‘Alternative jurisprudence [by the Tribunal] was expressed in a variety of ways, all of them stressing the importance of adhering to the principles of the provision of the treaty’ (Sharp 1991, p.169). As in Australia, the 1980s became a time where optimism gave way to disillusionment with the pace of change. This led to extended marches, occupations and protests in both countries. The schism between conservative forces and those demanding change was acted out on the stage of Australia’s Bicentennial 1988. This is discussed further in chapter six.

The politics of exclusion

In the words of activist and academic, Gary Foley: ‘Native Title is NOT Land Rights’ (pers.comm). The hopes of the 1992 Mabo judgement in regard to Land Rights were quickly dashed with the election of John Howard. In a recent postscript, Noel Pearson, not known for
his radical views, has called for Native Title reform. Since Mabo, only 121 of 1300 claims lodged have been settled (Pearson 2011). In fact, gains that had been made during this period, were dismantled under the Prime Ministership of Howard who encouraged the 1950s model of cultural assimilation and the sanitisation of colonial history. During this time ‘multiculturalism’ was mocked and derided. The term itself was to be removed from government agencies and agendas (Jakubowicz 2008).

At a time when difference is not tolerated let alone valued, it is hard not to see this as a comeback of assimilationism. In Australia, the portfolio of Aboriginal Affairs, as at 2013, still has not got an Aboriginal representative as head, and indeed has attracted very little Aboriginal support. The now disbanded Australian and Torres Strait Island Commission (ATSIC) struggled to do justice for their people while trying to reconcile this with a government agenda:

ATSIC was created from the ideology of self-determination while being an institution of the state responsible for the development and implementation of public policy. This unusual arrangement is primarily responsible for the numerous contradictions, conflicts and dilemmas facing the Commission (Palmer, 2004, p.10)

A week out from the Federal election in 2013, Sol Bellear, who could be considered an ‘elder statesman’ for Aboriginal advocacy made the following comment in response to the announcement that Tony Abbott’s Coalition government would ‘create’ a National Indigenous Council: ‘Handpicking our leaders to get the advice you want to hear didn’t work in the 1960s, 70s, 80s, 90s, 2000s. It wont work now. It’s as far from self-determination as you can get’ (Bellear 2013).

In many government funded organisations, the ‘democratic’ model of voting in individual representatives may not best reflect how Indigenous people organise themselves. The underlying precept of Western democracy, ‘one man, one vote’, has been expanded during the 20th century to include women and previously disenfranchised Indigenous people. However the individualist nature of this political structure is an alien, awkward notion to the majority of Indigenous people. Most Indigenous societies, however distorted and fragmented for historical and sociological reasons, centre around family – large families – not the individual.
Neoliberalism, migration and issues of ‘social inclusion’ – the Pacific wave

Although New Zealand as a whole enjoyed a period of almost uninterrupted prosperity in the 1960s and the early 1970s little of this had translated into lasting tangible benefits for working class Maori. By the late 80s when the economy inevitably went into downturn, and economic rationalism took hold, Maori, and progressively Pacific Islander workers, would quickly find themselves on the unemployment scrap heap.

In nearly every department Maori and Islanders were in a worse and deteriorating position (see chapter two, Demographics). Polynesians have paid a high price for being ‘integrated’ into the New Zealand economy. They had become the brown proletariat working hard and raising large families. However, under neoliberalism, they have become the brown precariate – the jobs are poorly paid or gone. Polynesian families have been more vulnerable in the marketplace than Pakeha families as the highest concentrations of employment were traditionally in the unskilled agricultural sector, heavy manual work and manufacturing; the industries most crippled by globalisation. As described by Stevenson (2004), this was ‘Fordism’ at work: mass employment, mass consumption and now mass redundancies. The cycle of a poor standard of education leading to insecure low income jobs or unemployment, combined with low standards of housing and health, are in turn associated with higher rates of crime. This process is described by Waquant (2009) as ‘punishing the poor’. This cycle of unemployment and increased stress and violence is explored more fully in chapter seven.

Given the state of the New Zealand economy, a new wave of Maori and Pacific Islanders have migrated to Australia. The number of New Zealanders living in Australia increased by 89 percent over the last two decades, and according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), they are Australia’s fastest growing migrants group. Many of these are Polynesian - Maori and Pacific Islanders (ABS 2010). One in six Maori people now live in Australia (Hamer 2009a). Combined Maori and Pacific Islander migration is now fast outstripping predictions (Rodriguez 2012). This is going to have a ripple-on effect in Australia as the

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14 The ‘Precariate’ is being used more frequently in sociology and some schools of economics to describe the ever increasing number of people who are living without the predictability and security of reliable employment.
New Zealand economy has been weakened by poor social policies and rising unemployment and these numbers are escalating (Hamer 2007)\textsuperscript{15}.

For this population, who are not white, the issues of how welcoming Australia is comes into focus. The current use of ‘social inclusion’ as a concept adopted by the Labor government has been employed to replace multiculturalism. However, ‘inclusion’ has conditions attached. Referring to Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party that gave a voice to the disgruntled Anglo Australian: ‘One Nation attacked both indigenous people and non-European immigrants, and in both cases returned to assimilationist criteria for social inclusion’ (Curthoys 2000, p.31). For a complex range of reasons, the assimilationist agenda is clearly not working. There is, however, a certain irony to those who advocate this position. As discussed above, Durie (2007) refers to ‘cultural transference’. This is where the dominant Anglo nation, over time takes on and reflects, indeed comes to rely upon, their Indigenous populations to create a national identity. So, for those who share the views of Pauline Hanson, it is important to note that without Aboriginal imagery such as was used at the Olympics in 2000, Australia would be left solely with unusual animals - kangaroos and emus - to distinguish themselves from other Anglo settler states. Similarly with New Zealand, the symbols of Maoridom such as the tattooed warrior, and especially the haka, have served to symbolise the country as distinct from others in the British realm.

In terms of the on-going impact of neoliberalism, New Zealand is a very small country with a total population less than Sydney. As a direct consequence of ‘downsizing’ and ‘rationalising’ in such a tiny economy, workers are forced to migrate. Australia now is reluctantly becoming host to a greater number of Polynesians. It is now Pacific Islanders (mainly Samoans and Tongans) joining Maori in significant numbers in making the move to Australia. As more Polynesians arrive in Australia, progressively they are not settling in the inner cities as before, but rather are moving to areas of existing socio-economic disadvantage, such as Logan outside of Brisbane. This has had repercussions and associated tensions with the local Aboriginal communities that are the subject of later chapters of this thesis.

Long term unemployment has other ripple-on effects in these communities. Almost ten years ago a Maori woman offered the following comment in relation to how large scale retrenchments had affected her community: ‘We’ve got a malaise among our men folk …

\textsuperscript{15} Independent NZ government researcher, Paul Hamer, has produced the most extensive systematic examination of statistics relating to Maori in Australia: see works 2009a; b; 2008a; b; c; 2007.
they’re struggling as men to understand where they sit in the new environment’ (New Zealander, April 2, 2003). As this comment infers, widespread unemployment can strike at the heart of how men see themselves. It takes away a core element of being providers to their families. It could be argued that this acts to push young Polynesian and Aboriginal men to progressively carve out their masculine identities in ways that are detrimental to each other AND their own communities.

**Section Three: Post-colonial Masculinities, Sport, and Youth Identities**

**Post-colonial masculinities**

To explore the role of sport, and also the contemporary violence that is plaguing our communities, I have looked at how Indigenous men have been represented from colonial times and how many of these concepts continue to the present day. I have concentrated on how this has played out for Polynesian men and there are many similarities with the Aboriginal experience. Pacific academic Matahaera-Atariki (1999) talks about how colonialism brought with it new ideas of masculinity – what makes a man – and constructed Indigenous men accordingly. This means you cannot look at one without the other:

> If colonialism is the organizing principle that structures attempts at decolonisation, then any attempt to theorise the possibilities implied by the notion of “Native masculinity” must take account of the colonial context in which these particular subjectivities are produced (Matahaera-Atariki 1999, p.111).

To the colonisers, Maori men had a physicality and a ‘warrior-like nature’ that were seen to be ‘manly’, but vaguely threatening (Hokowhitu 2002). Hokowhitu's work describes the racially based traits used to describe Maori males in the early colonial period:

> Because tane [Maori men] were supposedly ruled by passion as opposed to reason, this located them squarely in the physical domain. This categorization also corresponded with the representation of tane as savage, emotionally impulsive, aggressive, and violent (Hokowhitu 2002, p.266).

This was a commonly held view in regard to Aboriginal men as well. These ideas served to justify colonial takeovers all over the world. However, as Homi Bhabha (1983) suggests that this sort of stereotyping is: ‘an arrested, fixated form of representation that ... constitutes a problem’ (p27).
During the colonising process, the Empire was obsessed with both rugby and cricket. Sport therefore was seen as the perfect way for the character traits of the ‘Native’ to be harnessed as nationalistic values (Beynon 2002). Rugby Union provided Britain with a view of the Maori as ‘the disciplined brute, with his aggression and savagery confined to the sporting arena’ (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.270). Hokowhitu expresses his concern that in many ways, the success of Indigenous men in sport reactivates this thinking. His observations, while given in relation to Maori, have resonance for Aboriginal males in sport:

Initially, Maori men were forced into manual labour by confiscating their land and restricting their options through a racist state education system. In the neo-racist era, the representation has mutated to positively framed sporting images that serve as largely subconscious subjugation (Hokowhitu, 2002, p.278).

The message for young Black men is: ‘We’re good at sport, but not at anything else’.

He is further disturbed by the fact that as more young Maori identify with these constructed ideas of masculinities, the more disconnected they become from the more complex notions of masculinity in pre-European Maori culture: ‘Maori boys and men who are steeped in their own culture realize the significance of whanaungatanga (family), hinengaro (intellect), wairua (spirituality), aroha (love and compassion) and manaakitanga (support and concern for others)’ (Hokowhitu 2002, p.277). Using his own story as an example, Hokowhitu shares the experience of many young men: ‘My father’s enthusiasm for sport carried over to me, along with a definition of masculinity based on the noble, physically tough, staunch and emotionless Maori men we witnessed on the local, provincial, and national rugby fields’ (2004, p. 260). Arguably, this issue is not going away. For young Aboriginal and Polynesian men, it is very hard to find positive role models outside of sport.

**Contemporary manifestations of Indigenous masculinities**

According to Hokowhitu and others, neo-colonial hegemonies continue to restrict the opportunities of young Indigenous men to find other ways of being a man. In other words, these ideas become internalised by young men who then ‘act out’ violence as a way of asserting their masculinity and identity (George and Rodriguez 2009; Hokowhitu 2002). Negative stereotypes of Pacific and other Indigenous men project this language and imagery. Violent behaviour then, is regarded as ‘innate’ or ‘cultural’ rather than being a result of
frustration, lack of employment and general powerlessness in the lives of many of these young men.

A prime example is the New Zealand team competing in the Australian NRL competition is called ‘The Warriors’. Its logo and advertising motifs promote an image of fighting manhood, using a Maori face, confirming that sports highlighting physical confrontation are synonymous with Maori masculine culture. The physicality of Polynesian men has been much sought after in relation to contact sports. However, the downside of this hyper-masculinity is that it is also associated with physical violence off the field. There has even been an attempt to argue that Maori have a ‘violent gene’ (Lea et al. 2006). Although this conclusion was widely condemned in scientific circles, there remains a stigma attached to Polynesian physicality in relation to violence (see Rodriguez 2009). In response to the Lea’s study, and the discourse around genetics, Maori MP Hone Harawira made the following comments:

The main factors contributing to Maori violence are high unemployment rates, poor health, lower life expectancy, poor educational achievement and in many cases severe poverty ... as for Maori having a natural inclination to play the guitar, to play rugby, being good on bulldozers16 etc… I’ve stopped listening to all that sort of carry on (Harawira 2007).

While speaking to the Maori experience, Hokowhitu makes a more general point that success for a comparatively few players in sport is regarded as an acceptable alternative to providing an education system that reflects the academic needs of young Polynesians. Further, it locks them into the idea that they only capable of physical excellence at best, and violence at worst:

If the only positive masculine role models Maori boys are exposed to in mainstream discourses are those of sportsmen, then they will continue to define success in terms of the physical – reinventing the power relationship between the intelligent/civilized colonizer and the inherently physical/savage colonized (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.274).

In the opinion of this author, sport should continue to be promoted in Indigenous communities and arguably expanded, and even better financially supported, together with genuine opportunities to excel in education and other vocational opportunities.

16 This is a reference to the work of Mamak and Ali (1979) mentioned earlier in this Literature Review.
The God that is sport

For both Polynesian and Aboriginal males, sport has a major role to play in their lives – not just in terms of recreation, but also in an essential way, their identities. Australian academic Colin Tatz has been instrumental in several significant works in relation to sport and Aboriginal Australia and is highly regarded by the community in relation to his work. In 1989, he was commissioned to do a large qualitative study with over 500 Aboriginal people into the possibility of sport playing a role in reducing juvenile and adult ‘delinquency’ – an interesting concept in itself. Despite the good intentions of the funding body (Criminology Research Council), already Aboriginal people have been branded problematic. However, the report found sport did indeed play a more significant role in the lives of Aboriginal people than for other sectors of Australian society. It was regarded as providing a focus, and a sense of cohesion, and was associated with a reduction in violence. Further, sport was identified as a force for survival of several communities in danger of social breakdown (Tatz 1989).

In later work, Tatz and Tatz (2000), return to this theme: ‘In many ways, sport is survival - it provides purpose in life, an activity of real meaning, a reason for being, a sense of power and empowerment, and a feeling of autonomy however brief’ (p.33). It is a rare forum for Aboriginal people to earn the respect of non-Aboriginal Australia, and is sadly isolated: ‘It has shown Aboriginal people and Islanders that using their bodies is still the one and only way they can compete on equal terms with an often hostile, certainly indifferent mainstream society’ (p.33).

This is indeed the case as explained by long term community activist, Lloyd Munro:

When we don’t have a football team everything suffers when it comes to social issues like unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse but Rugby League is about discipline. They know where they’re going to be on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday nights for training. They know they are going to be playing football on Saturday afternoon. Discipline can lead to employment and other opportunities down the track. That is what Rugby League can do (Munro in Gould and Graham 2007, p.2).

The question of why Aboriginal and Maori people are so obsessed with sport is multi-layered. Like working class Anglo Australians, sport is a diversion from lives which are otherwise difficult. It is a chance to excel. It is also an area where there are mentors. Participation rates for Aboriginal and Maori players in every age group far exceeds their percentage of the general population. For example, Maori and Pacific Islanders have become an established part of the Australian sporting scene, currently comprising a full thirty per cent
of the national rugby league (NRL) playing roster (Pianella 2007). This may appear good news, but some scholars are critical that the role played by sport in these communities masks other forms of social exclusion (Rodriguez and McDonald 2013; Hokowhitu 2004; 2003, 2002; Matheson 2001; Maclean 1999). These researchers point out that sport is a way of ‘normalising’ relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people that does not translate into other areas of life.

The successful Maori sportsman, then, acts as an exemplar of a subject in an egalitarian state who has triumphed over adversity to succeed; combine this with the common notion that sport reflects society, and the essential suggestion is that Maori men are afforded equal opportunities in all walks of life (Hokowhitu 2004, p.271).

Hokowhitu’s point is that this view that Maori are awesome physical specimens, but not all that bright still prevails to haunt modern Maori today:

In contrast to Pakeha sportsmen, whose achievements are attributed to human endeavour, Maori men are said to achieve through innate physical attributes, and thus their achievements lack moral integrity (Hokowhitu 2004, pp. 271-272).

In a similar vein, boxing author and referee Ray Mitchell points out that there are more Aboriginal boxers per head of population than among any other group in the world. Paul Coe (in Tatz and Tatz 2000, p.148) agrees that for Aboriginal people it is their bodies rather than their brains that are important, and this is another legacy of British colonialism. As many of these authors suggest (see also MacLean 1999), prioritising sport comes at the expense of many young Indigenous men thinking they can only be good at sport and not excel through education and enter other walks of life.

In the context of this thesis there is the need to question why sport is regarded as the only way a young Black man or Polynesian can escape poverty, and excel in a way that is socially acceptable (Lakisa 2008; Matheson 2001). While this author is an ardent supporter of sports, it is essential to remember that frequently there appears to be a price to be paid for young men who are exclusively channelled to see their cultural identities exclusively in terms of their physical prowess.

Pressure to succeed
Many young Polynesian men dream of a career in sport. It is regarded as a way to support your family and extended family. Nigel Vagana, an ex-premier player and now National Rugby League education and welfare officer: ‘We put family above everything else ... a lot of players obviously love the game but it’s actually the opportunity to support the family that keeps them in the sport’ (Vagana in Codzow 2013). He stresses that no one is forcing these young men to keep a great number of people, they want to do that. Samoan, David Lakisa, had a similar role in the NRL. In his academic work, he describes the relationship of Islanders around ‘family, faith and football’. He points out it is not just the money. It is also the prestige for the extended family: ‘When I debut, it is not my debut, it’s my mother’s, my father’s, my grandparents, my great, great grandparents who are watching over me now. It’s their debut’ (Lakisa 2013, p.14).

However, now it appears this phenomenon may be getting out of hand. Various names have been given to the global exchange of Polynesians in world sport. Horton (in Field 2013) describes it as ‘trafficking’. Players are a comparatively cheap commodity, especially those straight from the impoverished islands of Samoa and Tonga. Another term is the ‘brawn drain’ from the Islands, or the ‘Polynesian pipeline’. According to Horton, the trafficking often begins with a football-related scholarship to a good school or sporting centre: ‘Many are thus directed in life to gain a 'contract' and obviously the odds of actually getting a contract are painfully low, as they are in all professional sports globally’. As Horton and others point out, there is the risk of not being selected, being selected and being dropped, or being selected and then sustaining a significant injury: ‘Players are under so much stress because of their family, community and church obligations’ (in Field 2013).

In 2013, the NRL was rocked by the suicides of two young Polynesian players within weeks of each other: Mosese Fotuaika from the Tigers and Alex Elisala at the Cowboys. Sadly, one through injury, the other out of form, meant both were out of action. The sports press was sympathetic in both cases and called for more player support. It is important that the extraordinary success of certain players does not mean very young men, often just out of their teens are left to feel responsible for the care of their extended families, and then are overwhelmed by this responsibility. High profile Aboriginal players such as Chris Sandow, who was dropped in 2013 for having a hardcore gambling addiction, have also been under significant pressure. These examples highlight the issues that many Indigenous players face. They are supposed to be perfect and mentors to others. However, the exclusive focus on
sport, and not placing equal value on academic achievement and other forms of skills and leadership, has consequences not just for the players themselves, but for the community.

**New ways of constructing identities**

For young Indigenous men today, finding an identity they are comfortable with is a complicated ‘juggling act’. In his analysis of Aboriginal men in film, Pau Rodriguez says: ‘The truth is that half a million of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders live among twenty million of British descendants who still bear colonial ideas’ (Rodriguez, P, 2011/12, p.4). He continues (p.5): ‘Indigenous Australian men have been perpetually silenced and rarely appreciated as a subject with multiple potential identities’.

Historically there has been a transition from a tribal identity of the pre-colonial social order to an imposed identity in the modern sense. We are now all expected to have a single ‘national’ identity - the European sense of ‘belonging’ to the country of birth. Lena Rodriguez (2012) describes this erasure of ethnicity, or choice to self-identify, as an ‘attributed identity’. For Aboriginal and Polynesian people identity formation is different from the dominant Anglo normativity of where you were born. It is related to other people, your extended family. Michael Lieber (1990, p.71) describes how this ‘consocial’ identity reflects the value of kinship ties with the extended family: ‘The person is not an individual in the Western sense of the term … [they are] a locus of shared biographies: personal histories of people’s relationships with other people and with things’. This is where culture and identity are formed in relation to each other.

Over recent decades Maori and Pacific academics, activists and health workers have pointed out the associations between deculturation and loss of identity with poor health, low social engagement, increased likelihood of criminal offending and early mortality. Conversely acculturation – successful bridging of one or more cultures - has been linked to good health, and more successful social outcomes (Durie 2003; Ministry for Social Development 2009). This was borne out in a study (Mila-Schaaf and Robinson 2010) that analysed interviews with successful young Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand. Using the term ‘Polycultural capital’, these authors argue that it is those who embrace and interact comfortably both within and between cultures, who experience the greatest degrees of achievement. An example of this is the number of successful Maori who have ‘come out’ as Mossies.
For many years now, in the extended community, children of Maori parents (or one Maori and one Anglo Australian parent) who have grown up in Australia have been called ‘Mossies’ – Maori Aussies. This term first went public in a big way, when Stan Walker won Australian Idol in 2009. He described himself on both Australian and New Zealand television as a Mossie. In many ways his story is important. When he was shortlisted for the final at the Sydney Opera House, over 300 family members converged and launched into a spontaneous haka that was constantly replayed on television networks. The Mossie had come of age. Both Jon Stevens, lead singer of Noiseworks, and rugby player, Quade Cooper, have also described themselves as Mossies.

Obviously, Maori/Australian, Hula/Hakas (Maori/Islander parents), and other alternative hybrid Polynesian identities are not homogenised. Sometimes, even within families, siblings can identify in different ways. As more Pasifika youth come of age in Australia, they are also starting to define themselves in various ways. However, the climate of anti-multiculturalism described above, does not help non-Anglo people feel included under the umbrella of white Australia. Collins et al (2010) studied Lebanese youth in Sydney and found that ethnicity was at the forefront of identity. Similarly with Pasifika, in general terms, their ethnicity remains the primary identification (George and Rodriguez 2009).

This has implications for ‘street identities’ and gangs. In poorer, run-down urban areas, it is at school and on the street where this primary identification often plays out. As one respondent in the George and Rodriguez (2009) study commented: ‘I just try and get along with everyone – I’m not into the aggro, but a lot of the Island boys are in one gang or another. My two younger brothers are in gangs at school. They don’t have a choice’ (Tongan, 20). This comment ‘they don’t have a choice’ reflects patterns of exclusion leading to gang formation that have been documented in the United States. Some gangs are of the same race/ethnicity, for example, African Americans divided into ‘Bloods’ and ‘Crips’, but in most cases ethnicity itself is the indicator for which gang you belong to. What begins as ‘protecting your own’ evolves into a more aggressive state: ‘Every street gang in the country began as a group of immigrants, or excluded individuals, which initially formed for protection against existing living conditions. As these gangs matured some members resorted to violence to settle disputes’ (Valdez, 2011, p.8). In the Australian context, as pointed out in Collins et al (2000) above and also Tabar, Noble and Poynting (2010), ethnicity remains the primary site of identification for non-Anglo youth other than Polynesians.
Clearly, despite so many attempts to remodify, homogenise or assimilate Indigenous and other non-Anglo peoples, there is still a desire to self-define identity and acknowledge kinship connections. As explained by Teaiwa (2005, p.19): ‘…identifications through kinship provide mobility and fluidity and a dynamism which confounds and resists colonial, nationalist and even post-colonial representations’. There are extensive debates around defining and legitimising Indigenous identities. However, for the purpose of this thesis, Harris, Carlson and Poata-Smith (eds 2013, p.5) offer a good working observation: ‘Indigenous identities are ... always in flux; they are a response to shifting and diverse social and cultural categories and identifications that are rarely stable. In this sense, Indigenous identities are emergent; a process of becoming rather than being’. In the modern globalised world, youth identities are continually being revisited and are, if anything, becoming more layered as urban youth seek out a place to be.

**Poor, bored and angry – youth realities**

Day to day struggles, and overall poor literacy, decrease the likelihood of civic engagement. The small study of young Polynesian males (George and Rodriguez 2009) found almost none of the eighteen respondents filled out a census form or voted. Low numbers were also found in Hamer’s much larger qualitative study in 2007. This should not in any way be seen as surprising. Much of what could be called ‘problematic youth behaviour’ and disengagement can be traced to a lack of employment on the back of poor educational opportunities. Waquant (2009) describes how the ‘war on poverty’ has become the ‘war against the poor’. While real welfare provisions are rolled back, they are replaced by punitive social measures, for example, indexing assistance to school attendance (Learnfare), or enrolment in ‘pseudo-learning programmes’ that do not translate into real jobs or skills.

These issues are compounded by living in neighbourhoods that are run down and badly serviced. A lack of public transport combined with low disposable income is a recipe for opportunistic crime. White et al (1999), speaking in relation to Pasifika youth, but also describing the situation for many Aboriginal youth, explain that these young people want to be part of what is ‘cool’, and have what is available to their Anglo counterparts, but have not got the resources to enable that to happen. Therefore, anti-social or even criminal behaviour can give them something, some material goods, to share. A respondent explains why this situation can translate into ‘standover’ behaviour by Pasifika youth:
When they go out to the nightclub, they can’t afford drinks, smokes. They haven’t got the money to impress the girls. But they have got manpower; it’s easy for them to standover someone to get what they want, money, phone, jacket. These guys can be fully scary, but at the end of the day, they don’t want to be scary – they just want to have a good time like everybody else (Samoan male, 23).

Another pattern pointed out by participants that is a common experience for young Aboriginal men and Pasifika youth: when two or more youths are together, they are perceived by ‘mainstream Australians’ to be a gang, or in some way threatening. The same respondent summed the situation up in the following statement: ‘These guys look really menacing. Everyone thinks they want trouble … people on the street, the cops… they don’t want trouble, they want a bit of freedom. They get told what to do at home. On the streets they get a bit of freedom’.

These youth are not finding ‘freedom’ or ‘escape’: they are getting another response. Excessive policing has become the norm. This is summed up by Waquant (2004, p.41) as: ‘the gradual replacement of a (semi) welfare state by a police and penal state where the criminalization of marginality and the punitive containment of dispossessed categories serve as a social policy at the lower end of the class and ethnic order’. This is clearly reflected in incarceration rates for young Aboriginal people, and progressively by Pasifika youth. In turn, arguably, jails reinforce the ethnic tensions of the street.

Low cost alternatives to keep these youth off the streets are seldom supported or funded adequately. Waquant’s field work in the boxing gyms of the southside of Chicago confirm the role played by such small scale outlets as neighbourhood gyms. It was common to hear the older boxers say ‘all the time in the gym is that much less time spent out on the streets’ (Waquant 2004, p.26). In March 2013, Sydney newspapers covered the story of a successful police/youth intervention in Redfern that was losing its meagre funding. Police Superintendent, Luke Fruedenstein, argued to state government authorities that there had been an 80 percent drop in juvenile robberies the in the first year of operation (2009) and these successful rates had continued involving around fifty boys over this time (Feneley, 2013). The programme employed five part-time mentors for these young men and cost approximately $300,000 to run for two to three years. The NSW Audit Office confirms it costs $652 a day ($237,980 annually) to keep one Indigenous youth offender incarcerated (Aboriginal Legal Service, 2011). The maths are simple. Many youth could be kept out of jail for the cost of keeping one in. Despite the rhetoric around ideas of ‘justice reinvestment’, the
neoliberal ideology of ‘punishing the poor’ is much stronger. Bringing these issues together: poor education, run-down neighbourhoods, little likelihood of employment, low disposable income, boredom ... there will inevitably be tensions played out by young men in these neighbourhoods. Sadly all too often, it is played out against each other.

In conclusion, it is apparent that today’s youth are under a great deal of stress. It is evident then, that it is important young people receive support to maintain their cultural identities in a way that is flexible enough to reflect a rapidly changing global environment. Hopefully, a secure self-identity will also promote a respect for others. In the case of Polynesians in Australia: we are the guests of the tangata whenua (people of the land) and have a responsibility to support the rights and struggles of Aboriginal people in this country.
CHAPTER FOUR: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Kaupapa Maori as theory, methodology and practice

Given the long and undistinguished history of research into Indigenous issues, it is important to question what forces are at play when anyone undertakes to do research or to be the subjects of research. As Linda Smith points out a lot of damage has already been done:

Research is an important part of the colonisation process, it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge. In Maori communities today there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research. This suspicion is not just of non-indigenous researchers but of the whole philosophy of research and the different set of beliefs which underlie the research process (Smith 1999, p.173).

The Insider/Outsider

In relation to this research, I have an ‘insider/outsider’ role. I am both participant and observer. I am an ‘insider’ to the Maori/Pacific Islander community in recognition of my Pacific Islander heritage and growing up with Maori, and ‘outsider’ to the Aboriginal experience. However, I do have a long standing involvement with the Aboriginal community that crosses over work and social contacts, and also as an ally in an on-going struggle for political recognition. In addition, because of my age (I am now sixty), I have a particular status within both communities.

I have chosen to describe the activism of recent decades that has had an enduring impact on these communities. To do this, I have chronicled the organisation of a series of events from records I acquired at the time as a participant in various committees and actions. These form the basis of the two auto-ethnographic chapters. Throughout this very long process of incubation, I have always adhered to the cultural tenets of Maoridom as a way of doing things. It was not until the 1990s, however, that Kaupapa Maori, (the Maori way) was pioneered by Maori academics Graham Smith (1995; 1990) and Linda Smith (1999). Since that time, Kaupapa, as it is more generally referred to, has gained momentum and recognition as an over-arching theory and methodology. It is now widely used in New Zealand, and with small variations in other Pacific Island countries, under the term ‘Fa’a Pasifika’. The success of Kaupapa is such, that even large research institutions, universities and hospitals in New Zealand are now employing its methods when any study of Maori is being undertaken. It has
also gained prominence and been adopted internationally in relation to studies with Indigenous people (see Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008; Ellison-Loschmann and Pearce 2006).

It is essentially a Polynesian way of seeing the world and conducting oneself in relation to research and Indigenous peoples. Kaupapa is a framework whereby local knowledges and ontologies are employed in order to understand complex social issues. It further allows a post-colonial critique to help make sense of contemporary marginalisation, and brings ‘Maori eyes’ to focus on how the past informs the present and, indeed, the future. Being a Kaupapa researcher means you are not separate from those being studied.

The foundational principles of Kaupapa Maori

Graham Smith’s (1990) work introducing the term and basic concepts of Kaupapa was a breakthrough for Indigenous scholars in New Zealand, and as it turns out, further afield. Smith’s argument was radical in its simplicity. Research about Maori should involve Maori. In summarising the essence of Kaupapa, Smith maintained that a comprehensive, ethical research model must include the recognition and validation of Maori knowledge, language and history. It is a cultural perspective on the process as well as the outcome. By using Kaupapa the advantage is that information is being gathered, analysed and disseminated in a culturally responsible way. These methods allow the information to stay and be available within Maoridom, or other Indigenous contexts, allowing improved forward planning and decision making by the relevant community and its organizations.

By reflecting both historical and contemporary lived realities, Kaupapa functions to locate issues in relationship to pre-existing social structures and the political climate in which they operate. For example, in relation to education, it is often extremely hard for non-Anglo/Indigenous children to adapt to a Western school system that privileges the individual. For many of these children, the first day of school may be the first time they have not spent the entire day in the company of relations. Aboriginal and Polynesian people are consocial, or socio-centric, in terms of relating to a broader family or clan structure than the Anglo nuclear family (Rodriguez 2012; Heil 2009). We inhabit a more collectivist idea of belonging. You are taught to not just think about yourself, you grow up with other people always around you.
This means it can be very hard for young children whether they are Maori, Aboriginal or Islander when they go to school. Suddenly you have to deal with everything on your own. When this is combined with a colonial legacy that belittles local languages, knowledge frameworks and history, the non-Anglo child is unlikely to find any cultural resonance in the school environment. This translates into these children being denied access to ‘cultural democracy’ (Burnett 2009; Thaman 2009; 2002).

In her key work, Decolonizing Methodologies, Linda Smith (1999) identifies research as a significant site of struggle between the power and privileges of the West and the needs and interests of the ‘Other’, namely Indigenous peoples. Not only do most Indigenous communities function with inadequate health and housing resources, financial strain and poor educational opportunities, their lack of involvement and genuine participation in Pakeha research initiatives means they are extremely unlikely to benefit from the research in any lasting way. For the research to be meaningful, the theoretical framework and the methodology must reflect and reinforce each other.

Raewyn Connell’s (2007) work outlines the concept of Southern Theory. This is a response to the neglect of the post-colonial state in academic work more generally. Research that encompasses post-colonial issues, tends to be relegated to the backwater of ‘post-colonial studies’. For Northern theorists, the lingering and prevailing legacy of colonialism is a thing of the past. Connell refers to this as the ‘grand erasure’. There are assumptions that history has moved on and therefore the colonial experience is somehow over. For the non-Anglo lived experience, the power relationships established in the colonial/post-colonial context in many ways are still active:

Intrinsic to Kaupapa Maori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. Kaupapa Maori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal their power relations that exist within society … (Smith 1999: 185)

Methodology

As a predominantly ‘insider’ researcher I am able to bring to this project an understanding of the cultural protocols that need to be observed in relation to these communities. This raises the issues of cultural identity, language and the unspoken understandings that underlie social engagements in these communities.
The methodology of Kaupapa Maori is conducive to this approach. It is about doing things the Maori way. Many of the protocols that are practised by Maoridom can be adapted quite readily to Pacific Islander groups. It is also applicable to the Aboriginal context. My involvement in the extended Aboriginal community of greater Sydney has helped me to be aware of good research practice. This process has also helped to clarify the aims of the project. It also promotes respect for local knowledge and encourages people to feel their story is important. It allows this to be done in a context and reality in which respondents feel comfortable and familiar. In practical terms, this meant people could choose where they wanted to be interviewed, usually their own home, and with other whanau (family) members present. Some preferred not to be recorded, and hand written notes were used. In other cases, particularly younger people, preferred to be interviewed without other family members.

In keeping with the spirit of Kaupapa, the research for this thesis was undertaken in a way that reflects areas of concern that were raised by participants themselves. For example, one of the most persistent concerns, usually expressed by older Polynesians, revolves around the cultural identity of young people. While most people are simply getting on with their lives and trying to provide for their families, questions are being raised regarding the ‘hybrid’ nature of identity as second and third generations are being born outside New Zealand or the home islands. To what extent young Polynesians are integrated into the Australian experience, or excluded from it, are questions that need to be explored further.

The theory and methodology of Kaupapa Maori strives to balance the needs and interests of academic researchers and those who are being studied. The clear advantage of Kaupapa is that it services the Indigenous researcher by recognising their ‘difference’ from mainstream Western researchers. It has the additional advantage that it operates from a perspective of ‘ownership’ of the research – in other words, those being studied understand why and how they are being researched. Further, the use of Kaupapa allows for an understanding of the residual damage of colonisation and the role of power relationships that continue to impact on people’s lives.

Auto-ethnography

Auto-ethnography is growing in popularity as a method that seeks to describe and analyse personal experience in a systematic way (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011; Holman Jones
2005). It can, in this way, help understandings of cultural experience. In terms of studying issues of social justice and broader political actions it brings together elements of both autobiography and ethnography. Like *Kaupapa Maori* it is a challenge to the traditional ways of academia.

Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2011) describe the contribution of auto-ethnography as both process and product. I was heavily involved with the actions described in the chapters on Bondi in the 1980s, and the establishment of the Building Bridges music network and the Bicentennial protests. As a consequence, much of the material used here comes directly from notes of meetings, interviews, and media commentary at the time. Another example of my personal involvement is that major sections of my overall background data has been gathered on a daily basis from three newspapers: the *Sydney Morning Herald* (Fairfax) and two Murdoch papers, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Australian*. Another area has been the Indigenous print media. The National Indigenous Times and *Koorie Mail* have given a voice to the national Indigenous community. I have monitored almost every edition of these for many years.

**Method: Practical considerations**

As a researcher (someone asking questions), it is important to make sure participants are relaxed and that confidence and trust is established. As an experienced interviewer for Aboriginal community radio, I am familiar with the reticence both Aboriginal and Maori people often have regarding the process of ‘being interviewed’. In order to make people comfortable, and for people to be able to make a truly informed decision to become involved, a series of protocols needs to unfold. Firstly, there is a need to locate oneself (as researcher) in relation to the community in question, and with the potential respondent in particular. This is where there is an exchange of information about where you come from: geographically, culturally and socially, such as connections through family and friendships. It is necessary to establish a degree of social rapport before an interview takes place, and importantly, take time to ensure people understand what is required of them and that they are comfortable with participating. Having said this, it is what all ‘Blackfellas’ do when they meet: ‘Where you from?’
Elements of *Kaupapa Maori*, as a methodological tool, include things that are about respect: for example, talking with people ‘face to face’ wherever possible, taking time to explain things in a way that makes sense to them. This includes why you are doing this research and why their contribution is important. It also means being sensitive to things that may upset someone. It is also about the story. In my experience, most Indigenous people do not respond well to direct questions. They need to be able to tell their story in their own way. It is also important because of this way of talking, that people can trust you when you say: ‘If you think about any of this later, and don’t want me to use it, that is OK’. Another quality with *Kaupapa* is that you should be generous – ‘host’ your interviewees and offer them food and drink.

As a concluding point, some of the interviews were about a difficult subject – racism. In dealing with a topic as ‘touchy’ as racism, it was helpful to keep the focus in these interviews on sport and music. While other areas of racist encounters were discussed, both sport and music are already established sites of interaction between members of these communities.

**Recruitment**

Interviews were conducted with sixteen Aboriginal participants and sixteen Polynesians, a total of 32 participants. As is characteristic for someone who has spent over twenty years of their life involved in community activism between these two communities, I already had some degree of a social relationship with most potential participants. Both Polynesian and Aboriginal people operate within extended family and social networks. In terms of ‘recruitment’, this typically includes a process of nominating friends and relations that are common to that person and myself. Because of this social pattern of communication, each approach is different because it involves different ‘bridging partners’ – people they recognise as connecting with myself. This process was part of the Indigenous protocols I employed. These require that, where possible, the potential respondent should ‘know’ the person who will be asking them questions. In summary, this is in keeping with the philosophy that *Kaupapa* strategies employed by the researcher should be culturally appropriate and take into account the relational aspects of the participants and the researcher.
Analysis

Pacific researchers including Baba et al. (2004) and Hereniko and Wilson (1999) maintain that Western social research is bound by a range of values that are historically and spatially constructed. Because of this, it is common that research reproduces the underlying colonial dynamics. **Kaupapa** research acts outside these prescribed parameters and is charged with being responsive to the grassroots – or as we say in New Zealand - the flaxroots. It is intended that the research or at least the key results of research should be made available and ‘given back’ to the community. It also encompasses the political history of a given social issue. It poses the question: ‘who has gone before?’: ‘**Kaupapa** represents a theoretical process that reflects the struggles inherent in the birth of these grassroots Maori institutions and acknowledges these same struggles as a conscious part of our analysis’ (Pihama 2001, in Pihama et al 2004, p.100).

**Kaupapa Maori** also shares a significant element of analysis advocated by Grounded Theory: theoretical concepts and ideas may emerge from the data itself (see Glaser 1998; Glaser and Strauss 1967). In this way it puts those being researched in the driving seat. Those who are impacted by the research and what it is trying to find out, in many ways contribute to this process. In this way it could be described as an ‘inductive approach’. Thomas (2003, p.2) describes the purpose to this kind of analysis: ‘is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies’. Being ‘inductive’ (as opposed to deductive and testing an existing hypothesis), **Kaupapa** encourages the use of flexible semi–structured interviews, and a narrative flow. It is about giving voice to a group that is in many other social contexts, marginalised. **Kaupapa**, as an analytic tool therefore, reflects these ideas and employs discourse analysis as a way to examine issues that emerge.

**The use of Discourse Analysis**

The work of Foucault (1980a; 1980b; 1977; 1972) talked about relations of power and surveillance by the state. As a young student, and an activist, this appealed to me and I read extensively around these topics. Foucault’s work also formed the basis of what is now a broad church of ways to undertake discourse analysis. In simple terms, as described by Bryman (2012) critical discourse analysis examines how some meanings become privileged
(taken for granted) and others become – and remain – marginalised. Phillips and Hardy (2002, p.3) offer their definition in the following terms: ‘Social reality is produced and made real through discourse, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourse that give them meaning’.

The interviews were transcribed and respondents de-identified before analysis as required by the Ethics Committee. Interviewees were distinguished by self-selected ethnicity, gender, age and current residential suburb. The results were ‘hand coded’ into fields of interest. The first stage was identifying certain recurring categories (such as the Timana Tahu incident, trouble in Logan, racism in sport). The second stage of coding was to break down and analyse the types of comments that people were volunteering and what these meant, both explicitly and implicitly, i.e. what was said and what was meant by what was said. In this way, Kaupapa inherently acts as a form of discourse analysis.

Unlike most Western theoretical constructions, Kaupapa is able to accommodate the socio-centric nature of Polynesian extended family and clan structures: ‘Polynesians construct their world based on their own accounts and observations from within a social collectivity’ (Rodriguez 2012, p.130). In this way a participant’s response can be understood within a discourse of family and community, not just the individual. This understanding means it has resonance and application for Aboriginal communities.

Discourse analysis, and its extension, critical discourse analysis, offers insight into the value of interpreting both discussions and text. Critical discourse analysis situates texts within their socio-political context; in other words, who is being served by the agenda? This can be either explicit or implicit. Van Dijk (1991, p.114) points out: ‘The analysis of the “unsaid” is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in the text’. This is an important point in relation to reporting on ‘Blackfella issues’ in the media. For example, in relation to my charting the media responses to key issues in this thesis, it was revealing to see how journalists from divergent political positions covered the same issues.

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17 This is something that should be taken up with Ethics Committees. Most Maori want to tell you their tribe, their river, their mountain, their waka (canoe) and see themselves as speaking to that tradition of introducing yourself.
The literature around contemporary qualitative analysis and good research practice contain certain ‘buzzwords’ including: ‘validity’, ‘trust’ and ‘dependability’. However, Kaupapa has the advantage that these values are built into its fabric. Theory, methodology, analysis and responsibility to participants are integral to its very foundations (see also Denzin, Lincoln and Smith 2008). In terms of ‘validity’, Kaupapa is able to take into account the many differing opinions and points of view. There is an understanding that the researcher is to be ethical in their application of professional practice to interpreting and reporting these views. Edwards, McManus and McCreanor (2005, p.2), explain: ‘Kaupapa goes further to provide possibilities for creativity and innovation within a framework that is responsive, reflective and accountable’.

The idea of trust is extremely important. Lincoln and Guba (1985) talk about ‘trustworthiness’ in good qualitative research. Trust is not given easily and it is through these mechanisms described here in relation to Kaupapa Maori that the focus and effort of the researcher should be put into establishing trust with participants. This is not just about getting them to agree to participate but should extend through offering respect during the process and including them in the results of your findings at completion of the research process. In the case of this thesis, the results will be made available in two forms. There is the longer academic accomplishment of this thesis, but also it is my intention to publish a much more ‘consumer friendly’ short version of the key findings that is available to the community online.

**Limitations of this work**

The scale of this undertaking is on the one hand quite vast in that it spans nearly 30 years of community work and activism. On the other hand, the number of people interviewed was limited. The evolving nature of this study has meant a great deal of the historical material has had to be dropped in order to make way for the more contemporary data. In addition, as certain issues emerged as more critical than others, I had to make a decision to focus more on men. The reasons for this are explained elsewhere in this thesis. As a result, it would be valuable to be able to include more data from the perspective of Aboriginal and Polynesian women. If more time were available in a context of funded research, as opposed to a thesis, it would require a small team of researchers to do justice to a larger number of respondents.
This would also, ideally, have women researchers as well as myself to engage with the *wahine toa* (our Warrior sisters).

Also over time, what started out as a study of the Sydney Maori/Aboriginal communities, has geographically spread. As Queensland is becoming home to more and more Polynesians, several significant issues have transpired there and the region of Logan has come to adopt more importance. Further, the activism mentioned above obviously has the capacity to draw communities together and pull them apart. Our communities are not single homogenous entities and people will disagree. It is therefore inevitable that some members of the Maori/Pacific community itself may well not agree with the viewpoint of this work.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE ICONIC BONDI YEARS

The image of Maori in Australia

In the early 1970s and 80s, living at Bondi Beach was still affordable. It was a friendly mix of Anglo pensioners, Jewish migrants, UK labourers, surfie locals and lots of New Zealanders. However, there were global and local political changes occurring that would affect the easy-going lifestyle of Bondi. Most Maori enjoyed a good relationship with the local community and had a solid reputation for being good workers in Australia. Suddenly it was much harder to get work. There was a marked push towards ‘economic rationalism’. The bond of Thatcher’s Britain, and Reagan in the United States, heralded the rise of the ‘neocon’ and neoliberalism was born. This was accompanied by an accelerated deregulation of the labour market, an end to conventional notions of job security, a radical drop in union power and the fostering of the idea that everything should be privatised. These ideas impacted very quickly on the unskilled labour market.18

Although very few Maori were actually unemployed at this time, Bondi was now under criticism for being a home for New Zealand ‘dole bludgers’. It was also during this period that Maori employed in the entertainment and security industries became embroiled with a scandal involving organised crime. Very quickly Maori went from being well-liked and respected to being regarded as ‘dole cheats’ and worse. A new conservative Mayor was elected in Waverley (Bondi) and it became his mission to rid the district of New Zealanders, particularly Maori. This chapter details two events that were instrumental in how Maori were regarded during this time. Both these events centre around attempts by Maori to have a community centre.

The first incident examines how the attempt to build a community centre in the neoliberal model - of a profit-making enterprise - went badly wrong. The second describes how the discourse around unemployment and seeking basic rights and entitlements around work and housing became highly racialised. In the stand-off with an extraordinarily conservative and

18 In New Zealand, this was referred to as ‘Rogernomics’ after Labour finance minister, Roger Douglas (see Easton 2012).
blatantly racist local council, young Maori managed to attract significant support from Labor politicians and unions for their role in standing up to a much larger political threat.

Musicians, families and gangsters

During the 1960s and 70s, many Maori entertainers and members of the famous showbands were enjoying the height of their success. Much of this success was organised around a show circuit that stretched from Sydney to Las Vegas, and many of these venues were owned and run by organised crime figures. Integral to this period of Maori ascendancy in show business is the role of Jim Anderson, a Scotsman whose exploits won the confidence of Maori musicians around Wellington in the late 50s and 60s. Anderson was an unusual entrepreneur in that he chose to work and live amongst Maori people. His confidante at the time was an English commando, Charlie Mather. They both recognised this pool of prodigiously talented young Maori musicians arriving in Sydney.

The Maori High Fives were the first of the showbands. They took Sydney by storm and within weeks Jim Anderson was back in Wellington recruiting another band. Anderson also toured with the High Fives on their international gigs. He then moved across the Tasman permanently to reside in Sydney and within a short period of time he became the right hand man of the powerful Kings Cross identity, Abe Saffron (Mana Dec/Jan 2005). In Sydney, Anderson acquired a different reputation. He was nicknamed ‘The Overlord’. He was engaged in running the Saffron entertainment venues in Kings Cross. Abe Saffron, aka ‘Mr Sin’, had very strong crime connections in Las Vegas, Nevada. He also had the drive and the capital to make his Kings Cross clubs exciting with the tested formula of women, money and intimidation. He put on lavish shows and was a cultured host – but there was inevitably another side to the nightclub industry. Anderson, acting for Saffron, was linked to extortion, prostitution, bribing police, arson, drug dealing and even murder (Reeves, 2007; McNab, 2005).

Anderson continued to have a good relationship with Maori. He employed Maori entertainers who performed the international club circuit, but Maori were also employed as cooks, chambermaids and, inevitably, as enforcers. One of the respondents for this thesis was a book-keeper for Abe Saffron at this time. This connection of Saffron, Anderson, and local Maori was to play a significant part in Sydney Maoridom’s quest for a marae (meeting house).
During this period a group of Maori women residing in Bondi had been meeting regularly to discuss their concerns about the Maori community losing its culture, especially the children, growing up in another country. The ideal situation would be to have their own marae or community centre in Bondi. It was noted by the group that considerable goodwill had accumulated with Jim Anderson and he was asked if he was willing to help in building this marae-come-community centre. A venue in Bondi was selected. The model for their plans were the famous themed casinos in Las Vegas. Somehow in this process, what began as a community centre became re-configured to also be an entertainment palace. In the new climate of neoliberalism, there was also a business plan. The Bondi plan involved multi-levels of entertainment complete with gambling machines. As part of this somewhat surreal design, a ‘traditional’ meeting house was to be accompanied by a bar/restaurant, entertainment levels and a child minding centre. This completely contravenes the traditional kawa (protocols/principles) of what a marae should be and how people should act, and some Maori were quite upset. However, not everyone was outraged. Notable members of Maoridom, as well as New Zealand government ministers, came across the Tasman to view the plans for a Bondi Maori Centre that showcased the nostalgic theme of the cabaret/showband era. The business model was praised, photographs taken and a great deal of publicity ensued.

On October 12th 1980 the building mysteriously caught fire and was destroyed. This fire and other suspicious activities were explored by an investigative journalist for the National Times (see Howard 1985). The Saffron/Anderson relationship ended when Anderson contacted police and gave evidence of arson attacks on nightclubs, including the Bondi building. Anderson gave further evidence of fraudulent insurance claims and tax avoidance which resulted in a jail sentence for Saffron. The many subsequent attempts by other Maori organisations to have a community centre in Sydney have not reached the same dizzy heights as the 80s. After the fire, public support dropped away for the proposed community centre and remnants of the organisation moved to Sydney’s western suburbs.

The Anderson/Saffron scandal, and the association of criminal money being used as capital to build a Maori community centre, had consequences to do with perceptions of how the wider Australian community viewed Maori people living in Sydney. Whereas during the 1970s in Kings Cross, Maori were well represented in various capacities described above and were a vibrant part of the street life, this now gave way to a more sinister image. It became apparent
that one of the major reasons for the success of the Saffron enterprises was the ‘muscle’ behind the criminal activities. Maori were employed as bouncers inside and outside the perimeters of the Cross. They were engaged because of their strong-arm tactics; they were the ‘enforcers’. When the threat of violence was perceived, their bosses would call them.

This darker picture of Maori being associated with crime, and being hired to ‘clean up’ clubs also had an effect upon the local Indigenous community. Some older Aboriginal people in Northern New South Wales and Queensland will not readily forget the stories of members of their community being thrown out of clubs by Maori stand-over men who had sided with white folk of the town. This attitude was at its height during the 1970s and early 80s.

**Racism: The impact of the Far Right**

This unattractive image attached to members of the Maori community was soon to be used to argue against ‘New Zealanders’ receiving entitlements and benefits previously guaranteed under a long standing bilateral agreement between Australia and New Zealand. In the latter half of 1984 the new Mayor of Waverley (Bondi), Jim Markham, stated his opinion of Maori people in Sydney: ‘They come over here, 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’ *(The Local Waverley-Wollahra Community News, July, 1984)*. Despite any reasons people may have had for being concerned about Maori behaviour in and around Kings Cross, this criticism had now been extrapolated out to include all Maori. Many hard-working families were ‘tarred with the same brush’. Also, especially in Bondi, there were those who were unemployed, but were far from being a ‘threat’ in any way to others in the community. They were actively involved in supporting the poor, the homeless and the needy. The on-going battles between Maori and the Waverley Council under Mayor Markham rapidly gathered momentum and led to press and television coverage both in Australia and New Zealand.

To understand the intensity of race relations in 1984, it is first necessary to briefly outline the state and local politics that immediately preceded this year. In 1981, Labor’s Ernie Page became the local member for Waverley in the New South Wales State Parliament. He had been approachable and supportive of various *ad hoc* initiatives put forward by the Bondi Maori community. However, by the end of 1983, the New South Wales Labor Party in Waverley was reeling from an unexpected defeat in the local Council elections. The
conservatives were now in power. The Liberal Coalition team had four members with each taking a one year turn as Mayor of Waverley. The first year it was Jim Markham followed by his wife, Caroline, then to Ray Collins (Markham’s legal partner) followed by Geoff Holt. From this point, it was not only Maori who were subject to racism from this council.

This Waverley ‘management team’ would go on to cause severe embarrassment to the established Liberal party faithful because of their links to war crimes and racial vilification directed primarily against Jewish people. The elder/mentor of the group was Lyenko Urbancic. Urbancic was registered as a war criminal with the then Yugoslavian government (see Pearlman 2006). Urbancic had narrowly escaped expulsion from the Liberal party in 1980 because of his alleged Nazi collaboration and anti-Semite propaganda distributed in German-occupied Slovenia. At this time he was director of the right wing Liberty Research group along with Major Ashley Riddle who was campaign director in the Waverley election. Another group member, mentioned above, was Alderman Geoff Holt who was also regarded as an unrepentent neo-Nazi, and was employed as a research worker at Liberty Research.

Lyenko Urbancic also voiced his Indigenous sentiments. He saw a future with the White Australia policy. It was his idea of preserving the identity and purity of race. He regarded Land Rights for Aboriginal people as a communist conspiracy and argued that when Aboriginal tribal lands are linked together they form an independent state and thus the United Nations could intervene and re-write the internal borders of Australia. Of course in this view, the UN is a communist initiated and largely communist dominated organisation (Sydney Morning Herald, September 29, 1984).

**Politics and music: The Bondi Waitangi concerts**

It was in this climate of extreme right wing ideology that the Bondi Maori Group was struggling to find its voice. In the later part of 1983 a group of about ten young Maori (including myself and Anaru Oakley) held its first meeting. The group had three major concerns. The group’s immediate focus was living and surviving in Sydney with the escalating cost of housing. The second task was to make contact and work closely with the **tangata whenua**, the Aboriginal people. The final step was in the spirit of the land marches in Aotearoa, to discuss and address the marginalisation of Maori people due to the Treaty of Waitangi.
The Bondi Maori Group had a good relationship with the Bondi Pavilion, that also functioned as a de facto community arts centre. On display at the Pavilion in October 1983 was the first urban Aboriginal art exhibition coordinated by Pavilion employee Tony Duke. The Maori group made contact with Tony Duke and sought his advice. In December 1983 it was decided that the group would call themselves Kotahitanga (One People/Unity). Kotahitanga represents a powerful tradition for Maori people (see Literature Review). It was now experiencing a renaissance. As an article in the New Zealand Times of February 5th, 1984 explained: ‘At Waitangi in April 1892, Maori leaders from all parts of the North Island met and agreed to form a kotahitanga, a union to present tribal and general intertribal grievances to the government and to protect Maori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi’. The name was subsequently used to rally support for a significant land rights march in Aotearoa in 1984 (Socialist Action February 10, 1984). This hikoi (gathering) summed up the concerns of Maoridom with a single demand ‘Stop the Celebration’. Supporters maintained that there was nothing to celebrate about the Treaty and in fact, Waitangi Day in New Zealand celebrates a broken contract.

A decision was taken to organise a Waitangi Day concert in Bondi under the banner ‘The Treaty is a Fraud’. On the first Sunday of February 1984, the group held their first major concert. The theme for the day - ‘The Treaty is a Fraud’ - was conveyed in large lettering at the top of the bill posters. The concert was made up of local Maori band, the Happy Cannibals, and an ethnically mixed reggae band with Aboriginal members, Nyanunga. The music was combined with Aboriginal dancers and a Maori culture group. Over 700 people attended, and an estimated 80 percent of the audience were Maori. The monies necessary to ‘float’ the project came from unemployment cheques being pooled from within the group.

The newly elected Council were outraged that such an event should be held. The moral panic that ensued, in terms of police and other inordinate security measures implemented around a family day at the beach, were described by Pavilion worker, Tony Duke:

…And so we did the Waitangi Concert and that was the first day ever that they had mounted police down on Bondi Beach. The Bondi Hotel had trebled their security for the night. There was just this panic as part of what happened. Waitangi Day is the national day in New Zealand… that’s why I love the irony of working with Jim George… So they did this poster, which didn’t get put up until Thursday night. None of us working for the Council saw the poster. The poster had a Maori warrior with the big face and the tongue out and big lettering “Waitangi is a fraud”… The Council wanted to call it off, but the concert was a wonderful thing. And most importantly it was the first time at Bondi Pavilion, in my analysis, the actual local Bondi community
had access to do something there. Jim introduced me to the notion of *Tangata whenua* and working with indigenous peoples and their event was done in partnership with Tiga Bayles, Mick Bayles and the Radio Redfern mob.

Tony Duke interviewed by Professor Helen Goodall

Building Bridges 2 17/02/2001 audiotape 1/A

*Kotahitanga* had also begun broadcasting on Radio Redfern, Aboriginal community radio in 1983. The group transmitted a three hour weekly program on Saturday afternoon, centred around Maori activities\(^{19}\). The aim was to encourage more interaction between the two communities.

The success of the Waitangi concert encouraged the group to hold two public cultural events over the next four months. One evening contained Maori break dancers plus a Maori reggae band. The second evening revolved around topical political films, for example, ‘The Bridge’ about the trade union struggle involving the Mangere bridge in Auckland, with contemporary Maori music. Original supporters from the local council such as Paul Pearce, Ernie Page and all the Labor Councillors attended the music and film evening.

By this time, at state level, the New South Wales Labor government were very concerned at the events now taking place in Waverley. As a result of Mayor Markham’s belief in free market forces, he removed all restrictions protecting low income earners and their homes. Those who traditionally lived in the area, including Anglo-Australian aged pensioners, were now fighting eviction because rents were too high. A Labor Party colleague, Frank Walker, the Minister of Youth and Community Services, released a press statement announcing that Mayor Markham had systematically dismantled the entire Waverley Housing Program. The Council had returned $1.1 million allocated for aged housing to the Federal Government, cancelled funds for a youth worker and withdrawn from a successful job creation program. Walker described the Council’s attitude to the welfare of its citizens as appalling.

Walker continued his attack stating that Waverley Council under Labor had led the country in providing council-run community services and sought to improve the quality of life for all its residents, whereas now the conservatives, under Markham, were more concerned with building expensive additions to their own work environment and demonising the poor. At

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\(^{19}\) This radio programme is still going in 2013.
this time Markham also wanted to close the Bondi Pavilion as a community space and make it a convention centre for businessmen.

A threatened community and a radical solution

A public housing forum was held in the Waverley area. It was largely attended by local community residents who held tenure with the previous Waverley Labor Council. The forum was presented as an oppositional force to the Markhams. The forum was attended by Jeanette McHugh (local federal member) and state MP Ernie Page and three members of the Bondi Maori group also attended. The Bondi Maori group raised the suggestion of squatting as a short term tactic to prevent the demolition of further public rental housing stock being sold off on the private market. It received an enthusiastic response. After a quick consultation with lawyers associated with the Australian Labor Party (ALP), attention was focussed upon 140 Curlewis Street, formerly the Bondi Beach Cottage, a local childcare facility and community drop-in centre. The cottage had been vacant for three months.

On June 4th ten people from the Bondi Maori Group moved into 140 Curlewis Street via the back door which was unlocked. The previous tenants had arranged to have the door opened so that there was no forced entry. The Maori group – also known as the Bondi Self-help Housing Group - had tacit (although not total) support of the local Maori population plus good legal support. The twin objective was to have the building saved from demolition and set up a community drop-in centre. The Labor members of Waverley Council knew of the presence of Maori Group in Curlewis Street. From the first day of occupation, the group were prepared to pay rent according to their incomes. It took six weeks before the authorities made their move. During this time articles were written from within the squat for local newspapers on contemporary Maoridom. A group of three was selected to address local ALP branches to garner additional political support.

The following description of events is compiled from personal diaries, notes, newspaper articles and legal transcripts:

- On Monday July 16th a noise complaint at approximately 10:30 at night from the neighbours brought the police to 140 Curlewis Street for the first time. About 20 people were present, one person was arrested on the charge of trespassing (the Enclosed Land Act).
• On Tuesday July 17th at approximately 2:00 in the afternoon, the electricity was switched off. A Council employee, Mr Jarvis, was seen as the person who was responsible. The electricity was switched on and Mr Jarvis moved off the premises. Shortly after, a Council truck pulled up outside the ‘squat/pa’ and two Council employees attempted to enter the premises. They were not successful and left shortly after.

• On Wednesday July 18th at approximately 10:00am all occupants were forcibly evicted with their property impounded. In an act later described as ‘vandalism’, fifteen to twenty Council workers and police then ripped out thirty feet of plumbing and smashed the electricity power box. Alderperson Barbara Armitage was quoted as saying, after the first eviction:

  I don’t think 15 or 20 police and Council workers would evict a group of white people and in the manner they did. They did not do the same in the Pine Avenue and Ramsgate Avenue [other community flashpoints to do with the Waverley Council] the police were not called in (Transcript: Alderman for Waverley on the eviction of the Bondi Self Help Housing Company from 140 Curlewis Street, 18th July 1984).

• Four days later on July 22nd, the Maori group moved back in with no electricity. On July 25th, forty-five protestors (Maori, Pakeha and other ethnic groups) took over the public gallery at the monthly Waverley Council meeting. Despite the obvious opposition, the Council voted 7 to 4 in favour of demolishing 140 Curlewis Street. The decision is made on the grounds that Mayor Markham did not recognise that anyone was in occupation of the premises. The Council meeting ended with a recision motion put by an ALP Alderman to examine the 140 Curlewis Street demolition more closely.

Despite the fact that Mayor Markham refused to recognise the existence of the Maori group, his Deputy Mayor Ray Collins held several meetings with a representative from the Bondi Self Help Housing Company. Alderman Collins also congratulated the group for their initiative and the responsibility they had displayed. A further appointment was set for Monday July 30th, so that Alderman Collins could examine the Maori submission for Commonwealth Employment Programme (CEP) funding for a drop-in centre.

In an attempt to build support, the Bondi Maori Group presented one of their musical cultural evenings accompanied by local films. The event was held at the Bondi Pavilion on Sunday July 29th with the ‘house band’ (Curlewis Street was also the home of a reggae band called

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20 In New Zealand the ‘pa’ is referenced as communal space around a marae and this term was adopted by the local group.
Roadblock) and Mataquali Music. Also a Maori culture group performance was linked with a collection of Aboriginal short films. In the middle of winter over 350 attended the Sunday evening. All the Labor alderpersons attended the evening. However, events were going to escalate very quickly.

At 5:50 in the morning, a demolition crew and thirty-six police arrived at Curlewis Street. The police attempted to remove the occupants. Phone calls were quickly made from within the squat to Labor Aldermen and different journalists. It was only the quick appearance of Alderman Page and Norman Lees that prevented the eviction. Alderman Norman Lees spoke to the police and advised that no decision had been made to demolish and there was a Council meeting on that Monday night to decide what was to happen to 140 Curlewis Street. Another big factor in the rescue from demolition was the quick appearance of television news crews from Channel 7, 9 and 10 and as a result, much media coverage ensued, including coverage across the Tasman.

At the second Waverley Council meeting about twenty-five Maori protesters attended. Alderman Armitage repeated her claim that ‘I do not believe the Council would have chosen the course of action if the people who lived there had been white’. The journalist for the Bondi Courier (August 1, 1984) wrote: ‘Accusations of vandalism and racism echoed around the council chambers at the meeting of Waverley Council … the group had been well under way to setting up a viable community centre at the premises catering for the needs of the unemployed and the homeless’. Despite the opposition, the Council voted to accept the committee recommendation that the premises be demolished in two weeks. Television news crews were again present as this had become a much bigger issue than a small Council fracas.

This same footage was now being shown on television screens across New Zealand. Being unemployed, squatting in another country … and being Maori. Freelance New Zealand journalists living in Sydney made frequent visits to 140 Curlewis Street, quite bemused by the whole situation, and talked of their lively encounters with Mayor Jim Markham. He had certainly ignited the Australian/New Zealand rivalry. Markham continued to make many generalised and racist claims, and appeared indifferent to criticism. Maori supporters wanted him to be accountable for his racist comments. The group’s lawyers, allied to the Trade Union movement, acted. The group’s legal defenders, James Cooper Associates, decided a
strategy that the group were to embark upon. The Maori group would lay a complaint of racism with the Anti-Discrimination Board of New South Wales against Mayor Markham. The premises of 140 Curlewis Street had been used for over ten years by various community groups and now the Maori group were being prevented from using the building by a large number of Council workers and police. The lawyers noted that many times the Mayor had verbally attacked Maori and, more broadly, the New Zealand community by derogatory comments in the media.

The situation further escalated in terms of harassment of the squatters by hired ‘heavies’. This behaviour was alternated with bribes to leave the premises. The legal case became more complicated after an ex-policeman was found to have offered a bribe to the squatters on behalf of a Waverley Council functionary who was already the subject of an investigation by the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) for allegedly accepting a $100,000 bribe. Not surprisingly, the broader Liberal/National coalition party was by now very concerned about the behaviour of Waverley Council.

On Monday August 20th, over thirty police and twenty Council workers arrived at 6:00am with Don Sait, local engineer for Waverley, leading the charge. Police immediately arrested one Maori who was charged with trespassing. The group were given fifteen minutes to gather their belongings and then the demolition of 140 Curlewis Street proceeded to get underway. On this same day, a meeting was scheduled between the Bondi Maori Group, the Building Trades Group (an umbrella group for unions in the building industry), and the Minister of Youth and Community Services, Frank Walker. Demolition had happened without seeking permission to rebuild from the State Department of Planning Environment. The property remained vacant for over six months.

Conclusion – Bring Back the Music

The Bondi Maori Group (Kotahitanga) was essentially a powerless group of young unemployed Maori living in another country raising issues like housing and homelessness in a backdrop of economic downturn. The group had been thrown into the deep end of a complex myriad of inter-council, community and state politics, stretching the political
spectrum from the extreme right to the left of the Labor Party. Maori were venturing into new territory - not paying rent - and taking the fight right up the Mayor. As well, their fight was public and made the headlines in the mainstream press. No-one in the organisation had had any relations with a Pakeha Mayor before. It was also the first foray into mainstream politics by the Sydney Maori population. In some ways, this ‘direct action’ and publicity divided Maoridom in Australia and New Zealand. More conservative Maori thought the actions of the group embarrassing and undignified, while younger Maori tended to be more supportive. This division is explored further in chapter six. In conclusion, the media attention was brief and vindicated the group in its actions against Mayor Markham who fell under heavy scrutiny by the wider community.

A significant result was that it arguably improved the Maori cultural public profile. Immediately after the eviction, the group was putting on an arts project featuring Herbs, then New Zealand’s premiere Maori band, who performed at the Bondi Diggers as a benefit for the Bondi Maori Group. Within eighteen months of the demolition, the Maori Group (Kotahitanga) managed to organise a nine day South Pacific Arts Festival held at the Bondi Pavilion. This was a huge organisational undertaking for a group whose members had never attended an arts festival, let alone organised one. This series of cultural events was accompanied by the first Asian/Pacific Film Festival at the Chauvel cinema, unveiling for the first time in Australia iconic films like ‘The Maori Battalion Returns’ and ‘Utu’. The group was also responsible for helping lay the foundations for the annual Aboriginal event ‘Survival Day’ (see below).
CHAPTER SIX: EMERGENCE OF BUILDING BRIDGES – AN ATTEMPT TO BUILD BRIDGES BETWEEN ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA

Background

In the introduction to this chapter I wish to give a brief history of the informal coalition of organisations and individuals who contributed towards the eventual construction of the Building Bridges Association. Prior to the 1988 ‘celebrations’ being organised by mainstream Australia, there were many people who were uncomfortable with the notion of celebrating an invasion and who questioned the underlying politics of the Bicentennial fervour gripping the country. The National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations (NCAO) had been formed in 1986 to provide a strong platform at a national level for Aboriginal community-based organisations to have a voice. Designed as a collective organisation, it encouraged community groups to present their ideas for discussion on how to approach issues facing Aboriginal people. The NCAO was recognised by the Australian Labour Party and the ACTU, the national trade union body. When a national meeting was called however, the logistics were extremely difficult, largely because of the tyranny of distance, and the monies necessary for such an operation. It would be cheaper to meet in Auckland, New Zealand, than in Darwin, Australia.

As the Bicentennial drew closer, a number of non-Indigenous organisations were also concerned and were seeking a positive way of supporting the Aboriginal protest to these proposed events. The Italian Workers Federation (FILEF) made its resources available. Other trade unions were also supportive, along with workers in several multicultural organisations. Kevin Cook, Director of Tranby Aboriginal College and a legendary networker, offered to host meetings at Tranby College in Glebe in Sydney. These meetings in October/November of 1987, captured the imagination of many who were disenchanted with the idea of the Bicentennial Party. Over these weeks attendance numbers grew to hundreds. This ad hoc affiliation became known as the Bicentennial Protest Group (BPG). Kevin Cook remembers the early fund-raising activities: ‘The people who helped organise the ’88 March were the migrant communities… you know, they had that night where there was 23 different nationalities, they put on a show to raise money for us. Twenty-three different nationalities! I reckon that was incredible’ (Cook and Goodall 2013).
What emerged at this time was a strong feeling that it was not ‘just a protest’, but a deeper reclamation of identity and pride for Aboriginal Australia. Patty Anderson, Director of the Medical Service in Darwin, summed up the sentiment:

We turned it around, so as it wasn’t ‘them and us.’ We said: YOU are doing that but what WE are doing – despite everything that’s happened to us – WE are still here. I remember that it was a conscious decision not to make it just a protest, but rather to make it a celebration of who WE are, and that we’re HERE (in Cook and Goodall 2013)

During this period, the idea emerged for Aboriginal people from every part of Australia to make their way to Sydney for the protest. The original call for the ‘Long March’ was made by a Murri (Queensland Aboriginal) woman, Anne Pattel-Grey from the Australian Council of Churches and Reverend Charles Harris, President of the Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress. The Uniting Church was also involved. Their vision was for people to march under the banner of Justice, Hope and Freedom as part of a larger campaign by the Australian Council of Churches. Because of their involvement with the Aboriginal/Islander Commission of the Australian Council of Churches, the churches and their members provided the initial support and infrastructure for this process. The mainstream media reacted negatively to the concept of the Long March. The BPG identified the need for positive media coverage as it was only two weeks out from the event. It was decided that a concert would be the best way to achieve this.

The role of the Maori community in supporting the Aboriginal struggle: 1987-1998

The local Bondi Maori group, Kotahitanga, was instrumental in hosting a cross cultural arts event in support of the Long March (see previous chapter). What was intended as a fundraising event, was then requested by the informal committee to seek a higher public profile in anticipation of the many thousands of people expected for the Sydney march. Denise Officer-Brewster, publicist for Midnight Oil, became involved as did trade union support for the National Union for Coalition Aboriginal Movements (NUCAM). At national union level Kevin Tory was spokesman and active in the role of NUCAM. Also a Coalition for Aboriginal Rights – TUCAR. An extremely impressive poster was produced, combining

15 Australian churches, as part of the World Council of Churches, had been demonstrating their commitment to the concept of ‘Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation’, throughout this period from the late 80s and 90s.
the talents of famous Aboriginal artist Raymond Meeks, with additional help from Anglo
urban artist, Wart.

In January 1988, a meeting was held at a café attended by Aboriginal activists, Gary Foley
and Jacqui Katona, Tony Duke, youth services co-ordinator at Waringah Shire Council, Jim
George, as spokesman for the Bondi Maori Group, and Gillian, a musician. It was agreed that
the name of the organisation should be positive and not be opposed to something, such as had
been the case with the ‘Rock Against Racism’ gigs which had emerged in London. Foley’s
suggestion of calling the organisation Building Bridges was accepted. A newsletter was
produced by Tony Duke and myself and distributed amongst the local Maori community to
generate support for Aboriginal people and promote this event. The newsletter was used to
inform a change of plans to do with the weekend activities at the Bondi Pavilion that had
originally been booked for two days, 23rd and 24th January, 1988, for a series of music events
combining traditional and contemporary artists, with theatre performances over the weekend.
The Sunday was to be a very special day with the involvement of the new Maori Anglican
minister Reverend Jim Tahere meeting local residents.

Less than ten days out, a radical change came about in the organisation. A meeting was
arranged between Gary Foley (NCAO), Peter Garrett (Midnight Oil), Kevin Cook (Tranby
Aboriginal College), David Bradbury (film maker), Tony Duke (Council employee) and
myself (Maori representative). The meeting decided to drop Saturday and concentrate on
Sunday with the principle of looking beyond the Bicentennial 1988 and into the 90s. With
this theme, it was decided to call the concert and the organisation Building Bridges. The
concert scheduled for the 24th January (two days before white Australia’s big day), was
organised out of the ‘Curlewis Street’ premises, my home in Bondi. The Building Bridges
concert was an extraordinary and successful event, and helped to set the tone to support those
arriving from all over Australia at the end of the Long March in Sydney, two days later.

It was beyond the expectations of the organisers, as word had spread through the Aboriginal
community that those who had arrived in Sydney for the Long March could relax and enjoy
the festival at Bondi. The following is an extract from Cook and Goodall (2013) with
reflections by Kevin Cook (Cookie), Tony Duke and myself.
Kevin Cook: It was very emotional, that gig at Bondi. You know, when you seen all the people coming in, your heart swole up. Talking to other people later, some of the musicians, they got caught up in that too. But from an Aboriginal perspective, everybody was pumped up. Really pumped up about the concert and later on, the march.

Tony Duke: The biggest mob turned out. And then on top of all of them, there were the buses arriving from the bush, with people just hopping off, never seen the beach before! I remember that we had a reasonable price on the door – around five dollars. It wasn’t much but we had wanted to raise a bit of money for the march. But for safety reasons we just had to throw the doors open. There were just too many people. We weren’t ready for it or able to deal with it. And of course just the spirit of the event was about the connections of bringing people together. Why wait at Bondi Beach on a beautiful day for half an hour to try to get in? Just come in! And so we walked around with the buckets. We ended up with a couple of grand in the buckets at the end of the day. And that was the start of Building Bridges! I remember then talking with Kevin, and it was like ‘Well, what can we do now? We’ve got some money and we’ve got a lot of interest’. So we started to organise then for the concerts later on.

Jim George: David Bradbury the filmmaker came and documented the concert. We had five cameras and we got 120 hours of footage from that first one at the Bondi Pavilion. I remember it had a strong Black lineup. We had Roger Knox there. And it was Yothu Yindi’s first gig – we billed them as Koori Dancers! They were down working with the Swamp Jockeys doing some stuff. We had Black Lace and we had to turn the power off, ’cause they wouldn’t get off stage!

On 26th of January in Sydney, the biggest mob of Aboriginal people ever assembled took to the streets of Sydney. For so many, just getting there was a major achievement. The Long March itself fired the imagination of many Aboriginal people in remote and inaccessible communities. For these people to participate, it required monies to be raised to pay petrol bills for cars, trucks, 4-wheel drives and buses to travel many thousands of kilometres. Aboriginal leaders had encouraged the concept that even the trip itself, should be a ‘dry’ march – no alcohol. Most participants heeded this call and there were poignant stories of some very old alcoholics, who ‘dried out’ for the first time in their adult lives, just so they could attend this gathering in Sydney.

The organisation

The Building Bridges concert marked a start in the process of support and co-operation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in working for a fair and equitable future. The success of the 24th January gig in 1988 launched the Building Bridges project into the establishment of the Building Bridges Association. Building Bridges was a non-profit community-based association and membership was open to all nationalities.
The aims and objectives of the Association were:

- To provide a forum for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to work together in support of the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations.

- To provide educational opportunities to the broader Australian community by way of making positive statements in support of the NCAO through the staging of contemporary cultural events.

- To provide philosophical and financial support to the NCAO through the creation and sale of contemporary cultural products (such as the CD)

After a very successful month of January, the Building Bridges group decided to mobilise the public support behind a larger music project. The concept was to approach contemporary popular music groups to donate one musical track, reflecting black/white relations in Australia. This included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups. The result was a double album called 'Building Bridges – Australia Has A Black History’. A compilation album was produced, consisting of 26 Australian groups, black and white, who waived their royalties so the proceeds of the album could go to the National Council of Aboriginal Organisations. The album was released on Australia Day January 26th 1989. Another concert at Bondi Pavilion was used to launch the album. The concert had a strong Aboriginal line-up and special guests. Midnight Oil performed as well as singer/songwriter Paul Kelly, Crowded House and many other significant artists. For a little diversity, an Italian group also performed. Gary Foley and Peter Garrett were co-comperes for the day. Speakers were from Aboriginal organisations, trade unions, women’s groups, migrant community leaders and local Waverley Council alderpersons. On stage the sole Maori performer was Tania Simons who sang an acoustic set with Aboriginal singer, Sharon Carpenter. There were many Maori who worked behind the scenes. Maori women prepared food for the day. The Maori men were prominent in the construction of the stage and looking after security. There was, however, another significant event around the Bicentennial involving Maori – predominantly Maori women.

At this time, Aboriginal women, Maori women and Indigenous women from elsewhere who had come to Sydney to offer support, were the most spirited and powerful presence at the weekly Tranby meetings. The strength of the women appeared to intimidate some of the men, more specifically White/Pakeha men. Indigenous women bonded together culturally, politically and spiritually and were prepared to defend their own special communities, and
support broader struggles. The Maori women, accompanied by their Indigenous sisters, were prepared to stand alone in a very public way and tackle their own people in the glare of the media in another country. This exercise exacted some pain on the behalf of the protestors who watched in dismay as members of the Sydney Maori community chose to support the governments of Australia and New Zealand over the Indigenous people on whose land they were standing.

**Maori women protest - Sydney**

Conservative Maori have had minimal contact with Aboriginal people and arguably have concentrated themselves in their own pursuit of a better life in a new country outside of New Zealand. However, in the late 1980s, many from that generation were soon to be at the centre of protest demonstrations conducted by supporters of the Aboriginal struggle. In 1988 a particular Bicentennial event involved two groups of Maori. While one group protested at the lack of respect towards Aboriginal people as the true landowners, deaths in custody and other issues of significance, another group of conservative Maori helped ‘celebrate’ the invasion of the Pakeha. The incidents described in this section are an example of Indigenous politics in conflict. Women have been extremely important to the political struggles on both sides of the Tasman, and this section pays some small tribute to the commitment of Maori women living in Sydney during this political period.

On Thursday 21st January 1988, at 4:30am with the skies alive with thunder and lightning in Sydney, we witnessed the unusual sight of two groups of Maori separated by a ten foot high heavy wire fence surrounding the perimeters of a naval base in Sydney harbour. The group outside of the fence was protesting, with placards, against the group of Maori inside the fenced off area. On closer examination a conservative Maori organisation was being taken to task by a group of young urban Maori, the majority being women, who firmly believed that the struggles of the Aboriginal people are the struggles of the Maori people. They considered their elders who were supporting the New Zealand government giving a gift to the Australian government to celebrate 200 years of occupation, to be an insult to Aboriginal people. These tensions, of course, in themselves had a history.
The seeds of this discontent can be traced back to the Sydney office of the New Zealand Consulate. The meetings took place on the 25th floor of the Consular building in Martin Place, the heart of the Central Business District. The New Zealand government was to officially hand over the yacht *Akarana* as a gift from the New Zealand government to the Australian government. The New Zealand government asked the New Zealand Consulate to organise a group of Maori to provide a *powhiri*: a traditional Maori welcome for the gift. The Maori group that was approached, Te Iwi, was willing to participate. The Christian, conservative Maori involved in these negotiations were intent on establishing a public profile that was not threatening in any way to Australian government officials and that could be seen as being cultural ambassadors for the New Zealand government. In this way Maoridom was to be represented by beautiful singing and spiritually moving prayers ... certainly not as a challenge to how Australia treated the Indigenous people.

This position was in keeping with how many older Maori saw themselves in Australia. Since the late 1960s the Sydney Maori community has spent what appears countless years in the task of establishing their own community centre, discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Their objectives for the establishment of a centre were synonymous with their desire to present and develop a united Maori organisation. A united Maori front was viewed as the only option and anything less was counter to presenting a vigorous positive Maori entity. The word ‘dissent’ was not on the agenda. However this ‘united’ Maori front was itself made up of several smaller organisations each with their own voice and opinions. Further, there were other examples of exclusion towards those Maori who did not fit with the responsible, culturally appeasing face of Maoridom. For example, where youth were concerned, their needs were not being expressed because they could not speak *te reo*, Maori language. The numbers who do speak the language in Sydney are few and the areas to practice nearly non-existent. It should be remembered this was before the *kohanga reo* movement in New Zealand that successfully reinvigorated Maori language. Those who spoke Maori were normally older (45+ in the 1980s) and associated with the rural areas of the North Island. Once arriving in Sydney they were normally allied to the church, commonly the Maori Anglican and Mormon churches. It was these groups that tended to dominate the organising and the technical running of several Maori organisations who had the ‘ear’ of the New Zealand consulate.
The gifting ceremony
The celebration of 200 years of White occupation was forging ahead, whereas Black Australia had their own plans for 1988. As described above, extensive Bicentennial protests had been planned and Australia was tense with the uncomfortable feeling that Aboriginal people and their supporters could upset the celebrations. As the time of the handover of New Zealand’s gift came closer, the majority of Maori working with the Aboriginal protest support groups thought that common sense would prevail and the Te Iwi Sydney organisation would not go ahead. There was hope that solidarity with Aboriginal people would prevail. The media coverage of the protest activities leading to the handover was extensive. There was no way this conservative Maori group were going to escape the scrutiny of Indigenous Black politics. The protest group suggested other options that would have provided a graceful retreat. Their advice was to reduce the formal proceedings to a minimum and start talking to Aboriginal spokespeople. No attempts were made by the Sydney Maori group Te Iwi to engage in any meaningful way with the Aboriginal community.

Many telegrams of support for the Aboriginal position were sent by sympathetic Maori protestors, the majority of whom were women. In these correspondences, the inappropriate nature of the New Zealand government gift of a large and comparatively useless object like the Akarana were outlined. The Australian government’s disregard for the reality of deprivation in the lives of many Aboriginal people, inadequate education and health care resources, land and language loss, were also addressed. The content of the messages expressed deep opposition to the formal ‘welcome’ of the New Zealand gift. Further, the cultural argument was extended that Maori people did not have tangata whenua status in Australia, that is, they are not the Indigenous owners of this land, thereby questioning the role of any Maori celebrating with the invaders of another Indigenous group. Of course, the Akarana was not being given to Aboriginal people. The protestors considered the ‘welcome’ and the ‘gift’ as hollow symbols that failed to compensate for past historical wrongs including land theft, displacement, and the stolen generations. The telegrams being sent to Aboriginal organisations by younger more radical Maori asserted that Maori people stand and support Aboriginal people in their struggle for Land Rights and self-determination. In this view, Maori people participating in formal Bicentennial activities were thus regarded as perpetuating the lies of White Australia.
The New Zealand government went ahead with the gift of the Akarana to the Australian government. As described above, the skies on this particular night were heavily overcast and an electrical storm was about to break as the humidity of the night rose to uncomfortable levels. At 4:30am the welcoming committee were already assembled inside the fence. Outside the fence were a group of Maori/Polynesian women numbering around forty people accompanied by a collective of Indigenous people demonstrating against the gift from one White government to another White government. Representatives were from Great Turtle Island, the South Pacific and Aboriginal Australia. The ABC television crew were present and ran the morning’s proceedings as their first news item on the 7:00pm ABC evening news. However, they mistakenly referred to the protestors as a group of Aboriginals. Within 24 hours of the welcome, tragedy emerged with the death of a young Maori boy related to the welcoming committee.

Two Maori groups in Sydney opposed to each other, one group publicly protesting at the activities of another group. The Maori group inside the fence of the naval base were supported by the Pakeha establishment of power and privilege with a strong force of police close by monitoring any disturbances. The group outside the fence, wishing to have no part of this ‘power and privilege’, placed all their energies with their Aboriginal brothers and sisters. This occasion became the first serious attempt within the Sydney Maori community to adopt an Indigenous agenda.

_Taonga Maori exhibition – Australian Museum (1/10/89-7/1/90)_

The protest exchanges at the Bicentennial between Maori, described here, resulted a year later in a bridge-building exercise between Aboriginal and Maori that revolved around a major art exhibition from Aotearoa. In 1984, an extraordinary exhibition of traditional Maori treasures had been assembled and accompanied to the United States by a group of elders who slept with and guarded the exhibition, and acted as interpreters and guides for its exposure to the Western world. Critically acclaimed and publicly successful, the exhibition caused excitement in the northern hemisphere. After the Te Maori exhibition returned back to Aotearoa, many requests arrived from Australia to bring the artefacts across the Tasman. The publicity also reinforced calls for Maori artefacts stored in the basement of Australian museum to be returned to Maoridom. Kaumatua Tipene O’Regan (tribal leader) arrived in
Sydney and, together with other elders, began making an inventory of the artefacts. The museum agreed to return most of the items. The Australian Museum is only one of two museums that have a formal policy of returning artefacts to their rightful owners. The National Museum of New Zealand responded by organising an exhibition of the most distinguished display of Maori taonga (treasures) ever to leave Aotearoa. Bill Cooper arrived from Aotearoa with the task of educating the Sydney Maori community with the historical background to the artefacts on display. Local Maori acted as museum guides.

Eighteen months after the Bicentennial tensions had subsided, the healing process was under way. The Sydney Maori community and the Aboriginal community combined to host this powerful exhibition. Yet again, the subject of a Maori marae was under discussion. Tiga Bayles, chairperson of the New South Wales Land Council: ‘The exhibition has allowed a mood of good communication, good consultation, just the right elements for a proposal for a Sydney marae to be put forward before the land councils’ (pers.comm).

The 243 piece exhibition did not make the front page of the Sydney Morning Herald despite the Te Maori exhibition appearing in the front pages of the New York Times. However, a proliferation of Maori articles started to appear in the print media. The journalism surrounding the activities of the exhibition had shown marked improvement in the reporting of Indigenous events.

On the Sydney railway system, large billboards could be seen advertising COME FACE TO FACE WITH GODS. The explanation beneath spoke of the Maori artefacts containing their spiritual ancestors … see it all at the Australian Museum. There were twenty five such billboards around the Sydney metropolitan network. Another example was the picture of a tokotoko stick. Accompanied in big print was the phrase ‘A Maori Tree’. Underneath was written that the ancient Maori did not write their history, they carved it.

Two major concerns around the protocols for the exhibition for people living in Sydney were firstly, the role of the tangata whenua (Aboriginal people) and secondly the participation of the local Maori community. The people of the land were represented by two speakers, Tiga Bayles and Cliff Foley from the Gangangara Land Council. Tiga Bayles thought that the opening ceremony was very moving and impressive, although there was one reservation:
‘…but I don’t know about getting up at 3:00 in the morning’ (pers.comm). As part of the opening ceremony speech Cliff Foley said: ‘Maori people are proud people, they are strong people, they have strong culture and more importantly they’re Indigenous’.

The Maori heavyweights entrusted with the spiritual ownership of the artefacts were making their presence felt. In attendance were Sir Paul Reeves, Sir Kingi Ihaka and other senior statesmen of Maoridom. The responsibility for the artefacts had now been entrusted to the Sydney Maori community for the duration of this exhibition. This event also recognised the first formal acknowledgment of a Maori community growing up outside the traditional confines of Aotearoa. It was suggested that the Taonga exhibition, with the inclusion of the newly returned treasures, was to be followed by an Aboriginal exhibition to Aotearoa. This exchange and the cooperation required to organise events of this scale are an indication that the arts can play a considerable role in both developing cultural appreciation and mutual respect and also in terms of building skills within particular communities.

The music industry

At the corporate level, CBS (later to become Sony) Records had in 1988 released a compilation record of white Aussie music arguably celebrating 200 years of European colonisation. Within twelve months the same company released ‘Building Bridges - Australia Has A Black History’. Money was invested in both camps. Midnight Oil being contracted to CBS/Sony Records provided sufficient clout for the Building Bridges group to market the album. The sales pitch was ‘two albums for the price of one’. When first released, CBS sold 18,000 copies. The album received a second release (not without incident, see below) and sold an extra 3,500. All up, a total of over 21,000 albums were sold over a twenty-four month period.

The contradictions underpinning the politics of the music industry are complex. In this same year, there were a myriad of concerts to support worthy causes in the Bondi Beach area alone. For example, there were three major benefit concerts held within a twelve week period. The first was for the homeless and that attracted only 300 people. The second was the Building Bridges concert which attracted around 5,000 people. The third was ‘Turn Back The Tide’, concerning the gross sewerage pollution of Bondi Beach which attracted over 150,000 people. The conclusion from these attendance figures was that Aboriginal issues and homelessness remain on the margins.
Negotiations for a second release of the ‘Australia has a Black History’ double CD took place when CBS had amalgamated with Sony. The record industry’s representative solemnly suggested to the Building Bridges people that the best marketing idea was to drop all the black bands (meaning they really wanted Midnight Oil and INXS) and call it ‘Summer Hits of 1990’. This insensitivity and ignorance is not an isolated incident in the Australian music industry. As an alternative to this treatment, Building Bridges managed to secure a meeting between three separate arms of the ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission): JJJ (radio), ‘Black Out’ (Aboriginal television unit) and ABC merchandising. It was this cooperation between these different bodies that actualised the re-release of ‘Australia Has A Black History’.

The Melbourne/Fitzroy Koorie community extended an invitation to the Building Bridges committee to launch the same album in the state of Victoria. A seven hour concert was organised in a period of two weeks. As Indigenous issues were garnering more attention globally, questions were being asked by visitors to Australia about the experience, opinions and realities of the lives of the Aboriginal people. For example, American actor, Whoopi Goldberg was gigging in Melbourne and was eager to meet members of the Aboriginal community. She offered to do some promotional work for this concert. At this time the Building Bridges collective was actively pursuing international artists who shared the aims and concerns of this organisation.

During the late 80s and early 90s, despite being radically under-resourced, Building Bridges had managed to record on film and video most of the concerts. This unedited footage had passed through many hands. Through the ABC Aboriginal Program Unit, ‘Black Out’, Paul Fenech, with the help of Vaughan Hinton’s support as executive producer, produced a documentary of the story of Building Bridges. Around this time, the Aboriginal Arts Management Agency (AAMA) emerged from the Aboriginal/Torres Strait Island Arts board of the Australia Council. Key members included Chris McGuiggin, Rosalie Graham, Kevin Cook and Lyn Onus. Graham was a ‘local’ from La Parouse, a coastal region in southern Sydney that is home to a large Aboriginal population. La Parouse, or Lapa, as it is known, also has the association of ‘first contact’ history in relation to the invasion of Aboriginal land. Soon, from these early attempts by Building Bridges, would emerge a confidence and climate that would then allow the discussion and emergence of the concept of ‘Survival Day’ of 1992,
the Aboriginal response to ‘Australia Day’ on white Australia’s calendar. It was around this time period that the debate around the language of Australia Day vs Invasion Day became more heated.

Building Bridges/Aotearoa

In the early months of 1989, a member of the Maori gang organisation Black Power, Robin Thompson, attended a conference in Darwin, Australia. The conference was organised by the World Council of Churches with New Zealand input from the Maori Council of Churches. After some important community networking with Aboriginal groups in the ‘top end’ (Northern Territory), Thompson made his flight back to Auckland via a stop in Sydney. At Sydney airport Thompson accidentally met an ex-Black Power member, Edward Latimer, who had attended the concert launch of the Building Bridges album. Thompson extended his stay in Sydney so he could meet the Building Bridges ‘crew’.

In response to these connections, in June 1989 the Building Bridges association received an invitation from Te Whare Mana Trust, the national organising committee of Black Power. The organisation was based in South Auckland, and operated throughout the country. Robin Thompson had been impressed with the Building Bridges model in utilising the arts in the role of social transformation and wanted to see it implemented in New Zealand. In the case of the Black Power organisation, they took Building Bridges as a very different concept in its essence. They talked about building bridges between the generations. Part of that was wanting to engage with the generation at ‘home’ (rural New Zealand). They saw this as an opportunity to bridge the gap between the generation that had moved in the urbanisation process since the 1950s and the next generation of their children, with older Maori.

Attached to the invitation from Te Whare Mana Trust for representatives of Building Bridges to travel to New Zealand, were four objectives. Firstly, a discussion of the concept of ‘building bridges’ with various organisations in Aotearoa. The second aim was to structure an ongoing consultation between the Trust and the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations. Thirdly, it was to provide a forum to discuss the Maori experience regarding the Treaty of Waitangi along with the progress of land claims. Lastly, there was a general intent to build upon the networks that existed between the two Indigenous groups more generally. The Building Bridges crew, including myself, accepted the invitation. A group of
three arrived in Auckland in September, 1989: two persons from the Building Bridges Association and Robbie Thorpe representing NCAO. Kevin Cook of Tranby College had to withdraw because of personal commitments.

An extremely wide range of consultations were held over ten days with diverse Maori organisations. These began with a powhiri, traditional Maori welcome, conducted by members of Pikimai Trust. Meetings involved Hone Kaa, representing the World Council of Churches, Hugh Lynn, the New Zealand promoter of the band Herbs, Ray Waru of Aotearoa Radio, Moana Maniapoto Jackson, Maori singer, lawyer and radio broadcaster, Ripeka Evans of TVNZ, Willie Jackson of Tangata Records and Te Iwi O Aotearoa, the Black Power newspaper. The list is by no means complete, but importantly, a significant representation of Maoridom was consulted.

One major task was to blend the musical styles that had been gathered through the Australian Building Bridges network, for example, Yothi Yindi and Midnight Oil, with the Maori music network. A discussion was held about a government subsidised Aboriginal tour of North Island Maori community areas (including Black Power clubhouse venues), along with mainstream rock music venues and university campus gigs. A similar process would be repeated with Maori performers touring Aboriginal communities, including such groups as political rap band Upper Hutt Posse, Yothu Yindi, Herbs and Native American poet/songwriter, John Trudell, who we had all met when he performed at the Waitangi concert in 1990. Yothu Yindi performed at a Black Power gig and recorded material in Hugh Lynn’s Mascot Studio free of charge.

Australian singer/songwriter Paul Kelly contributed generously at the early stages of Building Bridges (Australia) and was keen to tour New Zealand. In New Zealand, Paul Kelly connected up with Te Whare Mana Trust and Robin Thompson. The music newspaper, Drum Media, was extremely supportive at this time. Joe Geia, Aboriginal singer/songwriter, was interviewed and gave the following comment: ‘It’s funny how the media looks at Aboriginal songwriters as political but when you look at the Building Bridges concert, many of the musicians black and white are singing about the same sorts of things’ (Drum Media, no 18, 1989).
Two years later, Paul Kelly (in Tingwell 1991), describes some of these productive collaborations:

Since my involvement in Building Bridges, I’ve been invited up to the Northern Territory to Arnhem Land where I worked with Yothi Yindi doing some workshops doing some of their songs. The band has toured up there a couple of times. I first met Kev Carmody (Aboriginal singer/songwriter) at a Building Bridges concert and that led to a friendship and now I’ve recorded four songs on the album he’s just completed. Steve and I produced the Archie Roach album.

These collaborations laid the foundation for a series of significant events from the late 1980s and into the 1990s, including the much more substantial Building Bridges Family Festival in 1994 which I have detailed briefly below.

**Rock for Land Rights, July 1989 – Lest We Forget**

The Rock for Land Rights concert marked the beginning of this year (1989). All proceeds were to go to support the campaign by the NSW Aboriginal Land Council and their fight against the Greiner State Government’s attacks on Land Rights. The Council chairman, Tiga Bayles wrote in the programme for this event:

> Aboriginal Week takes on a special significance this year given the government proposals to abolish land councils. The Government is returning to the failed policies of the 1960s with its attack on Land Rights and plans for mainstreaming services. Any decision to deny Aboriginal people the opportunity to democratically elect and manage their own land councils will seriously damage our relations with the wider community. We reject Premier Greiner's proposal to radically reduce the investment funds available for land rights. [We want] Self Determination - not failed ideas for assimilation, that must form the basis of Aboriginal affairs in NSW.

Bayles indicated that these themes had been adopted for Aboriginal Week 1989 and the Rock for Land Rights Concert reflected this. The Rock for Land Rights Concert was held on July 8th, 1989 at the State Sports Centre, Homebush. The Building Bridges crew had the Sydney Metropolitan Land Council and Young Labor (Federal Labor MP Mark Latham) involved in the organising of the event. Performers included Jimmy Barnes, Crowded House, Mixed Relations, Black Brothers from West Papua New Guinea, Kev Carmody, Black Lace, Sharon Carpenter, Sean Kelly and Absent Friends, Paul Kelly and the Messengers. Robin Thompson was also in attendance to observe and report back to *Te Whare Mana Trust.*
**Women in Rock, January 1990**

The Australian Women’s Rock Institute combined with Building Bridges to host a two day music festival showcasing women performers at the Bondi Pavilion in 1990. Over 1500 people attended this event. Linda Burney, then President of the New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative committee and Tania Simons representing *Mana Wahine* spoke out against racism and for the sovereign rights of Aboriginal, Maori and Islanders to be respected (*Tribune*, January 31, 1990).

The women’s line-up included Sharon Carpenter, Maroochy, Jeannie Lewis, Gyan, Robyn Dunn, Mixed Relations and an all celebrity women’s band called Mirror Mirror, who included Lindy Morrison and Amanda Brown, members of the Go-Betweens and Helen Carter from Do Re Mi. Both days were broadcast live on Radio Redfern (Aboriginal radio) and Adelaide’s 5MMM FM with ABC TV videoing the entire women’s concert. Everyone volunteered their services.

**Fiji tour, 1990**

In February 1990, music promoter Hugh Lynn (himself a Maori) and the Maori/Polynesian band Herbs toured Fiji for the third time, performing at Indigenous and non-Indigenous venues. At that time, very few overseas musicians had toured Fiji and Herbs were rewarded with big audiences wherever they performed. Herbs were gifted the key to the city of Suva. Hugh Lynn talked to a group of local journalists about the objectives of Building Bridges within the South Pacific and was keen to begin talks on forming a Building Bridges Association in Fiji: ‘Indigenous people throughout the world tend to think differently and have closer identity with the land, have a different value system and need more communication … communicating with each other’ (*Fiji Times* February 13, 1990; see also George 1990).
Support for Bowraville, 1991

One of the sadder episodes in the history of Building Bridges does however reflect the organisation’s immediate flexibility. There was a concert rapidly organised in response to the disappearance of three Aboriginal children, presumed murdered, who were from a small town with a population of only 900 people. In April 1991 in the Northern New South Wales town of Bowraville, the Gunbainggar tribe who traditionally occupy the area, the local Land Council and the local community radio station combined efforts with the Building Bridges crew. Over 700 people attended the evening’s activities (virtually the entire population of the town) and over $3,000 was raised for the families. For more information on this traumatic story of a small country town see Mordue (1991).

Building Bridges via public radio

Throughout the 80s and 90s, Aboriginal community radio played a vital role in keeping the extended community informed. In September 1991, for the first time on public radio throughout Australia, the Building Bridges organisation succeeded in presenting ‘Building Bridges Across Australia’. This was a nationwide event to support the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations. The broadcast was between the 9th – 11th September. The logistics of this project were indeed complex due to the vast distances involved and associated expenses on an extremely tight budget.

On the Saturday and Sunday, public radio stations in Alice Springs, Darwin, Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart, Sydney and Brisbane along with regional centres, presented a series of programmes dealing with Aboriginal news, views and entertainment. This included contemporary Aboriginal music with profiles on bands, a women’s concert live from Melbourne, a music festival from Darwin, AIDS education programs and a selection of ‘beat-the-grog’ music. Pre-recorded interviews included subjects such as the return and preservation of Indigenous artefacts, Land Rights issues (including the Maori treaty), and the viability of an Aboriginal provisional government. Sunday night ended with a concert in Melbourne that included Archie Roach, Ruby Hunter and Djanumbi. Two bands representing Aotearoa closed the weekend activities by performing live at the Arncliffe Hotel in Sydney. The bands were Upper Hutt Posse and Herbs. This concert was then broadcast and heard all over Australia.
The cost of the landlines totalled $16,000. The Building Bridges organisation attempted to negotiate a sponsorship deal from Telecom. They informed the group a day before the broadcast that they would NOT sponsor the event. However, this unprecedented project went ahead. In Sydney, this meant Aboriginal radio in Redfern was broadcast live and direct to Bondi Beach. Many beachgoers were surprised when principal DJ for the day, Tiga Bayles, addressed them directly as to what they thought 200 years of occupation meant to Aboriginal people. Complaints were made and police called, but the show went on.

**Back in Aotearoa – Building Bridges in Auckland 1995**

Mangere has been described as the ‘Redfern of Auckland’ with an extremely high density of Maori and Pacific Islanders. It was chosen as the base for the Building Bridges organisation with Tony Duke, Tania Simons and Robin Thompson at the helm, and had secured office facilities within the confines of Nga Tapuwae College. Mangere is the longest established area of Manukau City both in terms of Maori history and European settlement. Many people of different ethnic origins have moved into Mangere and together with Maori and Pakeha residents, Mangere has an extremely diverse multi-racial community. At the time of the 1991 census, the Mangere population was 35,200. Of these, 23 percent were Maori, 42 percent were Pacific Islander, 27 percent were European and 6 percent were of other ethnic origins. Just over half this population were under the age of 24 years (New Zealand Census 1991).

The Building Bridges project based in Mangere coordinated activities designed to lift the spirits of the Mangere community. For example, the Building Bridges festival of 1995 had the involvement of fourteen schools from the Mangere area. Very large murals were painted reflecting the annual theme of the Building Bridges festival. From these schools there was also the involvement of several Pacific Island culture groups. The festival bought together, in showcase and celebration, the people, the families, the sporting clubs, churches, community and service organisations; the young and the old, the creativity and expression of the diversity of people and cultures within Mangere. This was extraordinary in itself, and it did a great deal towards Black Power – as a gang organisation – being recognised as a social force.
The objectives of the Building Bridges festival: sport, music, art and families

The Building Bridges Handbook of this period illustrates its broad spectrum of guidelines, aims and objectives:

People who are unemployed or benefit recipients often have to endure the direct consequences of poor diet and health, isolation and low self esteem. The Building Bridges Family Festival will provide a chance for people to come out and make connections – find out what’s going on and hopefully get involved with an organisation or activity that will be of benefit to themselves, their families and the Mangere community.

Other aims were:

- To invite the participation of families, sporting clubs and community organisations (including schools, churches and service groups) in the planning and staging of the Festival.

- To provide a showcase opportunity for the talent, skills and people from the Mangere community and to advocate the recognition of sport as an integral part of the cultural life of Mangere community.

- To ensure maximum involvement in all components of the Building Bridges Family Festival through effective promotion and advertising and community networking.

This mixture of sport, music and art appears effective in bringing diverse groups together. A ‘touch rugby’ league competition was held at Walter Massey Park amongst the stalls of food, arts and crafts. Aboriginal performers participated in the closing concert with a stage full of Maori and Pacific Island performers. The Pakeha (Anglo New Zealanders) were represented by home grown talent like Neil Finn and Dave Dobbyn. Four radio stations were present from both sides of the Tasman: MAI FM (Maori Youth), Gadigal Radio (Aboriginal), Radio Aotearoa and Radio ‘PI’ 531. An Indigenous day of film was also shown.

One of the most innovative projects for the Mangere based Building Bridges organisation was the Te Whare O Te Wahine Toa (the House of Warrior Women). This impromptu organisation was concerned with the support of gang members’ spouses and children. This was initiated by Maori women whose partners were incarcerated in prison. This was an attempt to bring some dignity to the ‘access visits’ by wives, girlfriends and children. For
example, at Mt. Eden prison, the neighbouring church marae [Maori meeting house] was resurrected as a ‘creche/safehouse’ to be used by women whose partners were in jail. Again, all of these initiatives were accomplished on a ‘shoestring’ – it was all about cooperation.

During the pre-festival days, Auckland played host to the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth at the regular CHOGM meetings. At the frontline of the demonstrations attending these international meetings, there were many Maori protestors. These networks now came to be involved in this project. The second Building Bridges festival was held at Walter Massey Park. From Australia, Aboriginal performers Leah Purcell, Mixed Relations, Kev Carmody and Joey Geia came to New Zealand, as well as school workshop facilitators. A new innovation was the launch of the Building Bridges fringe festival which revolved around a tour of South Auckland shopping malls. A musical line-up of Aboriginal, Maori and Pacific Islanders who performed 2/3 hours of the afternoon at Mangere, Otara and Papatoetoe.

The Indigenous visitors including the Aboriginal delegation had arrived twelve days before the festival. This included a two day rest period during a tightly packed itinerary that included media introductions, radio interviews, exhibition openings, school performances, night club gigs and down time for socialising. Also time was spent exchanging the appropriate protocols between Maori/Polynesian and the Aboriginal guests. The festival screening of Indigenous films included Aboriginal actor, Kylie, participating in discussions with Maori and Pacific Islander actors on the lack of Indigenous scripts in mainstream cinema and discussing viable successful alternatives. Aboriginal performers were welcomed on the University and Awhata marae. School workshops were conducted in South Auckland by the Aboriginal performers, explaining their tribal dances, myths and legends to a responsive young audience. It was a tiring but exciting schedule. The initiative shown by the festival organisers was warmly applauded by all involved.

**Alice Springs, 1997**

In Bondi, a small group of Maori fringe writers and musicians identified the need to make an informal attempt to structure the promotion of Black artists. They called their group ‘Black II Frunt’. This was an attempt to support Indigenous artists in remote areas, namely Alice Springs, targeting youth. ‘After New Zealand, it was so blatantly obvious to me how much
more advantaged Maoridom is compared with the Blackfellas out here … the racism is just mind-blowing … it’s ridiculous’ (Percy Bishop, pers.com).

Percy Bishop was the primary instigator of this project. He is a Maori whose family lived in Alice Springs for several years. His past experiences included working as a broadcaster on Koorie Radio in Sydney for several years. A project emerged involving rap/hip hop artists from the Sydney Maori/Polynesian communities to travel to Alice Springs and conduct radio and music workshops within the parameters of the CAAMA organisation (Central Australia Aboriginal Media Association). A youth dance was organised and the Sydney performers were able to display their skills before a very enthusiastic black audience. The touring party comprised the Bishop brothers, Jim George, Mita Tahata, Lil Harris, Ducky, Jimmy and Kelly K. Contacts made during the Alice Springs visit continued with youthful musical endeavours from Central Australia being regularly played on Koorie Radio in Sydney.

Activities were designed to stimulate skills and promote positive successes already occurring. Discussions were held with CAAMA to facilitate on-going support for youth in these areas. Also other Indigenous bodies such as the Institute for Aboriginal Development and the Gap Youth Centre were involved. This led to one month of dances, radio workshops, music workshops, and experience in the use of studio equipment. As word spread, young Aboriginal people travelled hundreds of miles to attend. Known locally as the ‘Desert Mob’, these were multi language groups. English was often the third, fourth or fifth language. Three youth bands emerged. Training for young broadcasters on radio and television proved popular. Maori, Mita Tahata, was active in helping to formalise artistic skills of grafitti artists. The group bombarded white media outlets and local council in a campaign waged with limited resources. They also petitioned government funding bodies for on-going financial support, which in turn enabled the Gap youth service to continue work after Black II Frunt had departed.

Building Bridges and Reconciliation

My sort of analysis on reconciliation is that a mistake was made in keeping it ‘in-house’. There was an opportunity for the government to empower or to give over to Aboriginal leadership …. Reconciliation takes away a sense of need or a commitment to go beyond that incredible comfort zone that people have. How many people feel
that things have changed because they marched across the bridge?\textsuperscript{22} Reconciliation is full of well meaning BUT empty and that suits John Howard (Tony Duke, pers. com)

Building Bridges was the embodiment of the reconciliation process before there was a Reconciliation Process. This is a sentiment that many people have mentioned when the subject of Building Bridges is discussed. It sought to improve race relations between black and white Australians, and other migrants who now called Australia home. Building Bridges always had a strong Aboriginal line-up both behind the scenes and ‘in front of house’. It worked in conjunction with and raised funds for a national community based Aboriginal organisation. The engine wheels of the organisation was the huge amount of unpaid labour. Building Bridges was grass roots and operated on small amounts of monies. In contrast, ‘Reconciliation’ was a tool/vehicle introduced by politicians. Reconciliation was conceived by the well-intentioned Labour Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Robert Tickner, who in his own way, worked for bipartisan support. Three people representing Building Bridges went to Canberra for an appointment with Mr Tickner. The three were Kevin Cook representing Tranby Aboriginal College, Tony Duke representing Building Bridges and Delia Lowe from the Gerringa Land Council. On this visit, August 1989, the three presented a report which was a three year plan extending the Building Bridges objectives with ways and means of empowering Aboriginal Australia. The organisation received no response from politicians. However, things got considerably worse when the Liberals (conservatives) took over for two terms. Prime minister John Howard named Phillip Ruddock as Minister of Reconciliation. Both Howard and Ruddock ignored reconciliation and welcomed a new revamped version of the White Australia Policy (see Marr and Wilkinson 2003). The government’s departmental vehicle was the government financed Aboriginal organisation ATSIC, that provided a small number of Aboriginal employees salaried positions (see Literature Review). Those working in the poorly resourced community arts sector remained without big salaries.

The government’s inept attempt at reconciliation had no heart or soul. It was good for the politicians, bad for the country and still marginalised, are Black Australians. However, through the efforts of those involved in Kotahitanga and Building Bridges, new standards were set for Maoridom in Australia. Here was an attempt to actively support the tangata whenua by a group of ‘new arrivals’. The number of Maori in Australia meant that there was

\textsuperscript{22} Refers to the walk across Sydney Harbour Bridge for people to support Reconciliation.
some existing infrastructure to be utilised in this process. It also helped clarify the position of many Maori in determining their own status in another country.
The following chapter of this thesis allows the participants to contribute their understandings of the issues of cultural identity, conflict, resolution and solidarity. This chapter introduces many of the participants’ views on how they, as Aboriginal/Pasifika/mixed race, regard themselves and each other. Inevitably stereotypes were discussed and experiences exchanged. In this chapter, the first section primarily deals with what people had ‘heard’ about the Other and how their lived experience reinforced or contradicted this information. Most indicated a mutual respect for each other. However, many respondents expressed concern about the youth lacking ‘respect’ within their own communities and with others. This is briefly discussed in relation to potential identification with gang behaviours. The second section deals specifically with the inter-ethnic tensions in the Queensland district of Logan, the site of running battles between Aboriginals and Pasifka. This ‘underbelly’ of race relations should be of major concern to all of us. Following this rather uncomfortable and confronting section, the final chapter of this thesis is a restorative examination of the power of sport and music to bring these communities together.

Section One: What is Said and Heard About Each Other

In the early years I heard a lot of bad stories about Aboriginals, about their drinking and their carrying on, but after meeting them, quite a lot of them … and working with quite a few I think they have been very stereotyped. I think people are now more educated. I think people realise that all Aboriginals don’t sit around drinking grog all day. That there are a lot of them that are out there getting good educations and good jobs (Maori male, late 40s).

When asked to describe what they saw as differences between the two cultural groups, many respondents gave quite considered and thoughtful answers. For example:

There are numerous social, cultural and physical appearance differences between Maori and Aboriginal peoples, but I am cautious not to overstate the differences. My understanding is that Australian Aboriginals derive from nomadic tribes and have one of the most diverse set of languages in the world. Maori language is largely homogenous. European contact was still devastating for both Maori and Aboriginal peoples. It appears that Maori have fared much better than Aboriginal Australians, for example, the Treaty and language revival. Many Aboriginal Australians live in appalling third World conditions with extremely high mortality rates. School drop-out rates are much higher for Aboriginal peoples compared to non-Aboriginal people.
Aboriginal people also fare poorly in many healthy lifestyle indicators (Maori male, mid 30s).

For Aboriginal participants, there were quite clear points of distinction, both in terms of the characteristics of specific cultural practices, and also how the colonial experience was constructed. These respondents indicated that this has impacted on how each group has dealt with the post-colonial aftermath, as well as how their population groups are perceived by mainstream Anglo culture:

Different culture, a whole different way of doing things. In Aboriginal culture there’s 300-400 different nations, each one of these nations originally had their own language and their own culture, own way of doing things, not every Aboriginal mob around the country speak the same language, never practiced the same customs. When I go overseas and explain Aboriginal culture, I say look at a map of Australia as a map similar to Europe. In Europe the Belgian mob don’t speak the same languages as the Irish. With Aboriginal culture, when colonisation happened they threw everyone together as ‘Aboriginal’; they must speak the same language that definitely was not the case. This probably led to conflict and that kind a thing (Aboriginal male, late 30s).

The obvious things are the haka and cultural differences. Our commonality is that we come from the same skin people. We have that same shared experience. What makes us different is our culture. Other similarities are our families, but I do see a major difference in our visibility. Aboriginal people in Australia – we don’t seem that visible in this population. When I went to New Zealand, Maori people were everywhere: in the shops, on the streets, on television, everywhere. Why can’t we have this at home? That’s one BIG difference. People were telling me it’s because there is a smaller overall population in New Zealand as compared to Australia. [Also] we have this ‘recessive gene’ in us, Blackfellas, and start getting fairer and fairer (Aboriginal woman, early 40s).

For some Aboriginal participants, the trajectory of how colonisation was enacted is seen as having a different effect on the psyches of colonised cultures in Australia and New Zealand. This not only impacts on cultural pride, it is represented as having a residual role to play in modern identity formation. The following two responses clearly illustrate that the behaviour of the Australian government (in contrast to that in New Zealand) has continued to create barriers for a healthy Aboriginal identity. The second respondent also points out that the Australian government still fails to engage in repairing the damage and neglect:

In my experiences and from people I have met and people I know, Maori have a stronger identity of who they are. For people of Maori background that I know, their culture has been very important and very strong. They love to be identified – Indigenous Australians because of the history of the White Australia Policy, that took
a long time, but now basically we are proud and strong but our Maori brothers and sisters they have always had that strong cultural identity (Aboriginal male, 50).

Physically they’re bigger and have a healthy identity that is good for their mental health and they have the Treaty of Waitangi. Having the Treaty and having that part of your history acknowledged ... that you fought back formally. If you look at the Australian War Memorial it still does not have the Aboriginal heroes of the frontier war in the War Memorial, but the New Zealand one does (Aboriginal male, 42).

Many Maori respondents admit to being aware of the very different ways in which Aboriginal people in Australia and Maori in New Zealand are treated, and also how they are represented. There was also a theme that Maori had ‘adapted’ or ‘assimilated’, for better or for worse, more completely than has been the case for Aboriginal Australians. The following responses indicate that there is an understanding that the different historical experience has played a part in how the dominant forces at play have figured in these constructions:

You would think that White Australians were here before Aborigines. They don’t get a mention, they don’t get a look in. If they do, it’s to do with Black deaths in custody, it’s never good press, it’s always BAD. It’s totally different to how Maori get treated. In New Zealand everything is put under the microscope. We assimilated a lot quicker than the Aboriginal people. It’s been 200 plus years of colonisation ... we adapted a lot quicker for whatever reasons (Maori male, early 40s).

I think that Aboriginal people are deeply similar to Maori. They take deep pride in their people and their land. In an urban sense, I think they have similar challenges dealing with a legacy of hundreds of years of dispossession and cultural marginalisation. If Aboriginal and Maori are different it’s because of their experience in relation to their respective dominant culture. I feel that Aboriginal people are disrespected more than Maori here in Australia. That fact shocks and saddens me. In a personal sense, I have felt different to Aboriginals because they are the tangata whenua and I am their guest here in Australia (Maori male, 30s)

Racism in Australia

While virtually all participants had stories of racism both in New Zealand and Australia, many Polynesians described incidents they had experienced or witnessed in Australia as confronting on a scale they have not previously encountered. Anecdotally, Maori/Pasifika frequently express a version of: ‘Yeah, we’re easy-going, but we won’t take any racist shit’. The inference being that anyone who ‘gives me shit’ is going to get a fight. However, arguably, few have been exposed to the relentless, mindless, demeaning racism that rural Australia, in particular, represents. This next respondent had been shocked at the racism in
Australia, particularly country areas, when he had been mistaken for being Aboriginal. As a mild-mannered man, this first hand experience affected him deeply:

Especially in country places… I feel that Aboriginals are treated like dirt. They’re kicked to the back of the pub or in some places, they’re not even allowed in there. I’ve experienced it where I’ve been mistaken as an Aboriginal and I’ve gone into a shopping place in country NSW and they wouldn’t serve me and I’m standing there and thinking ‘What’s going on?’ and they wouldn’t serve me... I’ve asked the question, quite politely, and they said ‘Get your black arse out of here!’ It happened twice, first in the late 80s in Ashford and second in the early 90s, in a town called Texas (Maori male, 40s).

For many Maori/Pasifika, the sheer crudeness of the racism in Australia, particularly outside the capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne is shocking. One Maori Hip Hop artist gave the following account of when he was touring in Perth:

We toured with the famous Aboriginal singer [name withheld] in Perth. He was staying in the same hotel as us. At the bottom of the hotel was a bar called O’Malley’s. Everyone knows O’Malleys. It’s got a four leaf clover outside. We went into this bar, me and Dave. We proceeded to get a drink and [the Aboriginal artist] came down to get a drink and these guys wouldn’t serve him which I couldn’t believe. He kept standing there for ages. I said to Dave they’re not giving him a drink. It was embarrassing. He came back to the table and we left. I have a hideous outlook on Perth, the DUMP (Maori male, late 30s)

Most of the Polynesian respondents shared the view that racism in Australia was more pronounced, and worse, than they had experienced in New Zealand. They also identified that in Australia, it was far less likely that acts of racism brought any notion of reprisal or was considered unacceptable in the broader social context. They often attributed this to the lack of government commitment to effectively challenging such acts:

For those experiencing them, acts of racism are the same everywhere. They are always demeaning and a saddening shock. The context is important though. I find racism in Australia worse than racism in New Zealand, in the sense that there are more Maori proportionately there than Aboriginals in proportion to the Australian population. Australian racism feels more overwhelming. The feeling I have is that Aussie racists are less likely to be taken to task over their bigotry (Maori male, 43).

Here the degrees of racism are much more stronger than Aotearoa because in Aotearoa Maori people, the government and the legal system over there are a lot stronger and are more protective of Maori. I find racism much more open over here (Islander/Maori woman, 32).

When asked what brought out racism, or the differing environments in which it may occur, there were a range of responses. Commonly alcohol was cited as a factor, for example:
I’ve seen racism against Aboriginals and Pacific Maori Islanders. I’ve seen acts of racism where our own people have clashed with Aboriginals. It’s happened when we’re all drinking and everything started off nice but also it happens amongst ourselves. Just too much alcohol (Maori male, 40s).

There was also the position that inter-ethnic violence, frequently described as ‘racism’ took place within communities:

In short, racism in New Zealand and racism in Australia, they’re no different, it’s just racism. There is internal racism amongst our own, for example, inter-Polynesian, let alone other cultures. Ultimately this is a learned disease that is taught by whoever: elders, brothers, teachers, haters etc. I don’t differentiate racism at all (Samoan 40).

Clashes such as described in the above quotes are explored more fully in the second section of this chapter in regard to Logan.

Just like us
In the course of these interviews, it was striking how often Aboriginal, Maori and Pasifika respondents would talk about the differences between the cultural groups and finish – often laughing – with the sentence: ‘But, they’re just like us’. For example: ‘I heard a lot of negative stories about Aboriginal people until I got to know them: the drinking, the laziness, the bludgers … you weigh it all, there’s no difference. They’re just like us!’ (Maori woman, 50s). There was also a recognition of common ground, in a broad sense, in relation to spiritual understandings and cultural protocols. For example, a Maori respondent (late 40s) said: ‘I don’t think there’s too much difference. I think we are very similar. We both respect Mother Earth deeply and have similar cultural protocols to the world around us. We have respect for people of the land’. An Aboriginal woman musician who had travelled extensively back and forth to New Zealand made the observation:

I found a few commonalities, there’s the spirituality that comes through the protocols regarding the elders and ancestors. You get the community dances and the community bands. There’s a lot of old people and the musicians have to play some of the old stuff for them, you eat, and then you accommodate the young ones and how they interact. I got on good with them over there.

Given the stereotype of Polynesian aggression, this issue was explored. The following comments reflect how respect for each other’s traditions can go a long way to off-setting this image. These comments also embrace the notion that it is through exposure to each other, in a positive environment, that many of the misunderstandings and tensions may be averted:
I don’t think that Maori people are excessively aggressive. They’re like Aboriginal people to me. My experience of family – the men in my family are like Maori men I meet and Polynesian men. They have got their set of values and they stick by and guard them and stand up for them. I think the good stories outweigh the bad stories because I see examples of men with strong family values, strong cultural traditions, even though they enjoy a drink or two they love their sports too. That’s another common area that I can identify with (Aboriginal male, 30s).

It has to do with longevity of relationships. The Aboriginal culture is a very dignified culture and a very organised culture. Most of my stories have been around music. There has been some rivalry and it has never come to me personally. The good stories outweigh the bad stories. There is the stereotype ‘they’re big and they fight’ from my generation, but things have settled down. It’s a great place to be in – talking to the old men. The anger has been burnt off, common sense has rolled into place. We talk – there’s no sting in it (Aboriginal male, 66).

Further examples of ‘common ground’ emerged throughout the interview process. As one Islander DJ commented:

“Yes, most definitely. Music's deep in their roots - both cultures’ roots. You know, it's another form of storytelling for the, you know, Aboriginal people and the same with the Polynesians, you know. It’s another form of telling stories from the past, you know, and myths. Yeah, it's very strong (Cook Islander, early 30s).”

A frequent comment was the role of music in bringing these communities together:

‘Absolutely. I’ve sung with a lot of Maori groups, lots of Island groups. Music soothes the soul. When we put each other together and sharing our harmonies, its beautiful with Maori and Islanders’ (Aboriginal male, 66). A Cook Islander (aged 59), himself an artist and carver, contributed: ‘Yes it does. The same thing with the sports and the arts, they’re all embracing’. Another substantial point of familiarity and contact between the different cultural groups is sport. This was summed up in the following way: ‘Both communities love their sport. They really do. Being Indigenous there’s a strong bond. Hey, we love a good BASH UP! They love a good match up. They take the good with the bad, taking winning and losing the same. Both cultures love their sport’ (Aboriginal male, 50).

**Mixing it with the bros**

This sub-heading deliberately contains two meanings. Many participants had stories about how they get along with each other in work and social situations. Also there was reference to
the increasing rate of inter-marriage between Aboriginal families and Polynesians. The first comment is fairly typical of many exchanges:

What I could see over there [New Zealand] ... there was a bit more distinction between the Maori and the Polynesian Islanders. Over here it’s more Blackfellas versus Whitefellas. That’s why I get along with Maori over here and Polynesians. I get along with everyone (Aboriginal male, late 30s).

When talking about the increase of children being born in Australia to mixed cultural heritage, many cited Timana Tahu, the Aboriginal/Maori footballer at the centre of a ‘race row’ that is the subject of the next chapter of this thesis. For example: ‘Yes I believe we should support Aboriginal people – they support us, we are both from minorities, we both have been colonised by the same group of people. We should have more people like Timana Tahu’ (Maori male, 33).

Another respondent discussing distinguishing physical characteristics of the groups made the observation:

Well probably appearance. You can sort of tell a Maori walking down the street rather than an Aboriginal person. In saying that, there’s a lot of Maori people that married Aboriginal people, so there’s a mix now. Well Timana Tahu’s a classic example (Aboriginal male, 42).

Just as ‘racism’ was used by nearly all respondents to describe inter-cultural differences and rivalries, another term has crept into the lexicon, that of ‘half caste’. In this usage it has a different meaning from the traditional half Black, half White inference. A Maori participant had the following conversation:

Interviewer: How much contact have you had with the Aboriginal community?
Interviewee: Very little, but I do have some half caste Aboriginal family here in Australia.

Interviewer: How do you mean ‘half caste’?
Interviewee: Their mother is Maori and their father is Aboriginal.

It is not as though this is a new phenomenon. A Western Australian Aboriginal man told the following story:

Actually, there are a lot of Aboriginal people living in New Zealand. When I did my Bridging Course at uni, I met this one old Noongar lady who married a Maori bloke and had children to him. They went to New Zealand and lived there for 20 years, that was the arrangement, and then they came back to Perth to live (Aboriginal male, 30s).
As inter-marriage becomes more common there are those who embrace the new ‘combinations’, while maintaining an appreciation an awareness of cultural distinctions. A Cook Islander (30s) suggested: ‘Yeah, it would be quite a melting pot. A lot of people will be coming to Australia soon and there will be a lot of intermingling, which is cool, but you've still got to know where you've come from’.

In terms of exposure to different cultures, and ‘mixing’, often the stories returned to sport. One Maori father (40) explains how sport – being part of a team – can give kids a chance to interact outside of their own ethnic enclave:

My son plays in a Rugby League competition with quite a few Aboriginal boys, and Pacific Islander boys make up the team and also quite a few white Australian boys, and there’s no racism there. I think because they all go to school together at a sports school and, yeah, they all break away in their little groups, because the Tongan boys will mix with the Tongans, and the Maoris will mix with the Maoris but when they are together playing sports, it’s all on, it’s very much a team effort.

Dreams and reality: Neoliberalism, ghettoization and the impact on youth

A recurrent theme in the literature for this thesis, as well as the interviews, was about how the geographic locality of where somebody works and lives affects the quality of their lifestyle and can inform their views. This is both in relation to levels of acceptance and tolerance they experience and also the tolerance they may exhibit towards others. When a family has a good source of income and can live in a ‘nice’ house in a ‘nice’ neighbourhood and their children have a future, people tend have a more positive outlook. For many Polynesians arriving from New Zealand this is the dream. Also, presumably, for a considerable number it is the reality. For a Maori mother of five interviewed in Prior (2013), the act of migrating to Australia has been successful beyond her expectations. She and her husband had struggled on low paid jobs in New Zealand. For her, and those like her, the lifestyle was ‘unrecognisable’: ‘The whole ballgame has changed really. Now Geoff and I can afford to go out for dinner if we like - go away for the weekend and stay in a motel (Witehira in Prior, 2013). The article goes on to describe that the couple have bought a house, two cars, and had an investment property in the area.

Polynesians do seem to have a reputation for working hard – and some will make it. One of the Aboriginal respondents put it this way: ‘I find the Maori boys are more go-getters. Most
of the Maori boys I know are go-getters. They wanna work and earn money and that sort of stuff. Koorie fellas will just get the pension’ [laughs] (Aboriginal male, 42)

Paul Hamer’s extensive qualitative study of Maori in Australia (2007) also found many families happy with their move to this country, although there were reservations amongst older workers who had earned good money when they were younger, but had little provision for later years. There is growing evidence that the willingness to work hard and earn money may not be enough. As neoliberalism steadily erodes worker entitlements, more Polynesians are clustered in ‘at risk’ industries. According to Pawar (in Prior 2013), Maori were choosing to stay in Australia despite the fact many of them worked in unstable industries: ‘Yes, it is beneficial for Maori to migrate . . . and while they're working it's all good and fine. But they're working in these sectors which are very much vulnerable to change. So if anything happens in the place where they are working, they are out of a job’ (Pawar in Prior 2013). In addition, Pawar describes how this leaves them in an extremely vulnerable position because they do not qualify readily for social security benefits. In the blog accompanying this article, one respondent illustrates clearly that the political climate is changing, and with that, the opportunities that are sought by many Polynesian migrants in Australia are shrinking. She lives in New Zealand and her husband lives and works here, a story that in itself is becoming more common:

My husband lives and works in Brisbane. He left New Zealand last July, found a job within 2 weeks of landing, was given the opportunity to work 40-60-70 hour weeks - which of course he took. Earned enough to buy a decent car, pay his bills and ours [the family back here in NZ] AND since the ousting of Ms Gillard and in with Snowy [Tony Abbott] the overtime and long hour days have been cut straight off! He's applied for about 20 other full time roles where he is since then and no response to date. So yes, the Aussie economy isn't what they make it out to be. Personally, I prefer to remain here in good ol' NZ.

Other social welfare agencies and ordinary people are noticing this change. Bianca Lesema founded Tautoko Crew, a charity to help struggling New Zealanders who were at risk of losing their homes in Australia since the Australian government rescinded their rights to welfare benefits including unemployment and social housing: ‘We want to share the message back home that you have to have a backup plan, not just a dream’ (One News TVNZ, 2013). This policy is followed up in relation to the Queensland district of Logan later in this chapter. Another issue of concern for many respondents, was that of young people. These concerns clustered around perceived loss of cultural identity and values. A typical comment:
Youth, yes. You know a lot of Maori kids don't know their roots because they stay here and they lose their roots. We need to keep the community still strong together because through living away it just gets ... you can get pretty busy and tied up in your life and the next thing you know you've lost 10 years of back home and it happens (Cook Islander male, 37)

In generic anecdotal terms, migration and subsequent identity formation follows the three generation rule: the first generation continue to relate, in terms of language and customs, to ‘home’, the second generation bridge the world of ‘home’ and the new host country and the third generation identify primarily with the new country. It is this third generation that experiences significant issues if they are non-Anglo and therefore visible and ‘Other’ to an Anglo majority. For example, should a Pakeha New Zealand family migrate to Australia, the parents will have ‘funny’ accents, the second generation will be accent free and the third generation, will most likely identify as Australian. However, for Polynesian migrants the story is more complex. It is another thesis in itself, how Polynesian youth express a range of hybrid identities (see Harris, Carlson and Poata-Smith 2013; George and Rodriguez 2009; Helen Morton Lee 2003). While Pacific Islanders, particularly Samoans and Tongans have higher retention rates for language, these issues are becoming more pressing. As pointed out by Mila-Schaaf and Robinson (2010) Polynesians who are comfortable in both worlds, that is, secure in their cultural identities and equally at home in the Pakeha world, are the most successful.

Unfortunately, when youth are brought up in neighbourhoods that could be described as poorly serviced and offering few life opportunities, ethnic tensions and associated violence become a normal way of life (Rodriguez 2011; Bourdieu 1993). Similarly, in Aboriginal communities, disaffected youth are demonstrating behaviours that revolve around petty criminality that too easily escalates into more problematic levels of violence:

My nephews are running amok at the moment. They like to go up the coast [near Brisbane] and party and they’re disrespectful to everyone. I think everyone from that age bracket is going to get lots of publicity when they muck up and they do, and it’s not restricted to the Black community, it’s everyone, they got no respect (Aboriginal male, 30).

What may start as small time rivalries or jealousy can have tragic outcomes. This participant cited the example of a reality television show that was based around Maori on the Gold Coast, south-east Queensland, living it up in the sun. It received a great deal of coverage both in the mainstream press and on social media:
I think that coverage in the mainstream media generated a lot of ill-feelings. When I was in Tweed Heads, a young Maori was ‘d-jaying’ at clubs on the Gold Coast, got caught, and I think he was killed as a result of it. There were a couple of other incidents of bus drivers being attacked by younger people, 16 year olds, they were big kids of a solid build (Aboriginal male, 30).

Such incidents are becoming more common. While the Gold Coast may be synonymous with recreation and an easy life, it is actually a destination or gathering point for many young people who live a considerable distance away in significantly poorer areas. The term ‘ghettoization’ may appear harsh in the Australian context, an overstatement. However, given the deterioration in relations between the ethnicities under discussion, it is necessary to examine how the physical environment and economic circumstances of families contributes to the current intolerance. As one participant put it: ‘You put bad housing, financial stress and family breakdown into the mix and you have aggressive young men, young fellas with different attitudes, immature, ignorant and aggro’ (Aboriginal male, 30s).

Another Aboriginal respondent (mid 30s) summed up the social deterioration operating as a result of these pressures:

If you continue to group people of different communities together who are in low socio-economic situations, it becomes a fight for scarce resources and pits people against each other and you’ll see the very worst in people. You’ll also see that in the original White community in the housing commission areas, exactly the same will happen, and then the inter-generational and other factions form and they’re very difficult to unscramble to the point we have to move families, whole communities out into new areas. If you don’t have those binding elements, it just forms along war lines.

This social landscape is also a recipe for gangs (see Bellamy 2009). New Zealand has more gangs and more patched members than anywhere else in the world (Kemp 2007). An extensive study by the Ministry of Social Development (2008) in New Zealand identifies a series of interactive factors leading to greater gang involvement. All of these are applicable in the Australian context. Youth gangs and their associated anti-social behaviours appear to be strongly related to economic deprivation, and gangs are more likely to emerge in depressed or disorganised communities lacking a sense of pride. In such communities the parents’ engagement with their children can be limited by working long hours for poor pay, unemployment or the relentless financial pressure of being welfare dependent. In these contexts, gangs offer a source of financial and material gain and a sense of power in a world
where these young people feel otherwise completely powerless. They also provide feelings of ‘belonging’ where otherwise these young people feel excluded.

Using the example of Maori, parenting practices are affected by the loss of wider family networks and supportive structures. According to a New Zealand newspaper’s investigative article (Dominion Post 2009), Maori and Pacific Island gangs in Australia are regarded as second only to Lebanese gangs with offenders starting as young as fourteen with house and car burglaries. Existing gangs are actively recruiting Maori and Islanders. This phenomenon of escalation of ethnic gangs is an example of how many youth are identifying via their ethnicity in a way that is not healthy. As described by the Ministry for Social Development (2009, p1) ‘…cultural identity expressed in the wrong way can contribute to barriers between groups’. This is no doubt a reference to gang affiliations to the exclusion of other cultural groups.

At issue here is not just those Pasifika youth who are gang affiliated. Most youth are not drawn to the formal structure of gangs, but rather are seeking an identity place where they live. The physicality of Pasifika in a general sense may also be contributing to a perception of ‘gangs’ where in fact, it is simply a gathering of youth. The lack of resources and recreational options for youth of all ethnicities is a problem. Anecdotal evidence from youth workers is that a great deal of their time is spent justifying the meagre funding they have and lobbying to secure the next round. This thesis, therefore, supports the position that many of these animosities could be avoided, or at least greatly reduced, by improved funding for youth services on the ground, rather that downstream in the juvenile justice system.

It is evident that there needs to be other more positive points of engagement for these young people. As one musician put it:

A lot of people here need to become a little more aware of things like Koorie Radio. ...Even if their parents become aware they can make their choice. I just think they should become more aware of it. Aware of some Polynesian, Aboriginal cross get togethers. I think there should be more - because more Polys are living in Australia. I think there should be more interaction with New Zealand/Australia sort of stuff. I think it's possible now because there's so many people here living in Australia (Cook Islander, 39).

The challenge to our communities is about re-establishing our own values. Waquant (2009) points out that neoliberalism debases collective causes, calling them ‘excuses’, and justifies
and privileges individual endeavour. Throughout our joint colonial histories, our communities have defined themselves in resistance to Western/Pakeha values of competition, exploitation and valuing material and individual success over the well-being of the broader family/clan group. A failure to do this in the immediate future will have a deep legacy for our young people. The second part of this chapter now deals with the consequences of allowing the ‘system’ to define our values and undermine our collective and consocial ways of seeing ourselves and each other.

Section Two: There Goes the Neighbourhood

Logan city

This section focuses on the shire of Logan in south east Queensland. In Queensland generally there has been a significant escalation of Maori and Pacific Islanders arriving. These communities are projected to continue to grow rapidly with 21 percent of migrants from New Zealand identifying as either Maori or ‘Pacific Islander’. Consequently New Zealand is Queensland’s largest source of migrants (Queensland Health 2011; Department of Immigration 2008).

In Queensland (as elsewhere) Polynesians are living in relatively high numbers in lower socio-economic suburbs (Hamer 2007). Logan is one such area. According to Logan City Council (2013) the boundaries of Logan City itself have changed and expanded to include a much greater population. Prior to 2008 it had approximately 170,000 people and now it is 293,353. This makes it the sixth largest local government area in Australia. Using ABS (2012) figures, the council website claims there are 215 ethnicities represented and a third of the population is under twenty years of age. Given the recent local council manoeuvrings around boundaries and resources, it appears Logan has been created in an ad hoc fashion from fusing together a vast area from the Gold Coast to Beaudesert. It has six cemeteries and one art gallery.

While Queensland has a nice climate in which to be unemployed, the neoliberal realities of long term prospects for the youth in such places as Logan are extremely limited. Referring to ghettos in France and the United States, Bourdieu (1993) speaks of a process of ‘de-civilization’ whereby parents are very concerned about their children’s life chances and a breakdown in fundamental forms of respect. He also describes how antagonisms in such
places rapidly become racialised. In the local Australian context, as discussed in the Literature Review of this thesis, in such environments, the youth tend to congregate along ethnic lines. In this section I question how the relationship between Maori/Islander and Aboriginal groups that was so supportive two decades ago, has disintegrated.

This section therefore sets out a range of behaviours and events that have led to the present state where Aboriginal communities have come to resent the perceived arrogance of Polynesian migrants in their suburbs and who are experiencing a certain displacement and intimidation by the rapid growth of Polynesian migrants. These migrants would appear to be not only failing to exhibit cultural respect to the *tangata whenua* of this country, but in some cases are contributing to the racism and belittlement of Aboriginal people in their own country.

This issue is not unique to Queensland. An article by Gosch (2007) describes rolling street brawls between Maori and Aboriginal youth in Perth that had been going on for five years. However, what has transpired in Logan, in particular around the brutal slaying of Aboriginal man, Richard Saunders in 2008, is a microcosm of this deterioration and has deeply shocked all these communities. Richard Saunders was the uncle of famed rugby league footballer, Jonathan Thurston. Subsequently eight Samoans (four of them minors) have been jailed in relation to the attack. This section will then go on to examine how social and economic structures are implicit in the underlying conditions that lead to such ‘ethnic clashes’ being normalised in certain communities.

**The Richard Saunders story**

The following is an example of one blog site in relation to the aftermath of the murder of Richard Saunders. Here Aboriginal people vented their outrage at what had occurred. The president of the Logan Elders association, who did not want to be named for fear of retribution, claimed Aboriginal children had been called ‘coons’ by Islanders, and spat upon in buses. The uncle of the murdered man, Wayne Saunders, said Aboriginal elders had decided to cut all cultural ties with New Zealand Maori, even though they were not linked to the killing, and other Pacific Island groups, because of alleged continuing violence by
Islanders: ‘Enough is enough. We want to sever all ties with the Maoris and Samoans until they are taught cultural respect’ (The State I’m In, 2008).

All participants in this thesis were greatly disturbed by this tragedy. One respondent was a family friend of Richard Saunders and grew up with his mother:

He was a bit of a comedian Richard and he was slight of build. I’ve got to stop imagining how he died it was horrific, HEINOUS. He was macheteed to death. He was helpless. At the end of the day our people were warriors, you don’t fucking do that. If you’re Indigenous with your warrior spirit that’s not cultural protocol to do that, to hurt someone of that nature, who’s drunk lying on the ground (Aboriginal woman, 59)

This point, about ‘Warrior cultures’ was a common thread. A Samoan youth worker (43):

Both cultures are warrior cultures and no one wants to back down when their people are murdered so it is understandable that Aboriginal people in general would be furious as they deserve to. I am not sure who started it but no one deserves to be murdered in any misunderstanding, full stop. Excessive force was used and people from any culture including Samoans should not do this. It reflects badly on the Samoan communities everywhere in Australia, let alone the world. As a Samoan who has worked for Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islander organisations I am personally disappointed. Whether it was Jonathan Thurston’s family or not. This is not acceptable here or in Samoa or anywhere.

Feeling under siege

For many Aboriginal respondents, there is a feeling of being under siege by so many Polynesians occupying suburbs with a high Aboriginal population. Speaking specifically of Logan another participant explained:

It’s an unfortunate suburb, it’s a low socio-economic area and I think that brings out some of the worst qualities in people. If you’re broke all the time, you’re pissed off all the time. There’s a drug economy and that’s the only cash and with that comes violence. The Polynesian community has grown a lot too, exponentially compared to the Aboriginal population. Communities that see that happening can feel threatened (Aboriginal male, 30s).

The Aboriginal female participant cited above went on to put this event in a wider context of abuse suffered by Aboriginal people: ‘We have been suffering this situation for years where Pacific Islanders or Maori have turned on our people. This was not an isolated incident NO NO NO . That’s why the biggest mob of Blackfellas went in there … they were fed up, FED
There was recurrent criticism of a lack of respect afforded Aboriginal people by Maori and Islanders. This respondent had been part of cultural exchanges between Australia and New Zealand for many decades. She was shocked and dismayed by the behaviour she has seen here in recent years and argues that this is not how to treat each other’s community:

The way I see it, a lot of people are blinded to what’s really going on. When they come here they have consciously or unconsciously adopted the stance of the White man when they invaded this country – NO RESPECT. I’m not saying that Samoans/Polynesians don’t have it. They do have it – like common ground, we have camaraderie with Indigenous peoples like Native Americans. From my belief system when I got to New Zealand I say: “I’m Aboriginal from Australia. I want to pay my respects. I want to put my protocols in place and ask who I should talk to and who I shouldn’t talk to and where I can walk and where I can’t walk”. That’s what I do when I visit another country and I take that with me.

Another participant, an Aboriginal/South Seas Islander23 woman who prefers to be described as ‘mature’, agrees this behaviour is the antithesis of cultural protocols that are shared between Indigenous peoples:

I have heard Maori people being insulting to Aboriginal people. I say: “You were brought up over here, because if you were brought up in New Zealand with your people you would not be speaking like this because your mother would knock your block off, especially your mother, it’s very disrespectful.

Both these women blame racism in the sense that visitors to this country have often only heard stereotypical and derogatory things about Aboriginal people from the White establishment and do not question it:

At the end of the day you get people who come here wanting to make it, wanting to fit in, but what are the young people’s cultural protocols when they meet Aboriginal people? They learnt so good from Whitey, “If I just stay away from them Aboriginals … I’ll be OK”. Indigenous peoples from other cultures have been sucked into this, when the going gets tough “blame those fuckin Abos” (Aboriginal woman, 59)

Many Maori and Pacific Islanders use the word ‘Abo’ in reference to Aboriginal people. Given the historical racist usage of this term, this is often a bad start to relations. Further, this same participant argues that such racism becomes internalised and that often young Islanders

As participants are self-identified, this refers to heritage from the ‘South Sea Islanders’, or Kanaks, brought to labour on the sugar plantations of Queensland in the 19th and 20th centuries.
appear oblivious to how they themselves are caught up in this process of demonising the ‘Other’:

They don’t have to go with the flow of the White man, putting themselves in slots above the Aboriginal - a bouncer at a niteclub with a floral shirt. At the end of the day that White man has ‘nigger-rised’ them too. You’re good for nothing but putting in front of a niteclub to keep people away because you’re a big brawny Pacific Islander. That’s the only image I’ve got of you, that’s all you’re good for in this country. We’ll exploit you, we’ll demonise you.

That’s the whole thing about coming here and wanting to make it. What I would like is for Maori/Polynesian people to look at their own protocols with their respect to land, it’s that simple and apply them here. You know if you are an Indigenous person, you don’t go to another Indigenous person’s country and get stuck into another group of people, demonise and demoralise another brother and sister from that country. You have got to respect them. They are not a scapegoat to make you feel good about yourself and especially don’t do that if you’re Indigenous. That goes across the board, whitefellas included (Aboriginal woman, 59).

To what extent older community members are coming to grips with this racist behaviour amongst Polynesian youth is open to debate. The Aboriginal/South Seas Islander woman cited above is also a radio journalist. She describes her impressions of the Samoan community in the aftermath of the murder:

That was a really sad time, there have been conflicts between Murris and Islanders in Brisbane. When this happened it was a real shock to the community and a lot of them are Christians and follow the church. There were huge meetings with North Brisbane Samoans and South Brisbane Samoans asking the question “What was all this about?” It really freaked a lot of people out because in Brisbane, it has always been police chasing Aboriginal people and all of a sudden it was Pacific Islander people. It was very freaky - it embarrassed the Samoan community because of their moral standards. You don’t see this kind of conflict, these days there’s a lot of inter-marriage between the two.

There have been some Samoan community members who have tried to rationalise the violence in terms of retaliation for an alleged bashing of two Samoan boys shortly before the attack on Richard Saunders. One anonymous community member blamed the Aboriginal community: ‘It's not something that our boys would do, just walk up and beat him to death, it's something that they started’ (The State I’m In 2008). However, for most people interviewed in this thesis, this excuse was regarded as inadequate regardless of provocation.
They did just walk up – in numbers – and beat him to death. There was also a further disturbing revelation. In the ensuing court case, details emerged that as a result of a minor assault, some young Samoans felt that their pride had been hurt and sought help from older members of their community. In summing up the case, Justice Atkinson (cited in Keim 2011) concluded: ‘A moment’s reflection would have caused them to realise the juveniles were not really hurt’.

This has implications in regard to cultural responsibility. Without knowing the ages of the ‘older’ community members it is difficult to surmise what actually happened at that point that led to such a barbaric attack on a defenceless man. What is clear is that the community needed to regard this as a ‘wake up call’. The very conservative Samoan community in Brisbane did take a series of conciliatory actions. Seven hundred Samoans and two hundred Aboriginal people came together in an attempt to understand, to mourn and to learn. It now remains to be seen how well these lessons have been learnt. Given the series of events described below in relation to the 2013 Logan ‘riot’, there is still a long way to go.

A superiority complex?

One of the common criticisms levelled at Polynesians has been ‘arrogance’ – thinking they are better than Aboriginal people. As one Maori respondent (aged 43) put it: ‘Maori are more confident, bordering on arrogance sometimes. They have too much to say. They should listen a bit more’. Another Maori interviewee (aged 59) speaking as to what he thought were the underlying reasons for this arrogance suggested that perhaps Maori should do some serious self-reflection:

I don’t think there’s any difference basically [between us]. Often Maori, some Maori, don’t actually acknowledge the support that Indigenous people from Australia need. They tend to look down on the Indigenous from Australia and some from the Pacific too. They behave like White people and are very disrespectful.

A Cook Islander (aged 30) brought up in New Zealand made the observation that when he came over here he was told, mainly by Anglo Australians in the workplace, that Aboriginal people do not work and are always on the dole: ‘It was just the same growing up with Maori people as well. Yeah, we were told the same thing from the Pakeha’. By making this point, this participant raises the issue that this is what happens with racism, or the physical stereotyping of ethnic groups. Once it becomes entrenched it simply gets passed on down the
line to the latest group who is at the bottom. As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the language and notional construction of ‘racism’ is being employed differently in the modern context. For example, another Maori (aged 42) confirms his experience of this from New Zealand:

Racism is racism. You get racism within Maori, against one another: who’s more Maori than the next Maori, you got the black-arsed Maori looking at the fair Maori, who look like Pakehas… that’s inner racism from your own people and then you got Islanders on Maori, it’s infinite the racism.

Interestingly, ‘racism’ has now become a problem for Black and Brown people in regards to each other.

How race becomes the ‘face’: social control of the poor

The following is an account of yet another local vendetta in the run-down suburbs of Brisbane and Sydney. The participant is an Aboriginal community worker:

I know some of the Aboriginal mob involved - it was ‘tit for tat’ kinda of thing that was going on for a while. One of the fellas had their house firebombed so he had to move out of Goodna [Brisbane suburb] and the other guys retaliated back. It’s the nature of the beast with people sticking with their mob. People are always going to flex up and say we are better than you are and there’s gonna be some conflict going on. The area where these things are happening are low socio-economic areas, we’re talking about Campbelltown and Goodna out west of Brisbane. You put those mobs in a bit of poverty, boredom, high unemployment, a drug economy and violence. That’s how they make money and they’re fighting over it and you add drugs and alcohol in a big way and very soon they’re charged up and off their heads (Aboriginal male, 42).

As this participant points out throughout this section, these are predictable responses. As pressure builds, communities suffer in triplicate. There are violent behaviours exhibited on the domestic front between family members. There are attempts to exert a claim on the streets between different ethnic communities in the same geographical location, and there are the ‘traditional’ taunts and subjugation inherent in the wider White community and its agencies. This respondent goes onto describe how these negative forces interact to contribute to the high likelihood of criminal activity:

We have seen concentrated areas of social disadvantage will eventually fracture those communities, break them down along racial lines as we have seen on occasion. Without sport, the arts and other vehicles to get that social inclusion, it just becomes a
power play – who has the most members, which reinforces the clusters, even more because its safety in numbers. It’s interesting to note that in every community that comes under pressure you’ll see people crack and go into crime.

Several participants themselves have spent considerable time in and out of jail. Growing up as a non-Anglo in extremely poor areas, whether urban or regional, brings people into frequent contact with police and other judicial instrumentalities. Many others have friends and relations who have been in jail. As Waquant (2009) points out, certain neighbourhoods are inundated with police while denying employment, education and other life opportunities. Areas of high welfare dependence and ‘alternative’ drug economies are regarded by the state as high risk, criminal locations that require vast resources in policing. When these services of the state are multiplied, inevitably there will be an increase in ‘law and order’ issues and detection and incarceration of community members: ‘Welfare provision and criminal justice are thus animated by the same punitive and paternalist philosophy’ (Waquant 2009, p.16). Instead of the public authorities being a buffer against poverty, their role is transformed into a weapon in a war against the poor.

The high incarceration rates of Aboriginal people have been extensively documented. However, a less understood dynamic is that there is a disturbing anecdotal trend that for some youth jail can be viewed as a refuge from other forms of suffering. Jail, in some cases, has become viewed as a ‘rite of passage’. It is also where ethnicity is the sole identity marker between inmates and jail protocol dictates that you always side with your own. As a consequence it has become yet another place where Aboriginal and Polynesian animosities are played out.

In many ways jails are preferable for Aboriginal men because they are kings in there, they are lords of all creation. In there they actually return to the hierarchy of the country. You could also argue that there’s a resistance movement - the army is inside the jail. They are ones who have stolen the cars who are still resisting through various means, if I can’t get it fairly, I’ll get it anyway. Just from my own boxing days I used to look at the physical specimens inside when we did a few jail programs, there’s our World Champions right here! (Aboriginal male, 42).

For some Polynesians, jail is often the first place they come into sustained contact with Aboriginal people. One participant ‘Joe’ described his experience in a New South Wales jail. While inside, Joe had an Aboriginal cellmate who he got on with. He learnt and discovered aspects of Aboriginal life that were completely unknown to him. The existence of mission
stations was an eye-opener: that you had to get permission to leave the mission and a white
guy would ultimately be the arbiter of when you could leave, for how long, and when you
would return. The cellmate gave Joe his ‘Land Rights’ baseball cap. Joe started wearing the
cap outside the cells. In the jail yard he was approached by a Polynesian and told to take the
cap off. The approach was friendly and not aggressive in itself. He was also told by an
Aboriginal inmate not to wear the cap. The approach was also friendly. He, of course, wanted
to know why, and it was explained to him: about seven years ago in Goulburn jail, which was
maximum security and a very tough jail, a fight broke out between Islanders and Aboriginal
inmates. The result was five dead Aboriginal inmates and two Islanders who also died. As
explained by Joe, ever since then, when heavy shit goes down in the jails, prisoners split up
into ethnic divisions. Other anecdotal stories tell of Maori and Islanders acting together (as
Polynesians), Asians, Lebanese and Indigenous all in physical dispute with each other. On
normal days inside correctional institutions the relations are often enough cordial and
respectful, but when a bad incident occurs ethnic divisions emerge.

Welfare and Warfare

I wasn’t surprised by Logan. I was brought up in Macquarie Fields. If communities
are thrown together without visible means of support to survive, they turn on each
other. I’ve seen domestic violence increase because the wife and her man ... their
expectations. He wants to improve her situation. The man can’t live up to it, he takes
his frustration out on the wife and then feels emasculated. You have this horrible
cycle kicking in. Every woman wants to improve her lot for her family BUT he can’t
get a job. It’s like they have been deliberately set up for conflict and once there’s
conflict... We are now with a government that sees unemployment as the person’s
fault, you haven’t lifted yourself up by the bootstraps regardless, whatever is your
disadvantage, whether it’s racial, physical or mental, it doesn’t matter. This is what
happens when the social justice component of your government leaves the building
(Aboriginal male, 42).

As this participant points out so clearly, there is a strong correlation between the physical
environment, life opportunities, and the rates of violence both within the home and on the
streets. Without employment, and with or without a family to support, choices are radically
reduced and many turn to petty crime for survival. He also observed this was happening more
frequently to Polynesian community members in congested, run down suburbs: ‘The fact that
people come over [to Australia] to get a life, they can’t get a job and they have no choice.
Every man and woman needs a basic amount to survive – legally’. When this does not happen, crime inevitably follows.

In summary, neoliberalism creates the conditions for poverty (tapering away the welfare state, lowering the minimum wage, wider acceptance of casualised employment and unemployment), then sets about criminalising the behaviour of the poor. This has been exacerbated by encroaching hurdles placed before welfare recipients. Under recent Liberal and Labour governments, the ‘mutual obligation’ system for welfare has been toughened considerably. Now there only needs to be one missed appointment or failure to submit a form and the person is breached and payments suspended. Welfare groups have been alarmed by these measures (see The Australian April 24th 2013).

This causes considerable hardship in Aboriginal and Polynesian communities where often there may be unreliable access to the internet, or mail not being received because of high rates of itinerancy. This situation is also made worse by the rules surrounding ‘New Zealanders’ not having access to any forms of government support or benefit for two years after arrival. As many Polynesians are arriving in Australia and staying with family, there has been the expectation that they would quickly find work. However, more frequently, this is difficult and they cannot receive benefits.

Once again, Logan has been at the forefront of this issue. In another tragic example of the two communities fighting each other, running clashes between Aboriginal and Pacific Islander families in January 2013, led to calls for a summit on having these exclusionary policies scrapped (McKenna 2013). While it is of some importance that repressive and inadequate welfare provision has been identified as a factor in such social unrest, it is still of great concern that economic pressures should lead to violence being perpetrated on the Aboriginal community. On December 17, 2012, a young seventeen year old Aboriginal lad, Jackson Doolan, was struck by a train. It was alleged he had jumped onto the tracks to escape his attackers. Most coverage did not stipulate the ethnicity of his attackers, however National Indigenous Times columnist, Dr Woolombi Waters, was in Logan and was moved by the number of young people who set up a vigil and left graffiti, flowers and cards of love for the young Murri teenager. Dr Waters wrote of Doolan being killed while trying to get away from a number of Samoan men (National Indigenous Times, December 11, 2013).
The Aboriginal community was understandably furious and upset. More than 300 mourners gathered at St Paul’s church in Woodridge. Pastor John Tonga stressed the message of unity amongst Indigenous people. Jackson’s cousin Richard Kriss said many young men in the community were angry and were ready to fight to avenge Jackson’s death but community leaders/elders were urging them to allow justice to run its course (Courier Mail, January 4, 2013). However despite repeated representations by the Aboriginal community, the police appeared reluctant to react. On January 14, 2013 a rolling street riot broke out between Aboriginal and Pacific Islander community members.

Regardless of any official or legal outcomes, these battles five years on from the murder of Richard Saunders, give a clear indication that the Polynesian community has not adequately addressed the issues. Where is the leadership? Islander communities are extremely religious and spend a great deal of their time, energy and money supporting their churches. It is clear that there must be a push for the church leadership to ‘stand up’. It is evident community leadership is lacking. It is up to Maori and Pacific Islanders to educate themselves about the Aboriginal struggle and to cultivate respect between the two groups. We are the manuhiri, or guests in this country. In the words of Aboriginal elder, ‘Uncle’ Wayne Saunders: ‘Until they [elders] can teach their people cultural respect, they are visitors here to our country … we say it’s not good enough’ (The State I’m In 2008)
CHAPTER EIGHT: THE UNIQUE AND POWERFUL ROLES OF SPORT AND MUSIC

Sport and music are two domains in which Indigenous and Polynesian people excel. This chapter describes the ways in which the mediums of sport and music are able to heal wounds and forge respectful relationships. This chapter will first explore sport. There is insight into how participants regard the opportunities for their communities to achieve acceptance and recognition within the wider Australian context, as well as in their dedicated communities and importantly with each other. In the course of these interviews inevitably racism was raised in relation to sport in Australia. Despite a significant proportional over-representation of both groups in Australian football codes, there is still not a corresponding representation in other associated areas of opportunity, such as trainers, coaches, administrators and commentators. In addition, while the rhetoric around ‘social inclusion’ and a disavowal of racism is frequently expressed by each of the Australian football codes, quite shocking incidents of blatant racism continue to occur. In 2013, Aboriginal AFL Swans player, Adam Goodes was abused as he left the field by a thirteen year old girl, but perhaps worse was the ‘joke’ by high profile media personality Eddie McGuire in relation to this incident. This chapter explores this issue with focus on Rugby League’s Timana Tahu walking out of the State of Origin camp in 2010. As Timana has both Indigenous and Maori heritage, respondents continued to hold strong feelings about this story some three years on. I have employed discourse analysis in relation to the media surrounding both the historical record of racism in Australian sport, and the contemporary examples. This chapter concludes with some of the many positive stories of the role music can play in regard to bringing our communities together.

Section One: Sport and the Myth of the Level Playing Field

Racism in Australian sport – language warning

The AFL Players Association of the Victorian based ‘Aussie Rules’, stated that seventy-nine Indigenous players were listed in the code in 2013, approximately ten per cent of all AFL players. This compares favorably to Rugby League where there is approximately an eleven percent Indigenous participation rate. The Polynesian rate is considerably higher. Estimates vary between thirty percent at elite level and significantly higher in the lesser tiers. Averaging changing figures that are available, the National Indigenous Times resident commentator and ex-player, Tonie Curry, suggests that Rugby League now has a combined
Indigenous/Polynesian representation of roughly fifty percent. If half the players in these codes are non-Anglo, it could reasonably be expected that this is reflected in other positions within clubs and boards: trainers, coaches, media personalities and panel members. However, this is far from being the case. As Australian sports academic Colin Tatz described the situation:

Sport is a mirror of many things. It reflects political, social, economic and legal systems. It also reflects the Aboriginal experience … For Aborigines and Islanders, there has been exclusion from competition, discrimination within it, and at times gross inequality of chances, choices and facilities (in Gorman 2012).

Apart from what could only be described as systemic failure to encompass representative participation aligned with these sports, there is also the specific, targeted racial vilification that players, particularly Indigenous players, endure. This chapter examines this dynamic through the response to Timana Tahu who famously walked out of the New South Wales State of Origin training camp after key strategist (and Rugby League Immortal24) Andrew Johns, referred to Aboriginal player, Greg Inglis, as ‘a black c--t’. The reaction to this incident will be explored through media responses on both sides of Tasman as well as through the opinions of participants. This chapter begins with a brief history of Indigenous involvement in Rugby League, AFL, and to a lesser extent Rugby Union. It examines what these sports mean in these communities and explores the community responses to other incidents of blatant racism. It further explores how sport continues to offer hope and opportunity for individuals and entire communities and plays a crucial role in potentially bringing the two communities under discussion in this thesis together.

**Historical landmarks of racism among Australian football codes**

Rugby League was first played in Australia in 1908. The first Indigenous player was George Green who played for Eastern Suburbs in 1909 until 1911 and North Sydney from 1912 until 1922. George Green was also a coach. This was quite a remarkable achievement in the prevailing social context. The oppressive laws and regulations governing the lives of Aboriginal people were extreme (see Literature Review). The greatest impediment to Aboriginal people playing in Sydney and Brisbane was the restriction on free movement

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24 The Immortals are a fantasy team comprised of the best players of all generations. One is voted an Immortal on the agreement of a panel of experts and inclusion is arguably the highest honour an Australian Rugby League player could be awarded.
imposed upon them by state governments with many Indigenous Australians forced to live in reserves or missions. In the early 1900s some Aboriginal athletes had little option but to deny identifying as Aboriginal out of fear of government restrictions and prejudice that treated them as second class citizens. For reasons described elsewhere in this thesis, the complete early history of Aboriginal footballers may never be uncovered, and the full story of others is still open to conjecture and rumour, for example, Newtown’s Billy and Viv Farnsworth who toured with the 1911-12 Australian international touring side, the Kangaroos.

In terms of the public record, Lionel Morgan was Australia’s first Indigenous League International. Morgan moved from Tweed Heads to Brisbane in 1958 and was the first Aboriginal to play a test for Australia having been selected on the wing in 1960 and scoring two tries on debut. ‘Lionel suffered from racism all through his career, especially from opposition players and supporters as he was the star of the team’ (Jackson 2010). However, Morgan states that ‘black c--t’ was more offensive than anything he had heard while playing in the 1960s. He also feels that Andrew Johns should be stripped of his position in the Team of the Century because of his comments aimed at the Queensland players. Morgan wanted to congratulate Tahu and urged Johns to apologise (Jackson 2010).

The first Rugby Union match in Australia was in 1864. Aboriginal Australia’s first representative Union player was Frank Ivory who played for Queensland in 1893-94 while Lloyd McDermott was the first to play for his country in 1962. McDermott whose tribal name was Mullenjaiwakka, was inducted into the Aboriginal Sporting Hall of the Fame in 2010. He was studying law and playing for the university club in the Brisbane Rugby Union competition. McDermott is still irritated that he was called ‘Black Jack’ on the football field more than forty years ago. However, as he points out, this occurred mainly at a local level rather than in the upper echalons of the game: ‘Racism was particularly rampant in club football when I was playing but I never experienced any overt racism or name calling while playing at the higher level, either for my state or for Australia’ (in Kogoy 2010). In 1963 McDermott moved to Rugby League when he refused to tour apartheid South Africa with the Wallabies: ‘I was asked to sign a piece of paper to say I was a token white. I was shocked and appalled. I switched to Rugby League and had the honour of playing alongside Lionel Morgan and my cousin Bill’.

25 For more on the topic of racism, sport and identity please see Maynard (2002).
Country League: ‘racist from top to bottom’

Rural and regional Australia have always produced a large number of top quality footballers. The local sides also enjoy community support on a passionate scale. This section will examine the scale of racism that was both historically evident and apparently still active in these areas. The emphasis here is on New South Wales, but other states, particularly those considered ‘frontier states’ such as Queensland, arguably have worse stories to tell. To put this in perspective, in the 1960s, prior to the referendum to confer human status on Aboriginal people, country New South Wales was a segregated backwater. As described in the Literature Review, ambitious and brave university students including Charlie Perkins and Jim Spigelman embarked on the Freedom Rides to country towns. Their aim was to draw attention to racial segregation in Australia’s regional areas. When they arrived in Moree, a ‘mission’ town with a high Aboriginal population in New South Wales in 1965 they demanded Aboriginal kids should have access to the local swimming baths. According to press coverage at the time, they were met with a ‘crowd crazed with race hate’ (Stone 1965, see also Perkins 1993).

It would appear not a great deal has changed in Moree despite the dismantling of the mission. The story surrounding the banning of the local team, the Boomerangs, in the 1990s reflects many of the deep rooted issues affecting a town such as Moree. Allegations of bad behavior by Aboriginal spectators at football matches led to the ban which lasted over a decade. Noeline Briggs-Smith, born in 1940, is a Gamilaroi woman who wrote an account of the history of the Moree Rugby League club. The earliest photograph of a Moree Aboriginal League club called the Boomerangs dates to 1925. Her research covers the story of the club until its expulsion in 1998.

Dick Estens is a white well-connected cotton farmer from Moree who shot to national prominence when the Howard Government invited him to head an investigation into bush telecommunications. Estens himself is sympathetic to the situation in the town. However, his expertise in communications and high public profile did little in getting the Boomerangs back on the park. He told the Sydney Morning Herald that the League administration was rife with racism: ‘They think they include Aboriginal people but they don’t have a clue. Rugby League ... it’s got a problem’ (in Lewis 2009). Estens and others fought hard for the eventual reinstatement of the club after eleven years in the wilderness. He has been nominated for an
award for his work on Aboriginal employment. He argued the return of the club would produce massive benefits for Moree’s Indigenous population:

The single biggest thing it does is it pulls the community together. Sport is a catalyst for change. When we don’t have a football team everything suffers when it comes to social issues like unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse but Rugby League is about discipline. They know where they’re going to be on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday nights for training. They know they are going to be playing football on Saturday afternoon. Discipline can lead to employment and other opportunities down the track. That is what Rugby League can do (Estens in Lewis 2010).

Commentators such as Briggs-Smith, Estens and others agree that having the team out of the competition had a ‘domino effect’ leading to more crime, unemployment and substance abuse.

The President of the relevant sporting body Group 19, Paul McRae, notes that there were no official complaints of racial abuse taken to the committee for the many years he had been involved. McRae assured the *Sydney Morning Herald* that he does not condone racism but it has always been an issue in bush Rugby League: ‘I do not know that it will ever go away. With the highly competitive nature of the game, things are said on the spur of the moment that are often regretful’ (in Lewis 2010). This reinforces the point brought up by participants in the previous chapter. Racism in Australia does not seem to be challenged in the way it is in New Zealand and arguably other First World countries. McRae explains racist comments as ‘spur of the moment’, others dismiss such abuse as a ‘joke’. However, there are calls for this issue to be addressed.

**Sport and society: Australia’s refusal to deal with racism**

In regard to the Adam Goodes incident (being called an ape by a 13 year old girl), an ABC radio commentator made the following statement:

Adam Goodes has had to live with racism his entire life, just like other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and other racial minorities. They are the ones who have to deal with it, and clearly it hurts. It is the year 2013 and it is about time that we say that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people - as well as all other racial and ethnic groups - have the right not to have to cop racial vilification because someone was ignorant (Riseman 2013).
Possibly, it was even more scandalous that well-known media personality, Eddie McGuire, in the aftermath of this incident made reference to Goodes being a good choice to play the part of King Kong. He agreed to apologize to Goodes but did not resign (see ABC 2013). A spokesman for the Human Rights Commission observed: ‘What he did [Eddie McGuire] was probably giving way to the temptation to have a joke … but for the first time we were able to deal with this next level of what’s called casual racism’ (in Collins, 2013, p.8). In many ways this sums up the ‘great Australian defence’ – it’s just a joke.

For Indigenous communities this issue persists and the younger generation are becoming less tolerant of racism being ignored as a problem. As an example, an Aboriginal/South Sea Islander female respondent (mature aged) shared her views:

> It’s been a part of football for decades. People of colour on the football field have copped racist comments some people have brushed it aside, for others it’s very upsetting. It depends where you are and how you were brought up. I felt that it only happened at school but I learnt that it happened after school. A lot of Black footballers would get them later off the field and punch the crap out of them. We have got footballers in our family. Because racism sucks, you don’t have to put up with it, because times have changed, we don’t have to cop it now and why should we?

Michael Anderson (Nyoongar Ghurradjong/Murri Ghillar) is an Aboriginal activist and leader of the Euahlayi tribe of 3,000 people living in north western NSW. He was one of the original activists who helped set up the Aboriginal Tent Embassy and had an influential role in the Australian Black Power Movement. In the 1970s he found success as a Rugby League player in Sydney and Brisbane, then ended his playing days in the bush. Anderson was involved in the administration side of Country League and has been an organiser for the immensely popular annual Aboriginal Rugby League Knock Out competition.

Anderson knows that the furore surrounding Tahu handing back his Blues jersey is not an isolated incident. He has witnessed the racist behaviour of administrators, players, fans and referees. Racism pervades the whole spectrum of the sport. Anderson encountered the language used by Johns in his playing days and maintains it is still used by country players and tolerated by country officials: ‘That’s what caused a lot of fights. I don’t go to games anymore because all you hear is people calling Aboriginal people, black bastards, black c--ts … racism is rife in the game’ (in Lewis 2010). He also bears out the position described by the previous respondent about Indigenous football players having to have physical fights in order to preserve some semblance of identity and pride when provoked:
The people themselves take whatever action is necessary to get justice and the only action they resort to essentially is that they want to smash the bastards. And then officials say: “You can’t have them in the competition because they want to have a fight”. When you have got these people with racial biases having control over the competition, it’s pretty difficult to get a fair hearing (in Lewis 2010).

Anderson, as a former elite player himself, has made the call that the NRL should appoint an independent body targeted with eliminating racism rather than just ‘mouthing on’ about the issue. Although it is obvious that everyone cannot be persuaded to change their racist views, it can be expected at an organisational level, that blatant, repeated racial abuse by senior players and officials will no longer be tolerated. Perhaps if this had been undertaken thirty years ago, Tahu would not have had to make history and risk his career by taking on a senior player in a public place in the new millennia.

The Timana Tahu story

The high profile tale of Timana Tahu encapsulates many strands relevant to this thesis. His early childhood experience of sustained and often violent racism in Australian country towns, his decision to act when confronted with racism in an elite grade of sport and the fact that he has both Aboriginal and Maori heritage make the discourse around Tahu’s stand of particular relevance. Timana Tahu has had the highs that professional footballers dream of. He has represented his country in Rugby League, he has also represented Australia in Rugby Union. He has role model status within the Aboriginal community and finally, in 2010, he was selected to play Rugby League for the New Zealand Maori team against the English national representative side. Tahu, who has an Aboriginal mother and Maori father, made a spectacular transition from a shy teenager in regional Australia to a sporting superstar. He also made a stand against one of the legendary greats of his sport that came at considerable personal cost. Tahu’s courage was embodied as a personal stand, but should also be considered a political act worthy of further examination.

Tahu’s personal journey

Timana James Aporo Tahu was born on the 16th October 1980 in Melbourne. He grew up in St. Kilda before moving with his mother to Bourke in western NSW at the age of 12. Tahu felt the stinging barbs of growing up in north western NSW in towns such as Bourke, Moree and Walgett. In this part of the world Rugby League is the number one sport and the great
sporting passion of the Aboriginal people, however, it is beset with the racist overtones in Country League described above (see Lewis 2010) and such racism, in turn, governs the experience of all areas of life for Indigenous people in such towns.

When Timana Tahu’s Maori father, Tom, passed away, his mother Linda kept the family together and later married Ken Jurotte in Bourke. Jurotte became the highest ranking Indigenous officer in the NSW police force at the time, but at a considerable price. The experience of his step father was obviously instrumental in Tahu’s overall worldview and certainly formed the basis of his challenging childhood. It, therefore, deserves some explanation here. Jurotte was the subject of threats, violence and intimidation over his decision to act on racial abuse directed towards Aboriginal people by police in Bourke. His case was the subject of a speech in Parliament by John Hatton on May 5th 1994:

The case of Senior Sergeant Ken Jurotte is one of racism and the treatment of whistleblowers combined with horrendous results. This man, a talented police officer, began work in an Aboriginal liaison unit in 1983 and served in Internal Affairs from 1985 to 1987. In 1989 he became Senior Sergeant at Bourke. That’s when the trouble started. He addressed a patrol meeting and made it known that such language was not only offensive generally, but that as an Aboriginal he found it personally offensive. He said the language would no longer be tolerated and that the use of the word ‘nigger’ or ‘coon’ would cease (in Walter and Proszenko 2010).

There was some support from a few of Jurotte’s work colleagues but others from within the patrol group continued to refer to Aboriginal people as ‘fucking black c--ts’ and similar epithets. In response, Jurotte reported this behaviour. Dissent in the police ranks gathered momentum when Jurotte announced in Bourke that he was to marry a local Aboriginal woman, Tahu’s mother Linda. She also became the target of racial vilification and abuse (Walter and Proszenko 2010).

In 1992, the ABC television documentary ‘Cop it sweet’ broadcast footage of police parties in which white police would blacken their faces and ridicule Aboriginal deaths in custody. Before the broadcast Jurotte had received word that unidentified Aboriginal people had gained possession of the derogatory police video and advised his police superiors. When the television footage was screened, police wrongly assumed that Jurotte was the whistle blower. Jurotte, his wife Linda and their three children including Timana, were transferred to the extremely remote country town of Wilcannia and received a hostile reception. As described in Walter and Proszetto (2010) a barrage of harassment ensued including constant audits.
being carried out on his patrol. Jurotte and his wife were subjected to terrible vilification, insults, harassment and social isolation that would have broken lesser people. Jurotte requested a transfer away from Wilcannia to another country location but his police superiors denied his request and he was posted to Sydney, to the inner city suburb of Newtown, with a second choice being transferred to Penrith. The family were understandably very stressed and Tahu’s mother threatened to go to the media. Jurotte was offered a transfer to Grafton as a compromise and his career came to a halt.

The parliamentary hearing cited above found that twenty-two charges had been fabricated by police and Jurotte was praised for this stance against racism. At the end of the day, Jurotte took a stance against racism in the NSW police force that cost him his career. As his wife commented (in Walter and Proszenko 2010):

> Everything is being done to squeeze my husband out of the police service and there seems to be a monumental conspiracy to stifle his career. The fact we are living in Grafton on a day to day basis because the police service refuse to give Ken a position or tenure, adds to the stress which contributes to the tension within the home environment and impacts negatively upon our three small children.

The treatment of his step father greatly impacted upon Tahu’s upbringing and especially the fact that his mother also became the target of racial vilification and abuse. The tense and threatening environment forced on the family by extreme and sustained racist behaviour by members of the Australian police, had big implications for the young, shy teenager Timana and his siblings, constantly moving from town to town. In spite of the troubled, unstable and arguably extremely frightening childhood background, Tahu found huge success on the football field playing League. He moved into a hostel at an early age. Later he went to live with his girlfriend’s parents in Newcastle. He and his partner Kasey have three children. The stability of this relationship is credited with saving Timana from becoming involved in crime (Walter and Proszenko 2010).

In 2010, Timana Tahu, the ‘cruisey’ Paramatta centre had been an athletic super-star for twelve years. He would soon have his life turned upside down, analysed, scrutinised and judged. On the eve of the biggest football game on the Australian Rugby League calendar, State of Origin, during a team bonding session, Tahu and the NSW team were receiving an ‘inspirational talk’ from football legend, Andrew Johns. Johns made racist comments (including the infamous ‘black c--t’ reference) about opposing Indigenous footballer, Greg
Inglis. Johns’ words spread to include Jonathan Thurston and Israel Folau. To make the situation worse, there was the aggressive tone that Johns used when using the terms. With quiet dignity, Tahu refused to remain in the room: ‘Timana Tahu used the greatest power at his disposal, the power of refusal, and walked away not knowing if anyone would follow’ (Harvey 2010).

On June 15th, 2010, on the front page of the Sydney Daily Telegraph is a photo of Tahu’s head and face. The photo occupies over three quarters of the page. The first headline reads ‘Origin racism scandal’. The second headline on the same page reads ‘I did this for my kids’. In a home made video, Tahu described his actions and explained that for him, it was to set a standard for his children, aged 11, 8 and 7. The story on the front page of the Telegraph ends with a quote from Parramatta’s chief executive, Paul Osbourne, who revealed that Tahu had been stewing on racism in the game for years: ‘I think it’s something that’s been gnawing away at him for a long time and to make the stand that he did probably highlights that it is something he has been thinking about for a long time’ (in Webster 2010). This is interesting in itself: the implication is that it is Tahu who has the problem ‘gnawing away at him’. The problem is not with Andrew Johns. In fact, it bears out what Tahu also indicated in other contexts: that he had been hearing this for ten years from Andrew Johns.

Timana Tahu was interviewed by Koori Mail in an article titled, ‘Staring Down Racism’ (Parker 2010). It was obvious from his responses both here and elsewhere, that the action did take a toll. When asked if he would do it again he responded:

> It is the hardest thing I have ever done ... but I'm happy with it. Yes, but it hasn’t been a happy journey. It’s been a rough and hurtful one. It’s lucky that I have strong support from family and friends and others that keep things positive and who are aware these things should not be happening in Australia today (in Parker 2010, p.1).

The public response

A senior sports journalist for the Sydney Morning Herald coming to the defence of Tahu wrote: ‘Tahu must not bow to the pressure of those willing him to fail. If the message is to retain its potency, he must not be cowed and Tahu must hold his dignity high’ (Hinds 2010). There were also inevitably apologists. Some commentators, arguably ignorant of the politics of power, suggested that Tahu should have had it out with Johns ‘man to man’. Others that
he should have made an official complaint. Of course, had Tahu made his protest a matter of negotiation with senior team officials, his power would have been eroded. Instead by taking a very public stand, Tahu whether consciously or not, created the type of shock waves that can lead to change – think Muhammad Ali [Cassius Clay] throwing his Olympic medal into the river, Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat in the bus to a white person in Alabama in 1955.

An Aboriginal youth and community worker who knows Tahu well described how Timana has always been active in community events and supportive of programmes for the children:

I know him - he was justified, a man of integrity, a man who sticks by his words. Strongly into both sides of his culture. He’s the type of guy who’s not going to sit by. Some people would. Good on him for making a stand giving up his place in a big game like Origin…He defaulted on a big pay day.

I’ve done workshops with him over the years. He’s always come down and supported the Street Warriors …He’s always at Indigenous hip hop gigs supporting them and cultural events like NAIDOC week, his face is always conspicuous in the crowd. It always good to tell the crowd: ‘There’s Timana Tahu kids!’

Typical of other responses was an Aboriginal female musician: ‘As for Timana Tahu, I love him. I have complete utmost respect for him’. Another female Aboriginal participant (early 40s) summed up a view that was expressed by many: ‘I thought it was particularly brave of Timana and deadly to take that stance’.

The Aboriginal men interviewed all shared their admiration for Tahu and give him credit for making his stand in such a public way. Given that sport plays such a large part in their lives, and often their identities as men, the fact Tahu was prepared to take this action occasioned additional respect. Typical of these responses are the following:

I’ve been called many names while growing up. It depends how strong you are. I can’t diss him for walking and that shows a lot of conviction being a high profile person, all I can do is support him. Maybe if that was me I wouldn’t do it. He obviously felt strongly and disagreed with it, didn’t like it being called that …hey, he has got my support! (Aboriginal male 30s)

It was obvious from the responses both in the media, socially and in relation to this thesis that people have not forgotten this incident. The high regard in which all participants held Timana Tahu were evident. A high profile Samoan first grade player offered his support to Tahu at
the time it occurred and explained how important such a radical stand is for those coming up behind in the sport:

I thought it was appalling and I thought that Timana handled it with a lot of integrity. I told Timana that – that you should have done exactly what you did. I also told Timana that we all support his decision to do that. Timana’s not a person who says a lot, he’s a man of few words, but as you have seen on the field… He spoke with his actions. I think it’s a very powerful gesture towards his people and towards his children especially - that you don’t handle this, you don’t sit passively regardless of whatever environment. His decision changed that environment.

Other Polynesians not particularly involved in sport also wished to pay tribute to Tahu’s actions. For example, as one young Maori male put it: ‘I have no doubt that Timana has experienced vicious racism and that he should take a stand against it in order to be an example to his children, that’s deeply admirable’.

During the ‘Tahu episode’, I paid a five day visit to New Zealand for family reasons and monitored the story through the sports pages. News had just broken of another racist statement by a former AFL star. This was Malcolm Brown’s reference to Indigenous stars as ‘cannibals’ earning headlines in the New Zealand Herald: ‘Racism storm sweeps through sporting codes’. New Zealand sports journalist Eric Young (Young 2010) writes that the Australian record on race is shameful and sport exposes this extremely bad behaviour and racist underbelly. The perspective from Aotearoa was of the failings of Australians and their lack of a meaningful relationship with their own Indigenous brothers and sisters. Tahu had a lot of support from the New Zealand sporting community. Most people I spoke to during this period were incredulous at the level of racism that is publicly on display in Australia. They conveyed a strong conviction that it would be inconceivable in New Zealand that a senior Pakeha player would use such a term in this context.

In a post-script to this tale, Timana himself was accused of calling a 16 year old Aboriginal youth a ‘black c--t’. Tahu denied saying this. In a rapid fire exchange in the media, the majority of responses indicated that, given the age of the boy, it was unlikely Tahu actually said this, and that it was ‘sour grapes’ by the family involved. Respondents for this thesis held similar views. As an example:
I thought it was unnecessary. Timana Tahu has a long history of support in Aboriginal communities and players. That whole issue was blown out of proportion. I support Timana. I know the family who made allegations against him. I’ve worked with their mother and the elder son who were behind the outrage. They are quite a dodgy family; I was familiar with their histories. They were more or less glory seekers, they wanted get their name out there in the community and to come out against Timana Tahu was questionable. They were making an issue out of something that wasn’t there (Aboriginal male, 39).

Another forthright response was by ex-NRL star, Daine Laurie, who was playing for the opposition side during the match in question. He backs Tahu: ‘If anything [racist sledging] was the other way around. I called about 15 people black c---s when we played against them and it doesn't worry me if he did say it, because he is a Black man. I'm supporting Tahu straight up’ (in Proszenco 2010).

This raises a final observation in relation to the issue of Andrew Johns’ use of ‘black c--t’: when an Anglo person uses such a term, it is abusive. However, both Polynesian and Aboriginal participants frequently mentioned the fact that within their own communities, such terms do not have the same constructed meaning. For example, in the 1970s African American comedian, Richard Prior, notably put ‘nigger’ in the lexicon for Black Americans as a deliberate attempt to claim power over the word. His profane and highly popular routines would be liberally splashed with ‘nigger’. However, like the respondents for this thesis, it was absolutely clear that this was to be used only between Black people, somehow offsetting the pain of its previous associations, while remaining strictly off limits to Anglo usage. The following quote illustrates this position clearly:

What is wrong with being called ‘Black arse’? There’s a lot wrong with it if you’re not a Black arse. If a Blackfella calls another that I don’t have a problem with it. If a White person says it I’ve got a serious problem with it… Two Black people calling each other Black arse no problems (Maori woman, 53).

An Aboriginal/Islander woman (mature aged) also said: ‘That’s colonialism. These words have been used to put us down. We have to reclaim these words’.

**Why aren’t the codes doing more?**

As mentioned above, according to Tatz and Tatz (2000), Frank Ivory was the first Aboriginal person to play representative football in any code, playing Rugby Union for Queensland in
1893. The captain was Maori. Shortly after this, the first Maori Rugby Union side toured in 1907 but there was not an equivalent for Aboriginal players. For Indigenous footballers, there are still very few avenues to perform as Aboriginal athletes collectively. An Aboriginal multicultural liaison officer in sport suggested that this reflected Australia’s ongoing denial of history more widely. Ironically things could be going backwards. As this respondent pointed out, the first Australian touring team was the Aboriginal cricket side that toured England in 1868: ‘The cricketers went to England but there hasn’t been an elite Indigenous team to tour internationally until the Indigenous AFL All Stars took on Ireland’. This was over a century later. This same respondent places this reluctance for Australia to allow its Indigenous players a united discrete identity in the broader context of the national psyche:

The NRL will not allow an elite Aboriginal team to play unless in the context of the NRL All Stars. It is not allowed to tour anywhere. It’s not allowed to play a Maori side which would be an awesome event on the calendar. The NRL has a resistance to it because they feel – born out of insecurity – that people will prefer to play with the Aboriginal side and won’t play for the Australian national side and make a political statement. There’s a huge hole in Australia from the War Memorial,26 to ‘No Treaty’, to this fear of ‘stand alone’ Indigenous teams questioning their loyalty to the Commonwealth of Australia. It’s absolute insecurity (Aboriginal male, late 30s).

Other Indigenous participants also expressed this desire to see an Indigenous team they could support and cited the difference between Australia and New Zealand as to why this is yet to happen. It is obviously an issue that the Australian sporting codes need to address. As an example: ‘Sport brings communities together. I think sometime, Blackfellas when we are in the same team we feel like the All Blacks playing Australia. Blacks from everywhere just connect. It’s very emotional being with your own people and taking the field’ (Aboriginal woman, 42). While there is an occasional team put together, such as the Aboriginal League Tournament spoken of below, there is a clear demand for more of these teams, and especially, permanent first grade teams, to be founded.

Given the high profile of Indigenous and Polynesian players, it is evident also that support for players transitioning into other roles within their respective codes, healthcare after the end of careers, as well as better support for those players who do not make the elite grades is not given sufficient priority (see Rodriguez and McDonald 2013). Speaking in relation to Polynesian players, a Rugby Union sports commentator made the following comments. These

26 Reference to the Australian War Memorial, unlike New Zealand, refusing to mention those lost to the early ‘frontier wars’.
observations are equally true of the experience of many Indigenous players and their communities. In relation to the numbers on the field not translating into other forms of support, and a need for greater practical financial support, he suggested:

There is no formal recognition of [these numbers] administratively, either at the state or national level. There should be. More often than not, these kids come from larger families and grow up in the middle to lower socio-economic sector of the population. This creates challenges in terms of paying club fees, buying boots, being able to ferry the kids to their rugby games and so on (Insider 2013).

This has been reflected in the work of David Lakisa, a Samoan community worker and academic who has previously worked as a Pacific Liaison Officer for the National Rugby League. Lakisa points out (in Codzow 2013) that seventy seven percent of the players were from families with four or more children. Lakisa's survey revealed that fifty-five percent felt pressure to become the breadwinner for the extended family. Lakisa also found that one hundred percent of participants nominated family as the most influential factor in their success as a professional athlete. Family and community are recurring themes for this thesis generally, and in relation to sport in particular.

The capacity for sport to bring people together and to further be a vehicle for other forms of positive social interventions needs to be better understood and resourced. The NRL and other bodies are doing this at a certain level and in a rather ad hoc fashion. However, as a ‘recipe’ it works, as a sample of these responses indicates:

Sport works in my kind of work. I have a lot to do with community health days and community promotions, the NRL has a programme for Indigenous players. Torres Strait Islander players they are well supported by Polynesian players and Maori players. They are regular faces at these community events, they are role models for our kids and they do bring a good message to those events (Aboriginal community worker, 39).

It is also extremely important as a place where Indigenous and Polynesian players can work to offset the negativity experienced in other areas of social interaction as described in the chapters above. Those working in sports/community roles stressed the success of this:

I went to a Rugby League Tournament out West three years ago. Attended by Maori run by Aussie Maori. There were quite a few Aboriginal people, half Aboriginal, half Maori, through inter-marriage and I know of an Aboriginal League Tournament they
play every now and again against New Zealand Maori. I think it fosters better relationships and more understanding (Maori male, 43).

If you look at the NRL: Greg Inglis arm and arm with Roy Asotasi\(^27\), they are showing the unity side of things more than anything else. Forty-six percent are Aboriginal and Pacific Islanders, that’s almost a majority from this side of the equator. Sport is huge. I think Timana Tahu being Aboriginal/Maori is a fine example of a sportsperson and the intermarriage of two Indigenous groups. (Aboriginal male, early 40s)

To some it is obvious. A Samoan youth worker (male, aged 40) works extensively between the Pacific and Indigenous communities. As a former first grade player himself, he believes sport can be critical to bridging the misunderstandings and tensions between these groups: ‘Yes, Pacific and Aboriginal kids play together and grow up together in the lower socio-economic areas’. This comment reiterates that these communities are sharing the same urban and regional spaces. It is evident that government funding should be allocated in such a way as to encourage the combined love of sport inherent in these communities. From such a platform other forms of tolerance and inclusion may be fostered.

At the end of the day, the inadequacies of Australia’s sporting bodies reflects a wider endemic reality. The Nicky Winmar incident where the AFL player, responding to racial abuse, lifted his shirt to show off pride in his Black skin was in 1993, twenty years ago. Rather than the codes taking greater responsibility for education of personnel, players, and fans, it seems it is the Indigenous footballers themselves who have to lead the way. Tahu argues for a positive change through education on and off the football field: ‘A lot of [Anglo] players do not know what to say to Polynesian or Aboriginal players. I think the kids are coming up with these racist slurs and think they are being playful ... I think they think they are more slang than racist. We need to educate kids about this issue (in Parker 2010, p.5).

Similarly with Adam Goodes work in the community, Riseman (2013) makes the point: ‘But let us take that ignorance and educate - that is absolutely what Adam Goodes and others are advocating’. This begs the question: Where is the outrage and commitment to change from white Australia?

\(^27\) Greg Inglis is Indigenous and Roy Asotasi, Samoan.
Section Two: The Celebratory and Collaborative Power of Music

Racism in the Australian music scene

In New Zealand, apart from sport, the other domain in which Maoridom was embraced, was music. From early on, Maori concert parties became integral to the emergent national identity of New Zealand. Maori singers were invited to perform at signature events and gained popularity for renditions of both traditional and contemporary music. New Zealanders shared a pride in the accomplishments of Maori musical performers. Also for Pacific Islanders, Islander singing was, and is, quintessential to the tourism industry. While it may be argued in some quarters that this could be construed as patronising or even exploitative, nonetheless the recognition was given that Polynesians are very talented singers and musicians.

In Australia, yet again, the story was markedly different. One well known Aboriginal woman singer/musician, remembers how her father and other family members had to negotiate the racism of the 50s and 60s in the Australian music scene: ‘My father was a great musician and his two brothers were phenomenal guitarists and sometimes they would get a job with a popular Maori showband: ‘The situation was that any Blackfella from anywhere was accepted’ (Aboriginal woman, 59). She explained that this was not the case in most other bands. Speaking of other groups at the time she reflected on how it was common for other bands to refuse to let Aboriginal players join their ranks as it affected where they could play:

They’d accept other people from different countries but not their own. That’s an example of the mentality that was institutionalised in this country. As a musician, that racist behaviour was aided and abetted by other races. They knew that the norm was if you come here and perform and you come across Aboriginal musicians and you wanted one to fill in a band, you better make it known that this musician was not Aboriginal because they won’t get let into places. You better put on an Islander shirt.

To put this experience in context, this participant goes on to describe the ‘pub scene’ in Brisbane at this time and how it has, and has not, changed:

My father and his brothers did their best to fit in with non-Indigenous musicians of this country. He introduced Whitefellas to all the Black pubs of Brisbane. They were the ‘raggle-taggle’ pubs. Blackfellas knew that’s where they got the sly grog28. When things got broken, they never got things fixed, because it was a waste of money and you’re only serving Blacks when you go to a Blackfella pub. A lot of these pubs

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28 Reference to it being illegal for Aboriginal people to buy alcohol until 1967. Also it has remained discretionary for publicans to serve Aboriginal people to this day despite such practices themselves being illegal.
eventually closed and got renovated, and then they don’t let Aboriginal people in, but they exploit the misery: the racism and the alcoholism.

Because of the exclusionary laws and practices affecting where Aboriginal people could perform or socialise, many musicians were forced to compromise their very identity in order to play (see Literature Review). In turn, having to engage in this denial meant these singers and musicians were subjected to suspicion and sometimes abuse by their own. This respondent explains how the personal pain engendered by these policies and day to day practices was considerable:

Musicians like Wilma Redding - that wasn’t her name, Heather May Redding, an African American style name – that wasn’t their names. They knew these were musicians trying to get a gig and denying the Aboriginal identity. That was the worst thing you could do, is to deny your culture, no matter what people would argue – assimilation policies, rife at the time but at the end of the day, it was survival. It did upset Aboriginal people behaving like this, you traitor, you coconut, you sell out.

This is resonant of the point made by Ramsland and Mooney (2012) that Australia has always struggled with talented successful Aboriginal people. Racism, such as the incidents described here, did not end with the 1960s. The film Wrong Side of the Road (Lander, 1981) is a dramatised version of the difficulties faced by contemporary Aboriginal bands in the 1980s. The on-going battle to secure venues continues today. Often hotel managers refuse to allow Aboriginal bands. When a venue is secured, frequently patrons are subjected to a police presence that would not be so visible and heavy-handed in any other context.

**Moving on**

Despite these pressures Aboriginal singer songwriters and musicians have continued to produce a vast body of wide ranging work. Often this is not well understood or appreciated by many in Australia. For example, there is somewhat of a mythology that has built up amongst Polynesians that Aboriginal people only like country and western music. Although for older people, there may have been a fondness for country and western this is certainly no longer the case. A touring hip hop artist made the following observation:

Some Maori think when you talk about Aboriginal music you’re talking about country and western and that’s it, period. Aboriginal music is very diverse, particularly I have

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29 This film is currently being re-mastered as at 2013.
noticed with hip hop. Maori/Polynesian and Aboriginal youth love their hip hop. Combined with other genres it’s music for the soul, that includes dancing (Maori male, 40).

As another respondent put it, regardless of who likes what, there is common ground when someone pulls out a guitar:

I think a lot of Aboriginal people like country and western quite a lot, whereas, the Maori and the Pacific Islanders like reggae or the younger ones like the American hip hop. But no, if you want to get down and get around with a group of Aboriginals and there’s a guitar or something, we all like to sing, it’s a good vibe (Maori male, late 40s).

Yeah I find so, we have had a few get togethers with the Maori boys and the Koorie fellas and they played a lot of music. Especially Maori boys you find they are very musical. They can sing. Like my family they can play guitar and all that sort of thing. Music shows no discrimination, it brings communities together (Aboriginal woman, 42).

Most respondents of all ages agreed: ‘Oh yeah you go somewhere to a cuzzie’s place, someone has got a guitar and you go to a Koorie family, they’ll have a guitar or a ‘didg’, they’ll have a couple of tunes there (Fiji Indian/Aboriginal, 47). This could be summed up in the words of a Noongah man from Perth (aged 42): ‘Yeah definitely. There’s a great variety of music going out now and I think Black people have got their own style we have got our own beat, our own rhythm and we know how to have a good time’.

When faced with the need to present an international face, Australia is challenged. The advertising slogan from decades ago, ‘Football, meat pies, kangaroos and holden cars’ is no longer acceptable as the cultural parameters of a nation. This was evident during the Sydney Olympics in 2000. As the following participant pointed out it was only the Aboriginal cultural input, and the music, that made the event special: ‘The day before the Olympic opening, you know before the opening, everyone starts into ‘Treaty’ with Yothu Yindi and yeah, that was good but they stopped dancing after that’ (Cook Islander male, 30).

Of the musicians interviewed for this thesis, there were many positive stories. It would appear the younger generation is moving on from the country music vs everything else stereotype:

I performed a rap single ‘Melting Pop’ with Brenda Webb, a young Aboriginal singer, protesting racism. The fact she was Aboriginal and I was Maori was a big part of why we came together. Maori and Aboriginal seem to have similar tastes in music apart
from country (although I have a Maori aunty who absolutely adores country music). Music brings Aboriginal and Maori communities together. Their love of hip hop, soul, R & B, jazz and other Black [in a global sense] genres, ties them together in a way that they are not connected to in other cultures (Maori male, late 30s).

**How music bonds communities**

An Aboriginal participant, a music producer, has had many years of experience working across various genres of music and with people of many ethnicities. Apart from one incident described here, he sees music as the primary vehicle for getting communities together:

I would definitely say yes! As far as I can remember, there was has been only one situation where music did the opposite - that was ten years ago when one Islander mob was arguing with an Aboriginal mob: who’s got the most bands on the bill playing tonight. Music is the great ‘bring it together’ of people. I’ve had no problems with a Polynesian mob, doing things together, that’s over twenty years of working with Polynesians. I haven’t got barriers when I work with racial areas. Twenty years amongst the hip hop community from the early days when it was very small, and the racial ethnic divide was so small. You were part of the hip hop community. But these days every second person is into hip hop. You have probably four major scenes, you have got your mainstream Anglo based hip hop, there’s Aboriginal/TI Islander and a Polynesian scene and the rest, the others Arabic ... (Aboriginal male, 44).

What this comment also reveals is how on the one hand, when a particular subcultural scene is small, people work together, however over time as that scene expands, things tend to break down again along the lines of ethnicity. On the other hand, despite this, music remains a domain where these groups interact, follow what each other is doing and collaborate around specific projects.

Many respondents observed that the New Zealand music scene has always been ahead of Australia. As a sociologist who has been involved in the music scenes in both countries for many years, I could offer a lengthy explanation of why this would be the case. However, in this context I consider the single biggest factor has been the monopoly of a ‘boy’s club’ that has dominated the Australian music industry. These few men were extremely influential from the 1960s through the 1990s. What these men shared was an indifference to Aboriginal musicians and a somewhat inexplicable hostility to Black music more generally. Australian television’s music platforms in the early decades such as Bandstand, and even Young Talent Time, rarely showed Aboriginal singers, or indeed, non-Anglo singers from any other ethnicities.
In terms of production and distribution even in the late 1990s, the story of a well-known white Australian singer (name withheld) reflects this position. This singer had received significant acclaim and had even made the cover of Rolling Stone. Thanks to the iniquities of the standard music contract, he was also broke. He paid his own airfare to the United States, wrote an album and gathered what little money he could to record it there. At the time Prince was one of the biggest stage acts in the world. Prince’s musicians were so impressed with his singing, they agreed to play for nothing on this recording. The singer returned to Australia to offer the finished product to the ‘boy’s club’. The comment was they would not play it or distribute it because it was ‘too Black’ (pers.comm).

Another illustration of the racism of this boy’s club was the 1986 smash hit Slice of Heaven. What made this single so appealing was the harmonies provided by the Maori voices of Herbs. In New Zealand the single was distributed under ‘Dave Dobbyn with Herbs’. In Australia, they just went with the white singer’s name, Dave Dobbyn. Nonetheless, the success of Slice of Heaven led to an interaction between the band and Yothu Yindi that helped increase their exposure. It also appears that this conscious or unconscious racism continues to be the norm in regard to Aboriginal hip hop. The following comment briefly sums up one respondent’s view:

I think in the past it has when I was younger I followed Che Fu [Niuean/Maori] and Scribe [Samoan] and got heavily into Moana and the Moa Hunters [Maori]. They all had a strong following here in Australia. The Australian music industry is playing catchup to New Zealand, particularly in terms of Indigenous hip hop (Aboriginal male, mid 30s).

The lack of formal financial support has not deterred young people from making their voices heard through hip hop. Now thirty years on, it continues to be a vehicle whereby young people can make a stand and tell their stories. It is also a place where youth can express their progressively complex hybrid cultural and transnational identities. The issue of mixed ethnicity emerges in this context. A Samoan youth worker has worked with young people mainly in Sydney but also in other parts of Australia to produce music and art. He has arranged exhibitions and events at Casula Powerhouse and is well known to many of the other participants: ‘I do believe there are mixed blood rappers and mixed blood Islanders and Aboriginals. I have a few Aboriginal Samoans who like to rap. Everyone should be able to express themselves’ (Samoan male, 42).
In relation to the politics of community engagement, music and the arts were frequently suggested as the most obvious avenues to do this. For the following Aboriginal respondent, he felt quite strongly that more could be done to bridge the communities through music. When discussing the difference between the earlier generation of Aboriginal and Maori musicians supporting each other as described in this thesis in the Building Bridges chapter, and what is happening now, he observed there were still a lot of instances where people were operating in their own domains. When discussing the potential for music to cultivate more enjoyable and respectful exchanges between Aboriginal people and Polynesians, his comments suggest more financial resources could be employed to expand these areas of cooperation by both the music industry and government arts funding bodies:

I think it could do a lot more. I think there’s a healthy exchange when there’s First Nations music like the Australian World Music Expo that happens in Melbourne that brings them together. But the Maori hip hop movement and Australian Indigenous hip hop seem to run separately. When I go to a Maori festival I don’t see much exchange. They’re pretty distinct musical cultures separated by an ocean. Because Koorie Radio has become a hub for Polynesians, people are booking the recording studio. [Aboriginal producer] Monkey Mark builds up relationships, he’s a tremendous guy. You need to have initiatives bringing people together ... the NRL brings people together, a multi million dollar marketing machine. Making sure people mix, come together in their tribal colours, but I think music has been a little disappointing between the two nations as far as joint events that aren’t one off stunts. I don’t know of too many that are operating (Aboriginal male, 50).

The new advances in technology have seen an exponential rise in the ability of individual musicians to be able to produce their work from home at low cost. Social media, youtube and related sites have also meant there is arguably greater exposure to diverse music than ever before. However, the bigger issue of neoliberalism can also be felt in relation to music, its distribution, commodification and ultimately the capacity for individual performers to join together in large scale cultural events and festivals that were the cornerstones of building political awareness in previous decades. In times of economic rationalisation, one of the first and biggest casualties is the arts. It is a form of slow cultural assassination. In its place, financial resources are directed towards a more globalised, pre-digested product such as made for television events such as The Voice and Australian Idol. It is not the intention of this author to deny young people access to ‘opportunity’ via exposure on such a programme, however it is important to note that there has been a dramatic reduction in funding for broader
based community music festivals. Instead private entrepreneurs can run a large concert attracting thousands and charging hundreds of dollars.

On the other hand, television shows such as those mentioned above, are attracting large numbers of viewers who bring their own enthusiasm and community pride to the progress of ‘their’ singers. In 2009 a young Maori boy, Stan Walker, won Australian Idol. He self-identified in the press both in Australia and New Zealand as a ‘Mossie’ (born in New Zealand, raised in Australia). As mentioned in the Literature Review, he attracted a vast following, culminating in a huge spontaneous haka by several hundred of his relations who had flown in from New Zealand for the final at the Sydney Opera House. One of the more poignant back stories to his success was his admission that when family members were fighting, he would console himself in his bedroom by singing. For many in both our communities, music has been something to hang on to when times are tough:

Music helps without a doubt, absolutely, music is the bridge over troubled waters, it crosses over into troubled minds and helps to ease the pain. Music is happy … when I felt down and out with my mum, when she died when I was 8, I used to listen to a lot of her records and this used to make me happy (Maori male, 43).

An Aboriginal male (aged 50) speaks to this issue: ‘Music is good for the soul, it doesn’t matter what background Black or White, music feeds the soul, you can feel bad, make you feel sad and of course like James Brown “make you feel good”’. One of the many responses regarding the power of music was the following comment by a Maori/Islander woman (late 30s): ‘It’s a universal thing with all communities, that’s the impact of music on all human beings, right across the planet’. In order for our communities to reclaim and cultivate a respectful relationship into the future a great deal of work needs to be done. As guests to this country, there is a responsibility for Polynesians to reach out to Indigenous people here. It is clear both music and sport offer the common ground necessary for this to happen.
CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

Section One: Concluding Thoughts and Aspirations

It is my hope that this thesis has significance in both Australia and New Zealand. This material has relevance to Aboriginal, Maori and Pasifika living in Australia but has a wider audience in contributing to the joint and collaborative history of Australia and New Zealand. This work offers a basis from which other Indigenous researchers can build. Hopefully, it also provides a framework and a forum for discussion for non-Indigenous researchers and interested lay people. The trans-disciplinary nature of the work itself aims to broaden the discussion of issues affecting these communities. This project is a contribution towards a cross-cultural approach to ‘social inclusion’, and may be a part of a wider examination of issues of social justice. In turn, the very notion of social justice relies on all parties being treated fairly and with respect. This needs to be enacted on two levels: the first being an acknowledgement of the original colonial processes and the social dislocation that derived from these policies and practices, and the second is on a smaller, local level of ‘fair’ treatment for individuals and communities today.

There has been a detailed account of the Treaty of Waitangi because it is the single most important document in relation to Maoridom that links the original process of the ‘signing’ with the present day. It is important to examine the Treaty as it is often referred to by other international Indigenous peoples as something to be aspired towards. The experience of Maoridom would indicate it does in some ways offer a testimony to what is promised, but ultimately fails to guarantee an experience of partnership in a real, negotiated way.

Post colonial assimilationist policies were played out differently in Australia and New Zealand. Interestingly both groups (Aboriginal and Maori) were expected to die out in terms of ‘purebloods’, and the ‘half castes’ would go on to become progressively white. In Australia this was engineered by the horror of the Stolen Generations. Across the ditch Polynesians were expected to become honorary ‘New Zealanders’. Forget the past and all citizens could join together and show the world how to do ‘racial integration’. In what could only be disappointing to the colonial dream, both groups in their very different ways have resisted. Contemporary identities are being carved out in relation to both these historical practices and present circumstances and vary widely. In the context of this thesis, however, it
is obvious that there are a myriad of social issues reflected statistically that impact on the health and opportunities available to young people of non-Anglo ethnicities, in particular these groups.

Indigenous peoples share similar histories and experiences. Jackie Katona was convenor of the National Council of Aboriginal Organisations (NCAO) in 1988. In 1999 she made the following comment in relation to the lack of significant improvement in the situation for most Aboriginal people:

Colonisation doesn’t stop at the coming of the white man, it is also the long term stats; the infant mortality rate, the lack of basic necessities, a roof over one’s head, the minimal opportunities for education. All this is perpetuated by western liberal democracies, so much for our freedom – Indigenous women die 20 years before their white counterparts (Katona, pers.comm).

Given that Aboriginal people have not been Treaty partners, and the ongoing opposition to even the most wishy washy amendments to the Constitution about prior status, it would seem Australia is a long way behind the first aim of social justice described above; recognition of the colonial takeover. Given also that the statistics Katona referred to fifteen years ago have not significantly improved, it would appear the second part of a genuine social justice agenda has also not come to pass.

A reaction to assimilationism

During the post-World War II era many parents tried to do ‘the right thing’ and bring up their kids to be good compliant citizens. This was despite efforts by the state to curtail their rights. Of course, in the Australian context, the Missions were still active and not dismantled until the 1970s. However, even despite the restrictions placed on peoples’ ability to access new ideas, the more radical politics of the 60s and 70s permeated even conservative backwaters. The more radical class and race politics of the 60s and 70s became coupled with a push for Land Rights for Indigenous peoples. It was arguably the latter which was most influential in re-igniting cultural identity for Maoridom and bringing together Aboriginal groups from many parts of Australia to share information, tactics and support.

During the 1960s there were Indigenous groups in Australia and New Zealand organising activities that were to form the nucleus of the contemporary Aboriginal and Maori political movements. Some of the more potent political manifestos of both groups emerged from the
urban cities of Black America. Black people around the world began defining their circumstances on their own terms and seeking self-determination without white interference.

For Aboriginal and Maori activists the relative close proximity of both countries allowed some degree of co-operation between the two groups that then translated into both parallel and joint political actions. For example, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy of 1972 had many Maori activists pay their respects within days of the Embassy being established. Around this time sustained contacts were made, often around personal friendships. Maori and Aboriginal participated in the Land Marches of the day on both sides of the Tasman.

The 1971 South African Springbok tour of Australia was opposed by Aboriginal people and their supporters. These actions around the Springbok tour of Australia had a profound effect upon the Indigenous community developing connections with the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement. Strong links were also made between 'Redfern Radicals' and the Sydney left. Ten years later the Springbok tour of 1981 divided New Zealand, with Aboriginal activists joining Maori protestors in solidarity at the head of the demonstration marches. Maori and Aboriginal activists have shared cultural experiences, political victories and lessons learnt from failed opportunities. As a result of the activism of the 70s, the broader Aboriginal and Maori communities were empowered with a sense of strength, pride and identity. The conditions of their respective communities improved because of this activism and the aspirations they generated. For example, the Aboriginal Legal Service and Health Service provided frontline services that were extremely popular with marginalised communities. The raised expectations across communities arguably underpinned some of the more successful campaigns for Land Rights in both countries. However, unfortunately, these years were followed not only by conservative governments in Australia and New Zealand, but arguably a lurch to the right by Labor governments. The rampant impact of neoliberalism globally, has largely seen many of these gains dismantled.

Nonetheless, the very strong bond between Maori and Aboriginal activists that developed during the 1970s helped to advance an Indigenous agenda for the next two decades. The universities that have Indigenous Institutes on their campuses have become part of an international network of Indigenous contacts. Also during these critical decades, dedicated and talented Pacific Islanders both in the home islands and also New Zealand have advanced
their communities by challenging the hegemony of tertiary education. Many activists, Aboriginal, Maori and Pacific Islander, went onto become academics in the ‘hallowed’ institutions both in their countries of origin and overseas, and others became great writers, for example, Bobby Sykes, Gary Foley, Mason Durie, Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Leonie Pihama, Brendan Hokowhitu and many others. Also some who are sadly deceased such as Bob Bellear and Epeli Hau’ofa.

From the early political manifestos of the 1960s, Aboriginal and Maori in particular, shared the goal of self-determination. Although this goal has not been met in political terms, it still arguably should form the basis for Indigenous people having a voice in regard to issues that affect their communities. Local issues, local leadership and local solutions, while supporting the struggles of others.

The diaspora – the first wave

Most Maori coming to Australia do so as economic migrants. However, there were also other motivations for many young single Maori in the early years. Many, of course, were just after excitement. Living in Sydney and later other parts of Australia, allowed a degree of freedom not always available in Aotearoa for many Maori. For some, it was an opportunity to escape family tension, drama, and sometimes violence that they had experienced in Aotearoa. Maori ex-gang members looked upon Australia as an escape route from gang animosities and the city of Sydney provided a springboard for ideas and opportunities that were not possible in New Zealand. This migration allowed a less ‘staunch’ stance in Australia. They could just be themselves and not have to be answerable to family or gang hierarchies. Most Maori enjoyed the many advantages Australia had to offer in terms of better pay for unskilled work and the excitement of the big city. However, by the mid 80s the coming of economic rationalism saw rapid and lasting changes in working conditions. Many families did quite well, but most were now finding it much harder, and others are still struggling (see Reflections below).

Resistance to neoliberalism in the early 1980s – still some lessons to be learned

With general unemployment increasing, youth unemployment deepening and homelessness on the rise in the Sydney metropolitan area, the economic indicators were painting a bleak picture in Sydney and other parts of Australia. The 1980s rationalisation of the building
industry, conventionally an area where Maori men were employed, had been in crisis for the last three to four years. For New Zealanders there was now a six month waiting period before the unemployment benefit could be claimed. These changes to the availability of work at the same time as there was a curtailing of welfare meant there was a severe impact in many working class communities. For Maori as the ‘brown proletariat’ of the market forces of capital, there was considerable concern due to simultaneous issues: suddenly drastically less work, not wanting to go back to New Zealand broke, rents going skyhigh and not being eligible for benefits. In this climate the Bondi Maori Group was conceived. The immediate objective the Bondi Maori Group was to have a vacant council building saved from demolition and set up a community drop-in centre to offer legal and tenancy advice.

As described in this thesis, the Bondi Maori Group had decided to take a high profile in the suburb of Waverley. The modus operandi was to present positive images of Maoridom via a smorgasbord of public cultural events (see chapter five). The topical questions of the day - homelessness, housing and unemployment – were tackled via the group’s interests: Black music, the politics of the Treaty of Waitangi and Aboriginal community radio. The Bondi Maori Group went a step further to re-define the concept of work and promoted the idea of unemployed people having creative pursuits in the arts. The group eventually organised and co-ordinated a series of events culminating in a nine day arts festival with the participation of the Aboriginal community. Arguably, this group were before their time but with the potential to guide, direct and motivate other Sydney Maori organisations, try out their ideas and ‘fine tune’ them to their present environments.

At the same time, conservative Maori groups pursued more conventional ways to raise monies, such as donations for cultural performances. This involved what appeared to be endless meetings and people were given elaborate titles such as ‘Executive Director’ and ‘Executive Vice President’ of fund-raising groups for the Sydney marae. There was some animosity from these groups towards the more ‘anarchic’ way the Bondi Maori Group was organised.

One of the unique features of this period was the lack of government intervention or interest either in Australia or New Zealand, in the population growth of Maori living in Australia. In the 70s and 80s the push for a community centre continued to be the aim of most Sydney

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30 This has now been extended to two years and in certain cases, claims cannot be made even by those born here.
based Maori organisations despite any tangible government support. This appeared to be a reasonable, achievable goal, but forty years later, the pursuit of a Maori community centre in Sydney has now dwindled into a small murmur, although every few years it is raised again. Partly this is due to the diaspora within a diaspora that has seen many Maori families move to other areas of Sydney and beyond. This means it is harder to maintain an identifiable cohesive notion of community. Another major reason is the incredible financial burden of struggling day-to-day with children in an expensive city like Sydney. The reality of Sydney is that it is an expensive town with mind-boggling prices for real estate. To date, community fund-raising has been unable to secure sufficient funds for a permanent site to go ahead.

At present, the Sydney Maori Anglican church, Wairua Tapu in Redfern faces the harsh realities of population change in Sydney. The congregation has very small regular numbers, yet it manages to offer a rallying point for Sydney Maori. Despite virtually no financial support and the poor state of the building itself, many of the larger tangi (funerals) are held there and it continues to be regarded fondly by Sydney Maoridom. Inevitably, the church will have to move from the inner-west to the greater west. The majority of Maori organisations in Sydney now reside in the ‘greater’ west. After nearly four decades of fund-raising activities, accompanied by innumerable financial scandals, these ‘straight’ groups have not produced a community centre for Maori in Sydney, and arguably it may be too late. However, the dream refuses to die. As mentioned briefly in the Literature Review, land granted to Maori by Samuel Marsden over a hundred years ago is still under discussion. Ironically, it could be this historical pact that may lead to modern Maori securing land for a community centre and recognition of the Maori contribution here.

Meanwhile, various groups that have advocated ‘business plans’ have come and gone. On the other hand, despite being so unorthodox, the Bondi Maori Group had considerable longevity and some long term successes. Possibly this was because in the Bondi Maori Group there was no money to fight over; things were done voluntarily, and this group successfully continued for another seventeen years. Because of the willingness of the Bondi Maori Group to engage

31 There were approaches made to the New South Wales Land Council in the 90s for land to be set aside for possible Maori community centre. Very little progress was made as these negotiations coincided with the surge of neo-conservatism and racist practices of the John Howard era and then Reconciliation Minister, Phillip Ruddock.
in the political process, especially in regard to the support of unions and the Labor party at the time, many people learnt skills during these campaigns that led them to getting better jobs in the future. Another consequence of the Bondi saga of the mid 80s, was the groundswell of support for a Maori independent candidate in the Waverley Council elections. The candidate Russell King lost on a technicality. It should then have only been a matter of time before someone emerged from the Sydney Maori community as a successful candidate in Sydney council elections. To date this has not occurred.

**The parallel emergence of Waitangi and Survival Day**

During the 1970s and 80s many discussions were held formally and informally around the radically changing perspectives and hopes of Indigenous people everywhere. In relation to Maoridom here in Australia, the discussion had turned to the preservation of culture while living in another country and the associated protocols of offering respect to the Indigenous people of this land.

A tangible goal for both communities, Aboriginal and Maori, was to organise activities annually on two dates, January 26th (Australia Day) and 6th of February (Waitangi Day). Both of these events could be described as ‘counter celebrations’ in the sense that both were opposed to the dominant Anglo self-congratulatory stance represented by these occasions. It could be argued that the politics surrounding Waitangi Day in Aotearoa has prevented anything of substance emerging since the Land Rights marches of the 80s. In New Zealand, the running order on the day became as predictable as the headlines in the New Zealand national papers the following day: ‘Protestors-arrive-shortly-followed-by-the-police-who-arrest-and-charge-the-protestors’. We then watched it all on television. In Australia, the challenge was to transcend the ‘police and protestors’ model and present an imaginative, creative mix of concerts and workshops with the desire to produce an event to capture the hearts and minds of the community. With the relatively large Maori population residing in Sydney, the community celebrated Waitangi Day in big numbers on the first Sunday in February. Many Maori in Sydney have also been regular attendees at the Aboriginal Survival Day concerts and vice versa.
A great deal of discussion had already taken place during the 80s and 90s in combining both events in Sydney. Networks and updates were maintained via Koori Radio. This proved to be an inexpensive option that would lay a strong foundation for future projects, for example, Waitangi Day would reciprocate with Indigenous performances live on Aboriginal radio. The Bondi concerts usually featured an eight hour showcase of contemporary Aboriginal talent, combined with Maori and other Pacific artists in a manner that was inclusive to all concerned. This format was designed to promote an Indigenous platform to give voice to the marginalised in this part of the world.

The success of the Waitangi Concerts meant three thousand to five thousand people, the majority Polynesian but also a large representation of Aboriginal people, gathered regularly in Bondi, on the first Sunday in February to enjoy a feast of traditional and contemporary music acknowledging and protesting the annual event of Waitangi Day. Volunteers made it happen. People offered their skills: scaffolders and riggers gave their time (and their bosses’ resources), others billeted performers, transported people, and prepared vast amounts of food for the green room and screen-printed t-shirts. This worked for many years. However, petty community jealousies and a lack of political awareness and commitment, led to a takeover of the grassroots Waitangi Committee in Bondi in 2000. Within two years, the volunteer pool had dried up and the organisation died. However, the legacy of programmes and projects undertaken by the Bondi Maori Group (aka Kotahitanga) lives on.

**Building real bridges**

As the Survival Day and Waitangi concerts of the early 80s were getting established, another significant date was looming. Leading into Australia’s 1988 Bicentennial, there was an obvious need for a grassroots organisation with an Indigenous agenda. The primary role in 1987 was to provide a support structure for Aboriginal activities. Within what was to become the Building Bridges Association, people from all walks of life and varied ethnicities contributed. However, a particularly strong bond was forged between Aboriginal and Maori activists, musicians and artists who worked on projects together and celebrated their success together. Black politics and the relationship to mainstream politics, sport, art, film and dance were all engaged in order to create and promote an Indigenous perspective. The emotion from
these projects resulted in a heartfelt pride and healthy respect for the lives of many Aboriginal and Maori.

Building Bridges developed this Indigenous platform in conjunction with New Zealand via the Te Whare Mana Trust. The New Zealand Maori community and the Australian Aboriginal community shared experiences, politically defined their issues and looked at ways of overcoming some of the more overwhelming social hardships in their communities. The Building Bridges radiothon across Australia was a priceless example of unique community expression, communicating over vast distances and remote communities with the aid of music, news, information and following the land struggles on a state by state basis. On a smaller scale, the Building Bridges Association acted to help the town of Bowraville in New South Wales. This was a dark chapter of entrenched racism normally only seen in the southern states of the USA (red neck cowboy country). The Bowraville community was grieving over three Aboriginal children missing, presumed murdered, by a local white man. The appearance of so many well-known musicians was greatly appreciated by the local Land Council and tiny community. From small things big things grow. Singer songwriters from this period continue to share music collaborations.

The sisters

Ultimately, it is the women who keep the families functioning and raise the children. In the case of Aboriginal women the health and social justice statistics are indefensible. At the time Katona was speaking above (1999), Aboriginal women were being jailed at a greater rate than ever. A Koorie Mail article (2003) observed: ‘The number of indigenous women incarcerated has increased 255.8% in the last decade (from 1991), meaning they are overrepresented at 19.6 times the non-indigenous rate’. These figures have not significantly improved and remain obscenely disproportionate to the overall population. If the women are being jailed in such numbers, what is happening to the kids? As those of us who live in communities know, the aunties and the grannies are often the ones bringing up the kids, but the stress on these women is enormous. The trauma and damage associated with Australia’s treatment of Aboriginal women has continued to blight the struggle for dignity and justice.
Maori women who have been involved in the jail system (such as the Maori Women’s Welfare League) also understand these issues well.

In the section ‘Maori Women Protest,’ I outlined the position of two Maori groups, staking their claims in opposition to each other, under the glare of national television. One group of Maori with a strong Indigenous agenda and the more conservative group allied to the church and state. Young Maori women were at the frontline of this protest initiative that was directed at the members of the Sydney Maori community who were part and parcel of the *powhiri* (welcome ceremony) arranged to welcome the yacht *Akarana*. The yacht was a gift from New Zealand to Australia - from one white government to another white government. The young Maori women were angry and argued that the Maori community had no right to conduct any ceremony on foreign grounds unless in conjunction with the *tangata whenua*. The Maori women were aiming their protest at the conservative elements of the Sydney Maori community and challenging them to start some dialogue with the Aboriginal community. This was also difficult because many of those who were performing the ‘welcome’ were older than the protestors and, as with all Indigenous communities, with age comes reverence.

Such public confrontation was not the preferred option in resolving such an issue. It should have been resolved *within* the community, but could not be contained, and therefore politics and emotions surfaced bringing considerable trauma to the participants on both sides. There are many arguments within the Maori community that are not resolved and never surface in the public arena. However, in relation to the timing of this issue – white Australia’s celebration of invasion – means that conservative Maori failed to comprehend and respond to a direct plea by Aboriginal people *not* to participate. In the opinion of this author, it was a failure of leadership and a loss of *mana* to see Maori supporting these events.

For many Australians 1988 was a very good year to reflect historically on the growth of this young country. Many saw the huge economic wealth of the country and then saw abject social conditions of the Aboriginal community. In other words, the birthday celebrations were meaningless and insulting to the Indigenous population. The party celebrations also became a rallying point for many Australians to marshall their energies towards an Aboriginal agenda. It was from this set of circumstances, that the organisation Building Bridges emerged. Non-
Aboriginal people involved themselves in a series of ventures around music and the arts, inspired and politically motivated by Aboriginal people.

In 1989, the tensions within the Sydney Maori community were put aside around the mounting of the Te Maori exhibition. After many months of negotiation, the Maori establishment from Aotearoa had given the ‘green light’ for a special exhibition of Maori treasures, to be shown in Australia. As described above, eighteen months prior to the opening of the exhibition, members of the Sydney Maori community were locked in a divisive battle over the appropriate behaviour when on Aboriginal land. There had been no violence but it had been a shameful display of Maori learning a tough lesson on the protocols of turning your back on your Indigenous brothers and sisters and siding with the invaders. Now there was a series of events around this exhibition that led to a healing process between conservative Maori and Aboriginal representatives. The responsibility of the artefacts was entrusted to a representation of Sydney Maori in the first formal acknowledgement of a Maori community growing up and living permanently outside Aotearoa. The Australian Museum on their leaflets wrote of a special debt to the Maori community in Australia. This is possibly a ‘peak moment’ for the unity of Sydney Maoridom. Meanwhile another waka (canoe) was on its way.

The second wave – Pasifika ... and more Maori

The rapid rise of Pacific Islander migrants to Australia has caught everyone by surprise. Newly released Australian Government figures confirm that Polynesians are arriving in Australia in increasing numbers, with Maori immigration increasing by almost one third since the last census. Many Maori and migrants from the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tonga come to Australia as ‘New Zealanders’, therefore it is very difficult to separate the demographic statistics and lifestyle issues specific to their experience. The escalating number of Pacific Islanders also reflects the ‘beaten path effect’: prior immigration of extended family members and established community ties, that are significant factors in more people following. Hamer’s work has indicated that for every migrant, dozens of family members may follow. Also Polynesians have more babies than their Anglo counterparts. Put these factors together, and the numbers are considerable.

The other thing that has changed is that these migrants are not going ‘home’ at the end of their working lives. Originally there was a relatively small number of Maori who left
Aotearoa in the 60s, 70s and on into the 80s, making the decision to set up roots on the other side of the Tasman. This group would return regularly back to Aotearoa on special occasions such as Christenings, tangi, unveilings, family problems and, of course, Father Christmas. However, as families stayed longer and became more settled here, this gave birth to a new Maori phenomenon of Maori children with Aussie accents colloquially called Maori/Aussies or ‘Mossies’. This new generation of Maori children growing up away from the traditional confines of Aotearoa have produced some exciting role models for Maoridom, for example Stan Walker (Australian Idol), Jon Stevens and athlete Jai Tairimu. These have now been joined by rapidly rising numbers of Pasifika, primarily driven by the economic opportunities Australia appears to offer. This is coupled with the dream of sports super stardom and it is an intoxicating mix. We can expect to see many more Polynesians in Wallabies jumpers.

**Reality hit**

Polynesians, predominantly New Zealand citizens, are clustered in the lower socio-economic percentiles for income, housing and education. This thesis along with the relentless statistical data, should have potential policy implications for both the Australian and New Zealand governments. The majority of the Aboriginal population in cities, as well as regional and remote areas also experience similarly poor statistics in relation to health, household overcrowding, and significant socio-economic disadvantage. This should invite well targeted spending on programmes, particularly in relation to youth intervention models. Instead programmes are being cut and infrastructure in these areas is in decline. This inevitably contributes to the more marginalised members of these groups being brought into ‘contested’ spaces, particularly state-funded housing and jails, where inter-ethnic rivalry is becoming an increasing concern. There is little support or funding for community forums such as those that were so effective in the 90s. However, some individual concerned community participants do broker workshops and forums involving Aboriginal, Maori and Islander participants around issues of juvenile justice, health and cultural exchange. As anecdotal evidence and other research including this thesis suggest, it is through sport and music events, that members of these communities are inventing and demonstrating possible alternatives to these points of tension.
**Deterioration of cultural respect**

To many Pakeha observers, the Aboriginal and Islander communities represent two troubled groups. In Australia, the wider community has had very little contact with the Aboriginal community, and in many ways Australia remains a ‘divided’ country. Few white Australians express sympathy (or responsibility) for the dire situation of Aboriginal health or education, and it would appear many ‘turn a blind eye’ to abuse of police powers, and systemic dysfunction. A Maori/Pasifika community living in another country attracts a degree of negative attention, but not the appalling treatment delivered to the Aboriginal community. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon to hear Polynesians condemn Aboriginal people using the same language as the most racist white Australian.

A major downside of the current economic restructuring has been the large numbers of unemployed Aboriginal and Pasifika youth are at odds with the rest of the community. Many of our youth drift into a cycle of petty crime, drugs and violence spending their lives in welfare homes, borstal and prisons. In certain ‘flashpoints’ such as Logan there is considerable friction between these young men and it needs to be addressed on many fronts simultaneously.

**How did this happen?**

The central research question for this thesis, over time, became: why has the relationship between Aboriginal people and Polynesians deteriorated so markedly in the last two decades? It would appear a confluence of factors as described here have come into play. There has been a marked increase in Maori/Pacific Islander migration to Australia during this time. The expectation of these migrants is that there will be plenty of well-paid unskilled work, and in turn, the next generation of will be better educated than their parents and be able to benefit from the fruits of their labours and live the ‘good life’ in Australia. In reality, this influx has coincided with a rapid diminishing of unskilled work and arguably a deterioration in the quality of public education being offered. Rather than the original Maori migrants who were able to congregate in pleasant inner city suburbs such as Bondi, the high cost of housing in Australia has led to a congestion of marginalised migrant groups in low socio-economic neighbourhoods with poor and failing infrastructure that exacerbate existing tensions. In
counterpoint to these tensions, both music and sport have been cited as areas of accord and understanding that potentially play a significant role in mending this damage.

**The current political climate – shared territory**

The neo-conservatives talk of assimilation policies for Aboriginal and other non-Anglo people under the guise of ‘social inclusion’; it’s all about fitting in, not rocking the boat. It seems every Australian government has a real issue with boats. Labor shamelessly echoes the same views on tough border protection and immigration quotas as the Liberal/National Coalition. Despite the fact that most over-stayers are from the United Kingdom and overwhelmingly white, the rhetoric is about keeping out undesirables, and those who are in any way ‘different’. This is deeply similar to the White Australia Policy of previous generations. While moral panics circulate currently around Pacific Islanders and those of ‘Middle Eastern appearance’, it remains that Indigenous Australians are again excluded from any meaningful discussion about what they would like to see happen in this country. There is still not a well-funded national organisation representing smaller and larger regional demands for Aboriginal communities. Patrick Dodson, one of the nation’s most respected and persistent Indigenous voices, has described the various articulations of Aboriginal policy as virulent forms of assimilation. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Sol Bellear has described newest incarnation under Tony Abbott (2014) as the furthest thing from self-determination that could be conceived. Polynesians should, in the opinion of this author, be far more pro-active in promoting and supporting Aboriginal political ambitions.

**The need to embrace a broader Pacific identity**

The fact that the Maori/Pasifika diaspora are not returning ‘home’ has other implications in relation to identity and the sharing of cultural spaces. Rather than an exclusively Maori community centre, perhaps it is time to consider a broader, more permanent cultural space that could have representations of Aboriginal, Maori and Pasifika history, art and music. Currently, the Casula Powerhouse has been extremely supportive of collaborative events of this nature, but arguably, all these communities need a more diverse accessible series of spaces in which to host cultural and community events as well as specialised exhibitions.
Such a community centre that functioned as a cultural centre, art space and ideally a music venue, in Sydney would require a large amount of capital.

One option to consider, would be to attract the attention of parliamentarians in New Zealand to the question of whether the Sydney Maori/Pacific Islander population (or for that matter, Brisbane or the Gold Coast) would be serviced successfully by having a large scale community/arts centre. As an initiative, a committee could be formed from the group of parliamentarians and representatives from Australia. The committee would be responsible for reporting back after hearing submissions from interested groups and individuals in Sydney and other areas over a stipulated period of time. The committee or its representatives would also be joined by a cross section of Aboriginal groups from the outset to help provide an historical framework and to engender support for such a proposal. A decision on whether taxpayers’ monies could be spent on the possible funding of such a complex could then be determined, as a strong case would have been made for a generously shared high quality arts environment. If such an undertaking were to go ahead, it should attract sourced funding that does not make inroads on Aboriginal funds.

In statistical terms, Sydney still has the highest concentration of Indigenous people. For example, there are more Indigenous people in Sydney than in the whole of the state of Victoria. Potentially, the Sydney Maori population plus the Pacific Island community that resides in Sydney should be natural allies to their Koori brothers and sisters and provide a good platform for an Indigenous agenda worked through in co-operation with each other. However, Sydney may soon be overtaken by south east Queensland in terms of the number of Polynesians. The same criteria should still apply wherever Polynesians choose to reside in Australia.

**More than just footy**

Another vehicle for sharing experiences between all groups represented in this thesis is via sport. The modern games of Rugby League and Union are continually making noises about many of the issues discussed here but more work needs to be done. Specifically, more has to be done to tackle blatant racism in Australia, and the suburban oval – and its administrators – are a good place to start.
Australia’s record on race is shameful and nothing exposes that shame more obviously than sport. On the surface, sport appears to be setting the standard. You could run your eye over a team photograph of any code and imagine Australia is a melting pot of 21st century multiculturalism, however this would be deceptive. To sum up, many Australians are very happy to have Indigenous players in their teams but not live in their streets. This is a reminder that a solution is not possible if the problem is not recognised. The problem with both codes of Rugby and the AFL is the same it has always been. The courage of those like Tahu, Widmar and Goodes serves to shine a light in the corners. Whether it is heard by those in need of its message is the biggest question facing sport. These courageous players will be remembered as more than footballers – their legacy will be infinitely greater. Such iconic sporting moments and the dignity they all showed in the face of racist behaviour in sport represents a challenge to the wider community.

**Music and other future collaborations**

Primarily there is a demonstrable need for New Zealand and Australian government funding for more research regarding the number of Pasifika now resident and being born in Australia. There is an obvious need also for funding to be made available to those areas where Aboriginal and Polynesian youth can join together. One-off coalitions between Aboriginal and Pacific people have only touched the surface of potential for future collaborations in the arts, sports, music and the political landscape. This provides a rich tapestry of cultural and political optimism for Indigenous peoples in this part of the world.

However for this to happen, other changes need to take place. While there are more opportunities than ever for people to have access to each other via social media, I have an ongoing concern. That concern is that without a *political* understanding of how the communities interact, and a *political* understanding of what is keeping these communities poor, these cyber connections will not be enough to offset the other pressures and animosities afflicting these groups. True community leaders need to stand up in Polynesian enclaves and recognise that their importance and usefulness to their own people is increased when they have a deeper understanding and knowledge of local Aboriginal tribes and their people. There is a cultural responsibility to broaden the knowledge of what has happened to Aboriginal people in this
country and convey such understandings to their communities. There is an urgent need to address disrespectful behaviour in each small community and support each other.

Section Two: Reflections on the Journey of this Thesis

In this section I reflect on the signature themes that brought this thesis about. Given that it has unfolded over thirty years, it has become a part of my life trajectory beyond an academic endeavour. My own upbringing was no small part of that. I have also briefly re-visited some personal highlights in activism and how I would personally like to see them acknowledged and new versions enacted in the future. In a way this could be regarded as my ‘bucket list’.

Growing up as a Cook Islander: then and now

Being a Cook Island boy during the 1950s and 60s in New Zealand presented a host of problems. The major problem, I concluded very quickly, was that I was living in two worlds. Inside the confines of our home we were living like we were in the Cook Islands, but as soon as I stepped out, a bigger world existed, alien to myself and alien to my parents. School was very difficult. School teachers were very difficult.

Nobody knew where the Cook Islands were positioned, and the world atlas at the time recorded no such place. We had difficulty as children explaining to our school teachers, who we were. I settled for ‘half-caste’ (half Maori/half Pakeha). During this period we were more welcomed by New Zealand Maori who said ‘you’re one of us’. I knew we were close but it was only during the 1970s, I discovered we were also Maori. My parents had said this all along but in the Anglo world there were only New Zealand Maori. This is despite the fact Cook Islanders, Hawaiians and Tahitians also call themselves Maori and speak Maori32.

By the 1970s Pacific Islanders were becoming more visible with bigger population figures. I arrived in 1972 in Australia and lived with the local Maori community, many of whom I knew. I used to seek out other Islanders; Samoans, Tongans, Niueans. Their numbers were small in the 70s but during the 80s a younger generation arrived, more interested in the world outside the neighbourhood, more confident with plenty of swagger. Many appeared as ‘DJ’s’ or Rugby League players and very soon many became active participants in community radio, namely Aboriginal radio, working with the local Indigenous population

32 In Hawaiian language ‘r’ becomes ‘l’, so they use Maoli. Tahitians and Cook Islanders speak what is referred to as ‘old Maori’.
Living on the margins

Surveying the urban landscape from where I live, eat and sleep I have been confronted by numerous obstacles and a number of achievements that have culminated in my journey through the 1970s, 80s, 90s and up to the present day of 2014. In the final pages of this dissertation I hope to bring some light to the highs and lows that continue to fuel the fire in my belly. It is the story of a first generation New Zealand-born Cook Islander, educated on the kaleidoscope of social change in the 60s, and the liberating force of the rhetoric of class politics and the Black Panthers. I spent the 60s in New Zealand wanting to be part of what was going on.

I have lived all my life on the fringes and margins of mainstream life. I have paid rent all my life. I have no visible assets and struggle weekly against my landlord. My world is that of the street and sometimes the world on the street is fuelled with bad behaviour. Other days people redeem themselves and the community comes together and unforgettable moments are established. With the street comes the plight of the homeless, the long term unemployment, the mentally ill and the dispossessed. With the street comes the never ending battle with the police (I have been arrested several times) and, in the words of Loïc Wacquant I have witnessed ‘the penalisation of the poor’. I watch people attempting to scratch out existence with meagre incomes, often raising children, only to end up in their forties and fifties unemployed and in poor health. Others are on the inside of a prison cell.

Jails are overpopulated with Indigenous men and women and youth incarceration rates among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders continue to sky rocket. Jail rates among Polynesians are also increasing at alarming rates. Recently (February, 2014) a 16 year old Maori boy, born in Australia, was charged with attempted murder and armed robbery. He has mental health issues and had not taken his medication. He cannot read or write. The monies involved totalled $2. A report from last year stated that $111,000 per offender could be saved each year if diversion programs were used. If 1600 non-violent Indigenous offenders were treated for addictions instead of being jailed, state governments would save an estimated $340 million a year. The savings made from diverting 100 people into treatment would fund the running costs of 20 rehabilitation centres. Diversionary programs for the wider prison population would have healthy benefits and especially for Aboriginal and Polynesian
prisoners. It must be remembered the progress on the ground since the 1960s in relation to rehabilitation of offenders has been minimal.

**Building new bridges**

Building Bridges was one of the highlights of my 40 years of activism. The organisation eventually fell over due to the lack of finances, however, the objectives of the Building Bridges Association could be resurrected with a slight tweaking at the edges. This time music would share the platform with sport. The financial infrastructure could come from the game of Rugby League, the NRL. Dr Gary Foley, ex Building Bridges committee member was recently briefly employed by the NRL to speak at the Newcastle Festival of Indigenous Rugby League. The festival involved players comps, educational activities, a civic reception, community and school visits, training workshops for Indigenous women, clinics and health promotions. Imagine this festival with a music program including a wide variety of Indigenous acts and including Polynesians as representatives of the National Rugby League. The NRL has worked regularly in the western suburbs of Sydney with Casula Powerhouse establishing a stage for Aboriginal, Polynesian and other Pacific Islander endeavours in art, sport and music. Koori radio is a participant in various projects conducted by Casula Powerhouse. This normally means broadcasting from Casula at the opening of the event. The connections and networks are there – they just need to have regular financial support. We are not talking about immense sums of money here.

**Self-determination and Treaties**

One of the major discussion points for the Indigenous media for many years has been the slogan ‘We want a treaty’ and in almost the same breath, the Treaty of Waitangi is brought up. What I would suggest and many people have stated is: be careful what you wish for. Two hundred years ago when European expansionism was at its peak, the colonising countries attempted to placate some First Nations people with a treaty. There were treaties being signed everywhere, not one was honoured. The colonised can do without rhetoric and the empty promises. Aboriginal/Maori/Pasifika activists along with Aboriginal/Maori/Pasifika academics could come together and collaborate on the positives and the negatives of the
Treaty of Waitangi and draw up a charter. The charter would be representative of the needs, objectives and future aspirations of the First Nations people of Australia. Such a charter should embrace the perspective of the colonised, to tell the story of a people under the dominant structure of another culture. A charter must reflect these needs and only then can we talk about self-determination. In turn, self-determination (or even a moderate version of it) cannot be exclusively discussed behind closed doors. It is essential the leadership reconnect with the grassroots to take on board their opinions, fears and tensions – then the local discussions can be crafted into a more sophisticated discussion to take to the political table. One of the best ways to find out what people are thinking and doing is community radio.

Vehicles of protest: community radio that keeps on giving

The protest marches of the 70s and 80s raised awareness and many Maori became allies to their Aboriginal brothers and sisters and were engaged in the same political struggles. The struggle of Black women became an issue for Black men. Gays, lesbians and feminists joined the struggle. The Polynesian Panthers introduced Pacific Islanders into the mix. Many of these stories are now being re-told as part of the rich history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their resistance that has been neglected in more formal accounts.

I have only one real regret about this time. The most outstanding political symbol in Australia for a generation was the Tent Embassy in 1972. I had just arrived on a boat a few months earlier with a couple of Maori mates. At the time, my flatmates had got jobs building and renovating terraced houses in Redfern (the Block) and a bus was organised as an act of solidarity by other workers on site. A busload of Maori/Pacific Islanders, Aboriginal and Torres Strait mob left Redfern for the Tent Embasssy. I gave up my seat because I thought one of my flatmates might get politicised by making the trip to Canberra. He went and was politicised for a period of time (about a week). I do regret this – I should have gone.

After attempting to change the world in the 1960s, the 1970s were a wake up call to focus attention upon our own backyard, our neighbourhoods and our communities. The emergence of community radio became the vehicle for recording the highs and lows of our day to day lives. As mentioned repeatedly in this thesis, Aboriginal community radio gave a voice to
intimate stories of a people not heard by other mainstream media. Stories of celebration, protest, police harassment, deaths in custody and stories of ugly racism that perforate the Australian psyche. Stories of individuals rising up against the odds and recording their successes in the arts, music and sport. It provided a forum before social media and continues to do so. However, in the 70s and 80s before mobile phones, community radio was often the *only* way people could communicate quickly and effectively.

The Maori radio show *Tangata Whenua* has been part of Aboriginal radio in Sydney since 1983. Aboriginal radio was crucial in the success of the cultural/music projects conducted at the Bondi Pavilion from 1984 to the late 90s. Aboriginal community radio became a way of finding out what was going on for other Blackfellas who were residing in other towns and cities who were also getting small stations going. During these years there was an emergence of Polynesian, African and other ethnic groups having their shows on Aboriginal radio. It was about working together. This is evidence that there are many opportunities to work together despite the tensions in communities where one group is turning on another. At present there are serious tensions gathering between Pasifika and African refugee youth in western Sydney. Again a territorial pecking order is being established along ethnic lines. I am not hearing any talk of how racism affects both groups – and the local Indigenous population. It is one marginalised non-Anglo group against another – again. In the words of the Jamaican band, the Mighty Diamonds: ‘Why My Black Brother, Why?’ As a sociologist I know the answer lies in political and economic pressures, lack of education and being trapped in a cycle of street violence and the police response, but equally we have survived (thanks Bart Willoughby) and we each have a responsibility to do our own small part in that change. Kia Kaha!
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