

## SOCIAL GROUPINGS OF THE MAORIS AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDERS LIVING IN SYDNEY

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This is a report of my field study on social groupings of the Maoris and South Pacific islanders who live in Sydney. The field study was conducted through interviews from mid-July to the end of September of 1983.

Australia is a multi-cultural society, and Sydney in particular seems to represent this characteristic. The population of Sydney, according to the 1981 census, was approximately 3,250,000, one fourth of which were foreign-born. The largest element of the foreign-born population is still British-Irish, followed by Italian, and thirdly New Zealand-born. Australia and New Zealand have a close economic and cultural relationship. In the area of human movement, free flow of citizens between the two countries is guaranteed by the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement. Recently, an increasing number of people are moving from New Zealand to Australia and not vice versa. Under the Arrangement neither nationality is required to acquire a passport or a visa. The precise number of New Zealanders in Australia, therefore, is hardly known. Since the Maoris are not distinguished from *Pakeha* for statistical purposes, their number and their present whereabouts in Sydney are likewise unclear.

It is certain that the number of migrants from South Pacific islands has been increasing in recent years; however, detailed demographic, residential and occupational facts are unknown. Many of these islanders have reportedly entered Australia via New Zealand.

### 1. Maoris and South Pacific Islanders in Sydney

## i) Population

The following table shows the arrival of settlers from New Zealand and other regions of Oceania during 1977-1981.<sup>(1)</sup>

	N.Z.	Other regions of Oceania
1977	6,581	1,451
1978	8,706	1,259
1979	13,208	1,275
1980	14,350	1,180
1981	15,328	1,724

The number of settlers from New Zealand in 1981 was 2.3 times as many as the figure for 1977. This increase is quite prominent when compared with the increase of settlers from other regions of Oceania.

New Zealand-born residents living in Australia as of 1976 numbered about 90,000. Their number rose to 177,000 by 1981. In Sydney alone they totalled 67,424 in 1981, indicating an increase of more than two times the number in 1971, 29,000.

As mentioned earlier, the census figures offer no break down of the New Zealand-born population into *Pakeha* and Maoris. However, it is generally assumed that the population of New Zealand-born living in Melbourne is mostly *Pakeha*, whereas the majority in Sydney are Maoris. It is fairly safe to say that Sydney is the second largest city which embraces an urban Maori population, the largest Maori city being Auckland in New Zealand.

The next table shows 1981 census figures for South Pacific islanders living in Sydney.<sup>(2)</sup>

Fiji	5,612
P.N.G.	5,435
Tonga	1,839
New Caledonia	662
W. Samoa	417
Solomon	409
Cook	361

Vanuatu	378
Norfolk	191
Nauru	94
Kirivati & Tuvalu	58
Others	428

A few informants of the Uniting Church who work for the Pacific islanders regard these figures as too small. According to their estimate, for example, there are 60,000 Tongans, 2,500 Western Samoans, and 2,000 Rotumans as of 1983. The discrepancy between the census figures and this estimate may be caused either by the existence of a large number of islanders who were not covered by the census, or by a rapid increase of islanders since 1981.

#### ii) Residential Area

It is generally believed that many Maoris live in east coast areas such as Bondi, Bronte and Coogee. Bondi is especially known as a little New Zealand. It is said that there may be about 10,000 Maoris in Bondi. Arriving from New Zealand, they immediately go to Bondi. Most of these newcomers are in the age bracket of 25-35. They start their life with meager financial resources, perhaps 50 or 100 dollars in their pocket, and with no hope of finding a job or a better place to settle down. Such Maoris become easy prey to racial stereotypes and an unfavourable opinion about the Maoris in Bondi prevails in Sydney. Under present economic conditions in Australia which are characterized by a high unemployment rate, it is not at all easy for unskilled Maori youth to find a job. Flat owners refuse to take the risk of renting rooms to Maoris who may not have steady employment and who therefore may disappear at any time without paying the rent.

*The Weekend Australia*, in the July 9-10, 1983 edition published a cartoon showing caricatures of New Zealanders crossing the Tasman Sea in a line and proceeding toward Bondi Beach denoted by a gate with a sign saying dole. The caption reads, "Why do New Zealanders move to Bondi on arrival? "Because it is the closest dole office on the Australian mainland." However, the editorial comments that although the un-

employment rate of New Zealanders living in Australia is 11.4% which is a little higher than the national average, it is still lower than that of other foreign-born residents.

More notorious to the public are the Maoris in Kings Cross. Their number is estimated as something in the range of several thousands which include both those living in and commuting to Kings Cross. In *the Weekend Australia*, mentioned above, a police officer of this precinct pointed out the heavy involvement of Maoris of this area in drug traffic and prostitution. The result of 1975 criminal investigation shows the number of criminals of New Zealanders amounted to 215.36 per 100,000, which is the highest rate followed by the Yugoslavian criminals who numbered 166.00 per 100,000. Also 3% of all prisoners were New Zealanders, again exceeding the Yugoslavian prisoners, the percentage of whom had been the largest.

For several years, there was an active social welfare group called the *Meta Foundation*. It was organized by Tess Limb, an English lady. Her ex-husband was a Singapore-born Chinese. The initial purpose of the group was to help poverty stricken Asians in Australia; however, migrants from New Zealand soon accounted for a large portion of those who looked for assistance. The Foundation has not been in function for sometime due to financial difficulty.

It is very unlikely that all of the Maoris in Bondi area are on dole or involved in prostitution and drug traffic in order to make a living. Yet those Maoris in other parts of Sydney regard them coldly and accuse them of lowering their own social esteem.

Manly is another well-known old Maori residential area. Maoris who came to Australia in earlier years or second generation Maori have dispersed widely throughout Sydney with a high concentration along the railways stretching into the western part of Sydney. They prefer to live along the railway tracks because rent is relatively cheaper, and, as railway service is efficient, there is no need to buy a car for city travelling.

Many migrants from other countries as well have settled there. The ethnic mozaic thus created is well illustrated by the ethnic composition of an Anglican Church located in the newly developed residential area of

Mt. Droit. Members of this church are said to come from twenty two different ethnic groups. In Parramatta, one of the oldest developed areas in the western suburb of Sydney, 3,000—4,000 Maoris are said to live.

Most of the Maoris living in Australia are not yet able to own their own houses. They rent a flat or an independent house. There are some Maoris of the second generation who have bought houses in newly developing suburbs, which may indicate their intention of permanent settlement in Australia.

On the other hand, there seem to be several areas of concentration of Pacific islanders. Those islanders who are not as well versed as the Maoris in English as a daily language may have a stronger need to have the same islanders as their neighbours. The Uniting Church provide Pacific islanders with church services in their native languages. One can assume that such an arrangement is made for the church attended by the local people of a particular language.

### iii) Reasons for Migration

Why then do Maoris migrate to Australia? The reasons may be grouped under the following three categories.

#### a. Economic opportunity

It is generally believed that one can earn more in Australia. One carpenter whom I met gave his own example by saying that he could earn 700 Australian dollars a week in Sydney versus only 400 New Zealand dollars in New Zealand for the same amount of work. In addition, A\$700 is worth more than converted into NZ\$, as A\$1 is equivalent to NZ\$1.3. Many travel agents seem to have urged Maoris to take advantage of this situation: through newspaper advertisements and other means they spread the news of better job opportunities and higher pay available in Australia. By transporting migrants en masse from New Zealand, boat and aircraft companies have acquired a great amount of profit. Unemployed Maoris in New Zealand are easily tempted to go to Australia to find a job. After their arrival, they find, contrary to their expectation, a high unemployment rate and no jobs available. Many Maori youths, who came recently without return tickets must struggle to

merely survive, easily creating a bad reputation. A Maori informant criticized travel agents for their irresponsible business practices.

#### b. Climate

In contrast to the cool, damp weather of New Zealand, it is relatively mild and dry in Sydney, which seems to have attracted many New Zealanders. This factor of climate can be important for those who suffer from asthma or neuralgia. Among such people are those who are compelled to stay despite their longing for their own home.

#### c. Change of lifestyle

Some New Zealanders, growing weary of their local, quiet world, start to migrate in search of variety and excitement in the world outside. Urbanization took place in New Zealand many years ago. Auckland, a prosperous metropolitan city, attracts many Maoris. Entertainment has been a very popular occupation among urbanized Maoris. Their natural gifts of singing and dancing have enabled them to advance in the entertainment world. One Maori guitarist in Auckland went to Sydney in the 1950's where he gained fame. Such is the dream of many Maoris who have not received professional training but who have been brought up in an environment of singing and dancing. In the late 1960's, during the Vietnam War, there were plenty of chances for them to work as entertainers at night clubs in Sydney. Not only urban Maoris from large cities but also those from local areas would migrate to Australia without hesitation if they were given the opportunity. In fact, there seems to be many full-time or part-time entertainers among the Maoris in Sydney.

Many other Maoris with no special talent are also attracted to Sydney just for a change in lifestyle. A middle aged woman told me that she came to Australia with her husband and three daughters from her quiet local town on the east coast of New Zealand because she wanted to see Australia before getting too old.

The reasons mentioned above may not exist independently in a migrant's mind. Although the priority of such reasons may vary in each case, more than one reason is very likely to cause him to migrate.

Migration may be in the form of either individual or family migration.

This difference is related to the reasons for migration and will influence residential selection and occupational pursuit.

Young migrants may be attracted more by the cosmopolitan atmosphere or the variety of the outside world than by climate or economic considerations. Older migrants, on the other hand, might pay more attention to the latter two.

Migrating to Sydney may not require Maoris to have such serious determination as Japanese or Chinese who migrated to Western countries. For Maoris migrating to Sydney is almost the same as going to Auckland. It is of small importance whichever city they choose since they will have no language problem and if they want to they can return home without making a long journey. They do not carry with them the grim realization that they are going to a far-way foreign land.

There has been a special close relationship between New Zealand and Australia. A New Zealander in Australia is entitled to privileges similar to those in his home country. For example, he can qualify for welfare after his six-month stay in Australia. Therefore, Sydney may very well be regarded as one of the urban centers of his own home country. So far as those Maoris whom I interviewed in Sydney are concerned, they came not from Auckland or Wellington but from rural areas or mid-size cities such as Hastings and Hamilton.

The reasons for migration to Australia of the South Pacific islanders differ from those of the Maoris. One of the major differences between the Maoris and the South Pacific islanders is that there are migrants with higher educational background among the latter though their number may be limited. Those Tongans, Samoans and Fijians who received higher education in the U.S.A. or in Australia find it extremely difficult to get a proper job in their native islands, and they, therefore, seek better opportunities in Australia or elsewhere. Beside those higher educated people, there are migrants who come to Australia to try to earn the money. Having in hand a sight-seeing visa which is valid for two weeks or so, they enter Australia and stay on and hide after expiration of the visa. As such illegal residents are not particular about the nature of job or payment, they are welcomed by those employers who can use them

as cheap labourers and who can rely on them as non-strikers. They are not asked to present their I.D. cards or any other personal documents, which allows such illegal residents to remain in Australia. From time to time they are discovered through informants and rounded up with coverage by the newspaper. Their whereabouts is hard to ascertain without some form of betrayal.

## 2. Church and Social Groupings

The life in a cosmopolitan city is not easy for Maoris who are used to the strong kinship tie and network in the countryside. It has already been pointed out that Maoris in Auckland experience various maladjustments to urban life. In Sydney, a far larger city than Auckland, they probably face more difficult problems of which the Maoris in Bondi are a case in point.

Here I would like to describe what types of groups exist and how their activities are directed toward solving the problems facing the migrants in urban Sydney.

The role of kinship and friendship has been pointed out as important by various informants, particularly in the initial stage of adjustment. For instance, their kinfolk and friends help them in finding jobs and places to stay. Once they find work, they start to look for a suitable place to settle down. They tend to move and disperse in western Sydney. As a result of this dispersion, there is no Maori community as such. There is neither Maori home town club nor tribal club. This is not saying that there is no social contact and communication among the migrants. On the contrary, there is frequent visiting and parties, through which close contacts are maintained. Primarily, the churches serve as the axis for social intercourse. Accordingly, the church activities among the Maoris living in Sydney will be discussed first.

### i) Mormon

Maori Mormons are most strongly committed to their church activities in Sydney. Mormon's active concerns include the following: (1) eagerly bringing people to the church, (2) earnest pursuit of ethnic arts, (3) emphasis on family relatedness and (4) abstinence from alcohol, tea and



coffee.

- (1) They regard social intercourse among the church members as important. They warmly invite non-church members as well as ex-church members for social occasions. Those who are accustomed to a life supported by kinship ties find themselves isolated in a big city. An active concern of the Mormons is to rid them of their loneliness. One of the Mormons who visited an Anglican church once expressed his disappointment because of the aloofness he felt. Mormonism seemed to have gained the confidence of many Maoris in Sydney.
- (2) Every Tuesday night at the Mormon church in Mascot near the Sydney International Airport they meet for dancing and singing. Mormon churches in other sections of the city also have almost regular gatherings for traditional dancing and singing which are occasions of excitement and the highlight of their identity. In addition, they have an annual modern dance festival. In September, 1983, it was held at Greenwich church and seven groups contested their skill. Five groups represented five Mormon wards, and the other two were a Tongan and a Latin American group of the same faith. Though this festival had no relation with Maori Art, 60–70% of the dancers of each of the said five ward groups were Maoris, and the president of the festival was a Maori. Dances performed at the festival were all modern ones such as waltzes, trots, chachacha, samba and so on. This is a good example of how much Maoris are attracted to cultural activities.
- (3) Making a genealogy of one's family is almost an obligation for a Mormon. Tracing ego's ancestors as far as possible to establish one's family tree is encouraged. A suitcase full of family data kept by an earnest Mormon is no exaggeration. The Mormon emphasis on family line is quite compatible with the traditional Maori culture, the family genealogy of which goes back to the day of the great canoes in the fourteenth century.

Their respect for family relationship is reflected also in their family reunions. It is said every Monday night is reserved for their

family reunion, a Mormon practice throughout the world. One's immediate family and its kin get together to worship God and to enjoy an evening of dancing, singing, playing the guitar, chatting and drinking juice. Maori families in Sydney often invite their church members to join in such an occasion. The Mormon practice of family reunion is thus also compatible with traditional Maori culture.

- (4) Mormons are proud of refraining from liquor, tea and coffee. They are much satisfied with their sober and sincere life which should be devoted only to God.

No Mormon worship is observed in Maori language. Maoris do not feel the need for it, although there is a worship conducted in Spanish for Latin Americans because of their language difficulties.

#### ii) Anglican

The Anglican church is the largest denomination among the Maori both in New Zealand and probably in Australia. It has a long history in New Zealand. In 1910's Rev. Mausden worked as a missionary in Parramatta, when New Zealand Maori came to his attention. He frequented New Zealand, and in 1915 he brought back with him Maori youths to open a Maori seminary in Parramatta. There were 12 Maoris in the Maori seminary as of 1918. He taught them English and Christianity.

The number of Maori Anglicans at present in Sydney is not known. The guess is about 20,000 in all. The Maori Anglican Fellowship was organized about a year ago in Australia, following Turkish, Vietnamese, Aboriginal, Italian and Chinese Anglican Fellowships. The Aboriginal Anglican Fellowship is the oldest of all.

The birth of the Maori Anglican Fellowship resulted from the consultation among the Maori Bishop of New Zealand, the Anglican Home Mission Society in Australia and devout Maori Anglicans living in Sydney. The Maori Bishop of New Zealand visited Sydney several times due to his concern for oversea Maori followers.

A worship service in the Maori language is conducted in the Anglican Church in Glebe, because Glebe is midway between the two Maori areas

of Bondi and the western suburb. Since this is the only church where Maoris can worship God in the Maori language, they travel long distances to this church. Presently, there are 30-40 church members, though there used to be many more members when the worship first started. When I visited the church in September of 1983, there were only a few Maoris. The church minister (an Australian) explained that they would not come unless there was a funeral or a baptism. About 200 Maoris gathered, he said, when the Maori Bishop visited the church from New Zealand.

The Maori Anglican Fellowship wished to invite a full-time Maori minister from New Zealand. Such a minister is now expected to arrive in March, 1984. The Maori Anglican Fellowship will contribute A\$1,000 for supporting him. The Anglican Mission Society will add A\$1,700. But all in all A\$20,000 will be needed for the first year after his arrival to cover his travel expenses, car and residence. The Maori Anglican Fellowship tried to raise money by selling tickets to a cultural festival, but the enterprise went into red. The present secretary of the Fellowship complained about their financial plight.

It seems that the Maori Anglicans' efforts are not sufficient comparison with those of the Maori Mormons. There are, perhaps, many more potential Anglicans, but their participation in worship at the church in Glebe is sluggish.

The Anglican church, the first denomination which started the missionary work in New Zealand and which has had nominally the largest membership, has not fared well among the Maori. Some of the factors responsible for this unfortunate situation may be sought in the nature of the Anglican discipline which would have been taken as too aloof by Maoris, and also in the Anglican attitude toward the Maori way of life. The Anglican church rejected the church attendance of drunken Maoris, regarding them as trouble makers. A recent move in the Anglican church was to adopt a more flexible attitude toward the Maoris to gain more members. One evidence of this changing attitude is the abolishing of the traditional parish system for Maoris and the appointment of the Bishop of *Aotearoa* as solely responsible for all Maoris throughout New Zealand. As a result, the number of Maoris who attend Anglican churches has

been growing in New Zealand. The Anglican leaders in Australia anticipate improvement to attract more Maoris by inviting a full-time Maori minister from New Zealand.

### iii) Ratana

Ratana is an offshoot of the Anglican church. A farmer called Ratana had a vision in 1918 which made him introduce a new religious movement. He gained many followers through prophecy and healing. Today, Ratana is an authorized religion and holds the third largest membership among the Maoris in New Zealand.

The president of the Ratana religion visited Australia from New Zealand in the middle of August, 1983. One would have expected an enthusiastic reception, but the welcoming party formed by the representatives of various churches was unexpectedly rather small. The purpose of the president's mission to Australia was to ask the Australian government to give permission for registration of Ratana as a religious body in Australia.

It is also interesting to note here the greeting by the secretary of the president in which he stated that the purpose of their visit was not only for the Ratana Maoris but also for all Maoris, and that the Ratana movement which started in 1918 was different from the Ratana church organized in 1925. He also said, "In the Ratana movement it does not matter whether one believes in Ratana religion or not, but it is *Maoritanga* (Maori way of life) that matters. When we gather, we do not question our denominational difference. There should be only one worship. The Ratana church and movement have grown hand in hand. That there are people of all kinds of denomination in this gathering is an indication of the steady growing Ratana movement of Maori." He went on to say, "We were warmly greeted by Australian aborigines. We were invited to one of their meeting places in Melbourne. We were deeply impressed and satisfied with their traditional culture. In return we told them that our Maori culture is active, that *Maoritanga* is alive, and that we live with our culture and Maori will never die, never die."

The Maori people attach special importance to the land and the

*tangata whenua* (man of land). But there is no Maori *tangata whenua* in Australia. Maori people here in Australia ought to pay deep respect to the Australian aborigines, for they have their own land and they are *tangata whenua*. He concluded the greeting with the Maori favorite blessing: "*Tena koto, tena tatou koto* (all of us together)."

The topic of the sermon was on Maori's *Aroha*, and it had the following content: *Aroha* is more than English 'love'. Ratana, a rich farmer, used his wealth for serving poor Maoris, and he became poor as he progressed in evangelical work. Persons like Moses who lived to serve people have real *Aroha*.

Ratana constructed his main church at *Ratana pa* near Wanganui, and made four other branch churches. After founding those churches, he stopped erecting church buildings. This decision was made, as interpreted by his followers, because he foresaw the Maori trend towards urbanization. A church in a rural Maori area would be deserted after the inhabitants moved to cities. Instead of a church building, they have started to use a Ratana flag which symbolizes their religion. This flag is placed at any place where Ratana worship is observed. Ratana people can carry the flag with them but not the church building.

#### iv) Maori Festival

An earnest desire perhaps for the majority of Maoris living in Sydney is to build a *Marae*, community hall. But, in spite of several projects undertaken by various groups it has never been realized, which is a little puzzling to an outsider. The estimated cost for building a *Marae* is said to be one quarter of a million dollars. A *Marae*, if it is built, will be used for funeral services, wedding ceremonies and other important gatherings. Today, corpses of the dead are shipped back to New Zealand at a cost of about A\$1,200. Business group formed to manage the shipping. Very few Maoris arrange the funeral of their relatives in Sydney, which would cost at least A\$1,000, depending upon the kind of coffin and cemetery. They want to bury the dead in their homeland, for which they have to return home temporarily. If a *Marae* is built in Sydney, relations and friends of the dead can get together to bid farewell in Australia and save

the travel expense.

There have been at least three or four *Marae* projects in different areas of Sydney, but all failed to materialize because of internal disagreement among the project members. The cause for disagreement is not known. Members did not discuss the problem in order to solve the disagreement nor did they try to settle the matter by a majority. But instead they split into factions and the minority faction would go to a third person such as a Bishop or a man of influence to ask for their support.

The Maori Festival is the only opportunity for Maoris to get together over their denominational difference. The festival is aimed at "*tatou tekoi*" which means "all together." Its sponsor group is the Maori Aroha Club. (Its present official title is the Maori Aroha Cooperative Society.) This Club was organized in 1979 on the occasion of the death of a young Maori woman, when people felt a very strong need for mutual help. The Club has two purposes: one is to provide all Maoris throughout Australia with an opportunity to get together for a week-long Maori Festival and the other is to collect money for building a *Marae*.

At this Maori Festival which takes place in the Easter season, various registered culture groups from 14 districts such as Melbourne and Adelaide, come together for a contest. The cultural contest is important, but they say, what is more important is that as many Maoris as possible get together. Admission was A\$8.00 for an adult and A\$2.00 for a child in 1982. Each culture group performed their skill for twenty minutes. One of the stage judges was invited directly from New Zealand.

The present membership of the Society is approximately 300. Membership fee is A\$5.00 per year. The Society has one president, one secretary and one treasurer. There is an executive committee consisting of ten members. The first president was a Ratana church member. Presently this position is occupied by a Mormon. The initial organizing members knew each other very well as entertainers.

According to the first president, the present Aroha Cooperative Society is not the kind for which he had hoped. Its initial purposes, he said, were fund-raising for *Marae*-building and mutual help for all Maoris in Australia. But the goals became blurred and the Society only retains

its role at the Festival in the Easter season. Its associational cohesiveness or strength has been lost because of tribal and church factionalism. He felt that the Moris in Australia were forgotten and abandoned by the New Zealand government. In New Zealand, the government will offer a matching fund to the proposed construction of a *Marae*. Once in the past Maoris in Sydney made a request for such funding to a New Zealand Senator who was on an inspection tour to Australia but the request was not taken up. Maoris know that cultural enterprises among the Greek and Italian residents have been supported respectively by their home countries, while the New Zealand government seems to hesitate to help the *Marae* project. One Maori leader interprets this to mean that the New Zealand Government is reluctant to help because the Maoris in Australia are regarded as trouble makers by the Australian people. Information at the New Zealand Consulate in Sydney indicated that the Consulate has never received such a request from Maoris and in any case the government would be unlikely to give financial assistance.

#### v) Uniting Church

The Uniting Church has the most extensive activity for South Pacific migrants. There are four ethnic congregations; Fijian, Tongan, Samoan and Rotuman congregations. Sunday worship in the main church of the city area is observed in each ethnic language in turn: the first Sunday service in Fijian, the second in Rotuman, the third in Samoan and the fourth in Tongan.

The motive for beginning the church service in ethnic languages was the Uniting Church's concern over the South Pacific migrants who had trouble with housing, legal problems, etc. The churches in their home islands requested the Uniting Church in Australia to extend the service to and to assist the migrants. About 1970, the Church responded to this request by inviting a Rotuman minister to Australia to minister to the Pacific islanders in Sydney. He spoke Rotuman and Fijian and also understood Tongan. At first, people from various islands came together at the same time to observe the service officiated by him, but later the service was arranged to be conducted separately in different languages.

He was in this position for five years. Then a Tongan minister succeeded him. After another five years the present Samoan minister assumed the post. Since he does not speak other languages except Samoan, he asks lay preachers to serve the other congregations.

In 1972, the Pacific Islanders Council was instituted in the Uniting Church of Australia. It is composed of three representatives, each from Fijian and Rotuman, Tongan, Samoan groups, and also three Australian representatives. It has a monthly meeting to discuss not only religious matters but also social problems confronting their church members. There are two current issues of concern.

The first one is how to enhance the effect of their ministry. In the islands ministers used to keep close contact with the daily life of the inhabitants and to give their spiritual guidance for solving their problems. That is, religion was alive in the daily life of the islanders. Today, however, it does not have meaning or relevance in the daily life of the migrants, and ministers are not close enough to know their congregations well.

The second issue is the need to have their own building which their congregation can use anytime they want. At present, they rent the main office of the Uniting Church at A\$15 per week for their various meetings. They have begun a fund raising campaign for the construction of their own building. The Tongan congregation, which is quite large, has been most active in driving the campaign. On the other hand, the chairman of the Fijian congregation thinks it is not worthwhile to build a church in a specific place, because the spatial mobility of the inhabitants is high.

Each congregation has its own chairman, assistant chairman, treasurer and secretary who organize an executive committee. A bazaar known as the Spring Fair is one example of a congregational charity activity. The profits from the Spring Fair of each congregation are collected not for building construction, but for the welfare activities of the Uniting Church of Australia.

Although the headquarters of the Uniting Church of Australia feels the need for a church service to be offered for Maoris in their own lan-



guage, such a service has not yet begun. The headquarters has never received any request from the Uniting Church in New Zealand, as opposed to the case of the Pacific islanders.

Besides the main church in the city area, several local churches offer church services in respective languages for the islanders. For Tongans, services are given in nine districts; Woolloongong, Ashfield, Ryde, New Town, Mascot, Fairfield, Cronulla, Minto and Auburn. For Samoans there are similar services in Burwood and Marreckville, and for Fijians in Annandale. Other than the Uniting Church, the Presbyterian Church in Burwood has a church service in the language of the Cook islanders. Again, Tongans have Tongan services in the Church of Tonga at Croydon and Blacktown, and in the Free Church of Tonga in several districts.

Besides church oriented groupings, Tongans have the Tongan Ethnic Society of Australia. Its executive committee holds a monthly meeting to discuss the problems facing Tongans and to give assistance particularly in consultation about social security, tax and personal difficulties. Under the executive committee there are branches of various activities such as social welfare, fund raising, resettlement and Tongan culture. It has a strong zeal for retaining Tongan culture through sponsoring summer classes in Tongan language, handicrafts, dance, etc. Its cultural activities, it seems, however, are handicapped by the residential dispersion of Tongans who look for job opportunities in the wide area of Sydney and even in distant suburbs.

As for Fijians, October 10th is Fijian Independence Day and the weekend prior to it is called Thanksgiving Day among the Fijian residents. It is a festive occasion for the Fijian Association.

For Maoris, who speak English and are not handicapped in language, the need of grouping does not seem to be as keenly felt as it is among the South Pacific islanders do. However, both Maoris and South Pacific islanders feel that they are prejudiced against by the color bar in Australia, which seems to compel them to seek jobs and living quarters through their kinfolk and friends. A Maori told me about the prejudice of Australians against the non-white race and his resentment at a moderator of a radio talk program who cut off the telephone abruptly when

he stated the Australians treated Aborigines more cruelly than Maoris handled dogs.

Also the President of the Tongan Ethnic Society expressed his view: There is freedom in the United States of America in spite of its racial prejudice. Australia is said to be free from color prejudice, but the whites are always treated favourably. Some leaders of Maoris and Tongans are hoping in near future to gain political strength of their own and to make political demands as an integrated ethnic group as the Greeks and Lebaneses have been doing.

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Their understanding and assistance now encourage me to seek further the truth of the Maori way of life.

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**Notes**

- (1) Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*, June 1979 (p. 19), 1981 (p. 18) & 1982 (p. 22).
- (2) Data from interview with Mr. J. Durlak, Dept. of Ethnic and Immigration Affairs, Sydney Office.