



14 May 2010

Members
Maori Affairs Select Committee

Inquiry into how can we tap into the talents of “Mozzies” (Maori young people living in Australia) better

The Maori Affairs Select Committee has been asked to conduct an inquiry into “how can we tap into the talents of “Mozzies” (Maori young people living in Australia) better?” This paper has been prepared to assist the Committee with its examination. Issues are identified and possible lines of inquiry are provided for the Committee to consider. The Committee may also wish to raise these matters with the witnesses who have been asked to appear before the Committee to give evidence on this inquiry.

Introduction and definitions

There has been a long history of Maori interest in Australia (sometimes called Te Ao Moemoea – in reference to the dream time, or Te Papaka-nui-a-Maui - Maui’s big crab) and especially in Sydney (Poihakena) and, more recently, south-east Queensland.

In 1792, on the instructions of Lieutenant Philip Gidley King, two Maori men from the Bay of Islands were kidnapped. They were taken for their flax-dressing skills, regarded as useful for teaching to Norfolk Island-based convicts (Hamer 2009a, p.154). Thus, from the very first contact, Australians have either taken or attracted the best, brightest and youngest of Maori talent, although now it is a voluntary process.

In the last two decades, the numbers of Maori in Australia has risen sharply.¹ Allowing for undercounting, “...it is likely that there were around 105,000 Maori in Australia in 2001 and 126,000 in 2006, up from the official [Australian census] counts of 72,956 and 92,912 respectively. With around 15,000 Maori in all other countries besides New Zealand and Australia, as many as one in six Maori now live in Australia” (Hamer 2009a, p.153).

Thus demographically, and, increasingly, culturally, socially and economically, Maori society has an increasingly “Australian future” (Hamer 2007, p. xiii). The demographic reality is that by 2020, many within the Maori population will have never lived in their tribal rohe or even in New Zealand, may have only a small connection with tikanga Maori but may still wish to access the Maori estate or draw on Maori cultural capital (Durie 2009).

¹ The number of Maori in Australia, as recorded in census counts, rose only slowly through most of the twentieth century. There were an estimated 134 Maori in Australia in 1911 and 862 in 1966 (although estimated to be closer to 4,000, or 1 in 50 Maori). In 1986 there was an estimated population of 27,000, or 1 in 16 Maori (Hamer 2008a & 2009a).

There are a number of emerging features to Maori life in Australia that, in a public policy sense, makes Maori based in Australia able to be regarded as a distinctive group. The (unofficial) policy question often asked in New Zealand, is: ‘what can our expatriates do for us?’ It is suggested that this inquiry is an opportunity to ask what we can do for them, in order to ascertain how we can leverage off the relative success of (young) Maori in Australia.

Terms used in this paper include “diaspora”, used to refer to an expatriate population that has left a ‘home’ nation, and “Mozzies”, which is a generally affectionate term in common usage.² Note that the term ‘Mozzies’ refers to all Maori living in Australia regardless of age. However, the focus of this inquiry is on young people.

Demographics and characteristics of Maori living in Australia

One in Six? Population estimates and probable undercounting

Given that a sixth of the Maori population now lives in Australia, this is a significant group to tap into. The figure of 126,000 Maori in Australia should be regarded as an estimate only. There are significant issues with the ways the Australian census counts Maori, primarily relating to coding. As well, Maori in Australia have low census completion rates, perhaps due, in part, to the self- perception that they are temporary migrants, allied with high residential mobility rates and low rates of application for Australian citizenship.

Rangatahi

No sustained research has been undertaken on Maori youth in Australia (those aged between 12 to 24 years of age) so that a youth survey, or another means of capturing Mozzie rangatahi voices, may be of value. We also do not know the impact, if any, of identity-related issues for young people, as very little Australian administrative data (e.g. justice or welfare statistics) is collected on an ethnic basis.

What are the talents that Australian-based Maori young people have, and how are they different from their New Zealand-based equivalents? Perhaps it is in the increased opportunities that arise from a higher socio-economic status. The Te Puni Kokiri 2006 survey reported that 87% of the respondents agreed that their employment status improved as a result of moving to Australia (Hamer 2007).

Gender, geographical and iwi spread

A small majority of Maori in Australia are male, with one in five Maori males in the age range of 25 to 34 years of age resident in Australia (Newell and Pool 2009). Maori are mainly resident in the major urban areas (although there are distinctions, such as between north and south Brisbane) but there are also pockets of Maori population, in small numbers but proportionally significant, in smaller centres. Places such as Esperance (85 Maori), Dubbo (63) and Mount Isa (197) have such numbers due to the mining jobs and wages on offer in those locations (Hamer 2008a). Queensland has only recently overtaken New South Wales – each with a little over 30% of the Maori population – as the most popular state for Maori.

While it would be useful to know which iwi are taking the biggest ‘hit’ in terms of their young people leaving for Australia, New Zealand policymakers do not currently have the information required to fully answer that question (Hamer 2007), although the larger iwi are likely to have more outreach capacity, for instance around iwi voting processes. For example,

² Some Maori living in Australia regard it as a mildly derogatory term, in that it sets them apart and has an insect connotation.

the Ngati Porou website estimates that they have 12,500 members living in Australia, and is extending its outreach to a number of Australian cities (www.ngatiporou.com).

Why are Maori leaving New Zealand for Australia?

Australia is my home at the moment. But I'm not an Australian – I'm a Maori living in Australia. Aussies do try and claim me...but I'm not an Australian citizen. I was brought up over there in Tauranga.

Stan Walker, winner of *Australian Idol 2009* and of the hit songs “Little Black Box” and “Unbroken” (nztgirl 2010)

The exodus of Maori to Australia in large numbers has been driven by a number of factors. There is, of course, the obvious ease of travel between New Zealand and Australia, reciprocal work entitlements and a similar society, language and culture. This makes non-Maori also attracted to Australia, with 77% of New Zealand's total expatriate population now living in Australia (Fursman 2010).

Emigration by Maori to Australia is most often made to better provide for their whanau, rather than obligation to kin, as seen by the lack of a remittance culture. The ‘pull’ reasons are better climate, higher wages, or joining whanau already in Australia. The ‘push’ for trans-Tasman emigration is less strong, but seems to be negative work and social experiences in New Zealand, as well as, in some cases, escaping from the pressure of whanau obligations or iwi politics (Hamer 2007). A recent web poll on the maori-in-oz website had the majority of their 247 respondents (71.7%) replying to the question: “what would make you return to New Zealand?” choosing the response of: “Affordable living costs matched with better earnings” (www.maori-in-oz.com).

Most Maori move for employment reasons, given the opportunities a stronger economy affords, or to make a new start in life. A 2009 interview with Christel Broederlow, editor of the maori-in-oz website, noted that the reasons for Maori migration to Australia came down to: “...it's a change of life and it's a change of thinking...you just get off the plane and you just want to power ahead. A lot of people we know have started off in labouring jobs and then gone on” (www.radioaustralia.net.au).

Is there a citizenship aspect to the large number of Maori in Australia?

New Zealanders have the ability to live indefinitely in Australia and vice versa. Australian citizenship law regarding the children of New Zealand-born citizens born in Australia is complex.³ In the case of a Maori couple that move to Australia, but choose not to become either Australian permanent residents or citizens, if they have children in Australia, those children will most likely not be Australian citizens at the time of their birth, but will become so at age ten, so long as they have lived most of their life in Australia. The children will also be New Zealand citizens by descent if their parents were born in New Zealand.

New Zealand citizenship by descent is limited to the first generation born outside New Zealand, i.e. the overseas-born child of a citizen by descent is not a New Zealand citizen. It could be claimed that this limitation fails to recognise multi-generational cultural and spiritual attachments, especially for Maori born outside New Zealand. This could lead to suggestions that the Citizenship Act 1977 be amended to more explicitly allow for multi-generational citizenship by descent, although the Act does have some little-used provisions to provide for a child of New Zealand descent to be granted citizenship without having to meet standard

³ For more detailed information, refer to www.citizenship.gov.au

requirements, which is a means of recognising multi-generational links. Extending citizenship by descent would give citizenship to many people who are generations removed from New Zealand with no practical link to the country at all. Restricting multi-generational citizenship only to Maori would lessen some risks, but would also be seen as racist and divisive, given that the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship are the same for all citizens.

Are Maori in Australia developing new forms of cultural expression?

Paul Hamer (Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington) has written that Maori in Australia feel “the material benefit of life in Australia outweighs the cultural deficit” (Hamer 2008a). If material gain does, indeed, offset cultural deficit, then this distinctive feature of Maori in Australia may be a challenge to the widely held view in New Zealand that separation from Maori cultural links has demonstrable socio-economic and health impacts.

The (effectively) case control trial of trans-Tasman migration suggests that relatively culturally disconnected Maori can still become socially and economically healthier. However, in cultural terms, the lack of a set of ‘default’ assumptions and structures means that some aspects of tikanga may change quicker in Australia than in New Zealand (Hamer 2007, pp. 105-111). In Australia, a pan-tribal and kaupapa-based (as opposed to whakapapa-based system of representation and governance) has had to develop (Hamer 2008a).

Far from Mozzies ‘freeze-drying’ their cultural inheritance, emerging contexts and adaptations include the following:

- There are no fully accepted marae in Australia, although there is a high-profile project to establish one in Sydney (www.sydneymaraeappeal.com) and two competing attempts to establish one in Melbourne.⁴
- There is a fragmentation of the Maori population in Australia, although kapa haka groups are relatively active.
- The absence of marae means that it is difficult to hold tangihanga. This, allied to cost and residential mobility factors, may well lead to a higher rate of cremations among Australian-based Maori than those in New Zealand.
- There is a lack of te reo teachers, and of kaumatua. Consequently, women and younger men are given leadership roles in Australia that they might not get in New Zealand.
- There are new definitions of whanau, even beyond Maori, being used.
- There has been necessary use of Australian materials in the re-creation of traditional practices, such as in hangi, weaving, carving and rongoa (traditional medicine).
- Pito (umbilical cord) and whenua (placenta) cannot be buried in ancestral land, so many take these items back home, “...explaining the contents of their chilly bins to understanding New Zealand customs officers.” (Hamer 2007, p.106)

New Zealand’s diaspora engagement policies

Some observers (e.g. Gamlen 2007) have noted that New Zealand does not have as substantial or holistic a set of policies towards its diaspora as comparable nations. This is despite New Zealand being “...the OECD country with the highest per capita rate of immigration, the highest per capita rate of emigration and the second highest diaspora

⁴ There is a facility at Beerburum (Sunshine Coast) that may be more community centre than marae, although its status is contested. It should also be noted that some Maori in Australia consider that, as Maori are not tangata whenua in Australia, that there can be no marae (as understood in a New Zealand context) built there.

per person (after Ireland) in the resident population” (Bedford and Ho, quoted in Fursman 2010, p.4).

Many states view their citizens overseas as a potential opportunity and try and engage with them accordingly. By thinking about our diaspora differently, Maori progress and achievements can be considered beyond New Zealand’s borders; marking the emergence of a post-national phase of Maori development.

The comparison with Australia and Ireland may provide some lessons and insights for diaspora engagement policy options for New Zealand, which could be directed towards Maori living in Australia.

- Australia has a lower proportion of expatriates than New Zealand, yet the attention that has been given to leveraging off their expatriate populations has been greater than ours. A direct comparison of the Australian ‘Southern Cross Group’ (www.southern-cross-group.org) with the ‘Kiwi Expatriate Association’ (KEA – www.keanewzealand.com) websites shows that the former is more active in publications and advocacy work relating to citizenship legislation and diaspora outreach policy than KEA.
- Ireland has a similar economy, population and structure to New Zealand. Irish diplomats play an active role in seeking the return of, investment from, and connection with, their diaspora (*Ireland and the Irish Abroad* 2002), and are specifically mandated from Dublin to cultivate and maintain ties with expatriates. All embassies have to develop a ‘Diaspora Strategy’. The Irish Department of Foreign Affairs has an ‘Irish Abroad Unit’ which provides resources for Irish embassies and consulates to foster work with citizens abroad, including in New Zealand. There is also an Irish International Business Network that links Irish entrepreneurs globally (www.iibn.com). This is more specific direction and support for expatriate-related activity than is supplied to New Zealand diplomats.

What options may there be to foster and tap into the talent of Maori in Australia?

This Committee will consider if there are options whereby New Zealand can think more innovatively about tapping into the enterprise of Maori in Australia; to see this issue not so much as a problem, but an *opportunity* for government, business and iwi, to potentially invest in a suite of modest diaspora engagement policies.

Does anything need to be done?

Is this government business? After all, Maori have left New Zealand for valid reasons, so how do we know they want to be leveraged off or contacted by us? Given the stronger Australian economy, there may be, in socio-economic terms, few tangible benefits of ‘staying Kiwi’ for young Maori, beyond land entitlements or cultural connections.

There is, though, a growing evidential basis that allows us to conclude that many Maori in Australia do want engagement initiated from New Zealand. Just under half of those surveyed in 2006, who had not become Australian citizens, said that they wished to remain New Zealand citizens only. While a number of these would willingly seek Australian government funding if it was available (for marae construction or kapa haka group activity for instance), others would look to the New Zealand government for support. A high proportion of the respondents to the 2006 survey intended returning and Maori appear to yearn for home more strongly than other New Zealanders. A majority (58.2%) answered “definitely” or “probably” to the question: “Do you think that you will return to New Zealand (again) some day?”

New Zealand vs Australian-based Maori

There is potential for resentment of overseas-based Maori wishing to maintain ever-fractionating land holdings but making little tangible contribution to upkeep or rohe development (although this is an issue with New Zealand-based Maori also). New Zealand-based Maori may see themselves as the guardians of the 'true' or 'authentic' Maori culture. Some Maori in Australia record that there is racism towards them from Maori living in New Zealand, as seen by use of the sobriquets 'Ngati Kanguru', 'Plastic Maori' or 'Fake Maori'.

Meeting with Australian-based Maori

There has not been an attempt to meet with, on a larger scale, Maori in Australia. The last major hui where Maori from around Australia met to discuss common issues was held in Melbourne in 1989. Another hui may be desirable, including attendance by iwi representatives, officials and politicians from New Zealand.

Business linkages

There are existing comprehensive New Zealand government-funded websites that give expatriates details on how to relocate back to New Zealand - newzealandnow.govt.nz and careers.govt.nz - although not with material explicitly designed for Maori in Australia.

There are no New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE) programmes aimed at Maori entrepreneurs or business contacts living in Australia. To establish such programmes, or community liaison positions for Maori business people in Australia, would require a significant re-definition of the roles currently occupied by consular staff and diplomats, as well as NZTE staff, based in Australia.

There may be other opportunities to more proactively focus on tapping into opportunities from Maori in Australia to re-invest back into New Zealand. Although with a political risk of highlighting more favourable Australian economic conditions, a trans-Tasman rangatahi mentoring programme could highlight the economic opportunities that are potentially available. Another option could be 'reverse trade mission' comprising rangatahi and older businesspeople – there is a significant cohort in Perth - to travel back to New Zealand to showcase Mozzie economic success, especially for iwi and rangatahi audiences.

Iwi linkages

Trans-Tasman outreach is an area where iwi can further extend their impacts, especially around iwi voting and governance processes. In the 2006 survey, only 10% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement "Iwi organisations in New Zealand give enough support to Maori in Australia" (Hamer 2007, p.38).

Initiatives may have to arise from iwi themselves. The creation of specific advertising material for Maori in Australia could include material on how to take part in iwi voting processes, and to discuss options (such as allowing Mozzies to sit on iwi trust boards). Material could be distributed in the locations where Maori in Australia are found (such as kapa haka groups) as opposed to a more passive approach using generic materials or websites.

Some iwi restrict eligibility for grants and scholarships to New Zealand residents but others, such as Waikato-Tainui, do not. Some resources, such as those relating to Maori land – e.g. maorilandonline.govt.nz - are already available online. There could also an option to promote KEA more explicitly to Australian-based Maori with a Maori version of KEA or a KEA mirror site that iwi could tap into. Some iwi – for instance, Ngapuhi – already have extensive

databases of members. However, there is scope for more extensive surveying of Mozzies, including better databases of iwi affiliations, age, location, education qualifications etc.

Encouraging civic participation opportunities

Maori in Australia often accuse New Zealand politicians and officials as being interested in them only at election time. There have been past campaigns made by New Zealand political parties to Australian-based voters, a trend likely to be picked up by other parties. Not only are the potential numbers of overseas votes large, but 85% of Maori in Australia are of voting age.

A striking number of New Zealand-born Maori in Australia (approximately 75%) choose not to become Australian citizens and at least that proportion does not vote in either Australian or New Zealand elections.⁵ New Zealand citizens living in Australia are entitled to enrol and vote in a New Zealand general election if they have physically been present in New Zealand at any time in the three years prior to polling day (note that 60% of the 2006 survey respondents had visited New Zealand in the last year). An enrolment form also has to be completed (www.elections.org.nz). There are various ways of voting from Australia but the simplest and most popular method is to download the ballot paper and special declaration paper requiring a signature and send or fax the completed papers back to the Chief Electoral Officer in Wellington. Overseas voting is available in the 17 days before Election Day.

Online voting, as well as the production of electoral material more explicitly designed for engaging Maori living in Australia, could be future options. However, full online voting is not currently available because of security reasons and is unlikely to be available as an option for some years.

There have even been arguments made that the Maori population in Australia is such that it warrants consideration as a Maori electorate in its own right (although this would require a fundamental re-think of the purpose and nature of electorates as well as law change if this was to be realised). There are some international precedents for this, with both Italy and Columbia having seats in their national Parliaments reserved for representation of expatriate citizens (Hamer 2008b, p.26).

Cultural visibility and diplomacy

Options to increase cultural linkages include:

- Increased support through New Zealand arts and cultural funders for Australian kapa haka groups to enter New Zealand competitions (one or two teams from Australia do currently attend *Te Matatini* events after regional qualifiers in Australia, and perhaps there could be reciprocal visits).
- Mozzie-rich sports events (basketball, netball, rugby union and league) could have outreach activities from New Zealand government agencies, such as a tent asking if attendees have a current passport, or know how to vote, as a springboard to other engagements.
- Inclusion of the Maori Television Service on Australian cable packages (although a lot of this material is now available online).
- Maori Language Commission support for the teaching of te reo in Australia, in a similar way to how France (Alliance Française), Germany (Goethe-Institut), the United Kingdom (British Council) and Italy supports the promotion and teaching of their languages and cultures in Australia and New Zealand.

⁵ In Australia, unlike New Zealand, permanent citizens are unable to vote.

- Arts funders and policymakers to regard Sydney as a new cultural nexus for Maori culture. Unlike any city in New Zealand, Sydney is a genuinely international city so is a showcase or springboard for Maori cultural expression going out to a global audience.
- Subsequent Youth Parliaments could have rangatahi observers from Maori communities in Australia, just as young people from a number of Pacific Islands nations and New Caledonia were funded to attend Youth Parliament 2007.

Report to the House

The Committee is required to report its findings on this inquiry to the House. The purpose of your report is first to inform the House and encourage debate. In doing so your report should reflect both the oral and written evidence the Committee received, the issues the Committee considered in-depth, and the views of the members. From these the Committee should develop conclusions and recommendations to the Government.

Dr Marten Hutt
Report Writer
Youth Parliament 2010
Ministry of Youth Development

Members may wish to ask:

- Are Mozzies a problem or an opportunity?
 - If a problem how do we solve it?
 - If an opportunity how do we maximise the benefits?
 - And should we even be using the term “Mozzies”?

- What talents or attributes of young Maori living in Australia should we be trying to tap into?
 - And how?
 - And what do they get out of it?

- Is it too soon to argue that Maori based in Australia are developing new forms of cultural expression?
 - Or is it about time we starting contemplating and working through the implications of this prospect?
 - Are we seeing, in the phenomenon of Maori in Australia, the beginning of a post-national phase of Maori development?

- How can we respond to the yearning of Maori in Australia for New Zealand?
 - Are we ready to receive them back if the Australian economy falters, or if drought kicks in?
 - Do we have a Treaty of Waitangi obligation to culturally and socially assist Maori in Australia?

- Is simply leaving Maori in Australia alone really an option?
 - If not, what is it that we want back from them?

- Does the issue of engaging with Maori in Australia have its own policy drivers and characteristics?
 - Or is this part of a potentially bigger context of a wider set of diaspora engagement policies by the New Zealand government?
 - If so, what do you like about the ways Australia and Ireland have approached their diasporas? Could such ideas work in the New Zealand context?

- Is there an argument that we can be bolder as a nation in allowing expatriates (including the 1 in 6 Maori who live in Australia) to play a more direct role in New Zealand’s democratic processes, at both a national and an iwi level?
 - Can we generate and promote materials designed and targeted at Australian-based Maori?

- Can Maori in Australia be conceived of as an electorate in size and orientation on their own?
 - Are iwi taking full consideration of ways in which they survey and utilise the energy and talents of their members living in Australia, especially rangatahi?
- Given the large numbers of New Zealanders, especially Maori, in Australia, should citizenship by descent be limited to the first generation born outside New Zealand (as is the current situation in law) or should this be extended to allow for multi-generational citizenship by descent?
 - Could a multi-generational aspect be allowed for in New Zealand law or do our trans-Tasman agreements and other legal provisions (e.g. special grants of citizenship) provide enough flexibility for New Zealanders in Australia (of whatever generation) to retain links with New Zealand?
 - If multi-generational citizenship by descent is contemplated, should this be for both Maori and Pakeha or be restricted to only Maori?

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Suggested links and key word search terms

www.careers.govt.nz

www.citizenship.gov.au

www.elections.org.nz

www.iibn.com

www.keanewzealand.com

www.maori-in-oz.com

www.maorilandonline.govt.nz

www.newzealandnow.govt.nz

www.ngatiporou.com

www.nzgirl.co.nz/articles/13081 ["Celeb Chat: Stan Walker"]

www.radioaustralia.net.au [Pacific Beat: "Maori coming to Australia in large numbers" 8 December 2009. Interview with Christel Broderlow]

www.southern-cross-group.org

www.sydneymaraeappeal.com

Key words: Maori in Australia/Oz; mozzies