

## From kava to coffee: the 'browning of Auckland'

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### A Pacific identity

A walk down the Ponsonby Road end of K'Rd (Karangahape Road) imparts to the casual observer the impression of the bustling, noisy, chaos of one of Auckland's inner-city's main streets. K'Rd is always clotted with traffic: yellow buses, cars, trucks, bicycles, and pedestrians. K'Rd connects Ponsonby Road to Auckland's main street, Queen Street, but the tell-tale signs of old decaying buildings and billboards of half-nude females and reclining ladies of the night stretched above entrances to strip bars and sex shops indicate that this part of K'Rd is Auckland's sleazy red-light district. This part of town is known for its "special" services and hordes of admirers/clients of the femmes fatales who strut their stuff along K'Rd and its environs at days' end, every day of the week, every week of the year, year after year.

But these are not the only frequenters of this part of town. K'Rd is also known for its sea of blue uniformed Auckland Girls' Grammar School girls who flood into it, in and out of the yellow buses every morning during the week at 8am and 3.30pm every day.

There is a third group of people who frequent and who are seen often along this street during the week. This group is more distinctive in the weekends, especially on Sundays--middle-aged and old women who most often wear white and hats, younger and elderly men in suits and ties, boys in Nike sports shoes and gear, some young women and girls abreast of trendy fashions, others in puletasi or pea (lit. 'pair'; woman's two piece costume--neck to ankle-length). This group are the ekalesia<sup>1</sup> of Newton PIC Church<sup>2</sup> which is in Edinburgh St, a street which branches off K'Rd, between the Pleasure Chest and the Pink Pussycat.

In the old days this part of K'Rd also consisted of a few shops--a dairy, a fish 'n chip shop, some second-hand clothing stores, a shoe-repair shop, a bakery, a doll-hospital. Now these have given way to a trendy mall, shop-owners are loathe to lease, on the top of which used to be one of Auckland's new (now gone) landmarks, the 360 degree revolving restaurant. As a child I remember having fish 'n chips for tea almost every night because of all the choir practices, meetings and workshops we used to have at Newton Church every day of the week after school. I also remember walking home, or often waiting for my bus at the bus-stop just outside the Pink Pussycat on Sundays. Oblivious to what the strip clubs represented I never ever stopped to think of what I must have looked like--a young Samoan girl in frilly dress and shiny black shoes juxtaposed against a backdrop of a white seductively beckoning nude temptress. I wondered why the Headmistress of the Grammar school forbade us to wait for our bus at *that* bus stop in our school uniforms! I am still bemused by seeing these images today at that very bus stop. Sometimes it is an old woman, man or elderly couple, always dressed in their Sunday best. Sometimes it is another young girl.

The first Pacific settlers who migrated to New Zealand in large numbers settled in inner-city Auckland. K'Rd, despite its questionable reputation, used to be regarded as a mecca by

Pacific peoples in the sixties and seventies and it is not difficult to understand why. The suburbs of inner city Auckland, Grey Lynn, Ponsonby, Herne Bay were colonised by Pacific peoples, viz., Samoans, Cook Islanders and Niueans way before the trendy yuppie/apartment/café people/culture that pervades this area today. Why? Because it represented the site of the first Pacific ethnic church in New Zealand – Newton PIPC Church – which together with work opportunities in and around Auckland, became a magnet to all Pacific new arrivals to New Zealand in the seventies; it became a gathering place a Pacific ‘village’ for Pacific peoples throughout Auckland (Pitt and Macpherson 1974; Anae 1998) – before they voluntarily shifted or ‘were shunted’ out to the outer suburbs of Mangere, Otara in the South and Henderson and Te Atatu out west, Glen Innes in the east, and Beachhaven/Birkdale on the North Shore. K R’d used to be “the place to be” especially on a Thursday late shopping night where hordes of Pacific young people and elders used to ascend, to shop, talk, meet, eat, hang out with mates, in true Pacific fashion.

This was a time when a ‘typical’ Pacific family profile would be like my own - first settler family consisting of unskilled factory worker parents with elder children being born in Samoa, and youngest children being born in New Zealand (see Anae in Dunlop and Makisi 2003:89-101). This was a time when work was aplenty, when the standard of education was high and evenly accessed, when the church was the focus for the spiritual and pastoral care of the growing numbers of Pacific Aucklanders. Unfortunately it was also a time when overt racism was at its worst, when dawn raids relentlessly tore at the fabric of a truly ‘multicultural’ society (Ross 1992), when young inner city NZ-borns (the Polynesian Panther Movement in particular) became political and active in the shaping of the future for Pacific in New Zealand (Satele 1998, Anae 1998). Few people know that it was the Polynesian Panthers who ran the first ever homework centres, who lobbied and were successful in the installation of a traffic light in one of Ponsonby’s intersections notorious for running over our children, who actively supported Nga Tamatoa in establishing te reo Maori as one of New Zealand’s national languages, who protested vehemently against the Springbok Tours of the seventies (ibid.) - the list goes on. We made sure that Pacific made its mark on Auckland.

But my how things have changed since the heady days of the seventies. Most Pacific peoples now live in Manukau, Ponsonby and inner-city Auckland are now known as apartment city, yuppie heaven, café and restaurant mile, site of the Hero parades. But if you look carefully, many of the original settler families, stalwarts of Newton Church are still there, and so are their NZ-born children, and a strong Pacific identity – Pacific people and communities doing what they do and being who they are - pervades Auckland proper, and has been emblazoned on Auckland’s social landscape. But the profile of a typical Pacific family in the new millennium has changed.

Gilbert Wong in his *Metro* article “Pride of the Pacific” (October 2002) says that “Auckland’s Pacific community (stet) is reshaping itself, with a surge into the ranks of the middle class and a new search for identity” (ibid.:102). In this article he showcases playwright Victor Rodger...”paid up member of the brown bourgeoisie” (ibid.:103), 1999 Pacific Business person of the Year, hairstylist Soala Wilson who “struggled to escape poverty” (ibid.:104), myself, University of Auckland anthropologist, Dr Melani Anae who says...”Pacific Island middle-class families don’t always fit traditional patterns” (What I also meant here was that they didn’t fit palagi middle-class patterns either), businesswoman Pauline Winter who “likes the way the term ‘Euronesian’ captures the essence of

Aucklanders who have a Pacific mixture to them” (ibid.:106) , and 531PI and former NiuFM national radio network chief executive Sefita Hao’uli who thinks that “Auckland has yet to make the most of its Pacificity” (ibid.:107).

Wong states:

The slogan Manukau City coined, *Face of the Future*, is that rare thing when it comes to civic self-description, the truth. About twenty-five percent of the city’s people say they are of Pacific origin. Manukau is where the phrase the “browning of Auckland” has become a reality.” (ibid.:104).

But what does the ‘browning of Auckland’ really mean? On the face of it most people will simply think of this in terms of numbers, demographics and the negative statistics of low educational achievement, rising crime, poor health, and overstayers (see appendix I). The wider Auckland region is home to the majority of the country’s Pacific population, a solid 143,228 out of 231,801, and yes, most Pacific peoples live in Manukau. One in seven people in Auckland and Waitakere calls him/herself Pacific, and because of high birth rates the Pacific population is growing faster than any other, Pacific people now make up 6% of the population, but demographers estimate that by 2051, 12 percent of the country, or more than half a million will be of Pacific origin.

But there’s much more to it than that. For me the ‘browning of Auckland’, is a ‘moment’ in space and time of the Pacific globalising process. A moment in which Pacific people, like all other peoples, are trying to make their way in the world. The Pacific - the last place on earth to be discovered and colonised becomes the place now, to where the rest of the world (viz. the ‘west’) will flock to rediscover their spirituality, to become one with nature, to understand what ‘roots’ are, to get away from the hustle and bustle of the modern ‘city’, to escape from the disenchantment with what the west has done to the natural world, to view and to wear real ‘moko’ (tattoos) made famous by *Once Were Warriors* and to gaze with awe and amazement at the awe and majesty of the land of the *Lord of The Rings*. Concomitantly, Pacific peoples, from their sea of islands - the voyagers and caretakers of a third of the globe’s surface are continuing the voyages of their ancestors across time and space and taking breathers along the way, Auckland New Zealand is one of these ‘breather’ sites.

In this chapter I examine this ‘browning of Auckland’ phenomenon more closely. It is my contention that the ‘browning of Auckland’ more significantly represents the burgeoning influence that the Pacific has had/is having on New Zealand – influences that New Zealand has never experienced (apart from the tangata whenua history, experience and impact on New Zealand), is trying to understand, and is now accommodating. This burgeoning influence consists of a strong Pacific identity, a growing Pacific ‘middle class’, and an infiltration of this Pacific identity and Pacific ‘middle class’ on New Zealand’s infrastructure at national and community levels. In doing this, I draw from my experience as a born and bred Aucklander, a NZ- born Samoan and daughter of the first settler Pacific migrant community, a Samoan academic and researcher.

## Appropriation of Pacific 'Culture'?

Auckland has become the 'home away from home' of the greatest Pacific diaspora ever - tens of thousands of Pacific migrants and their families who have made Auckland their present stopping place in their journeys across the globe. Auckland is the Polynesian capital of the world and has become the showplace of Pacific culture and the strong and vibrant Pacific identity in and around Auckland is there for all to see. For newcomers to Auckland who may ask to "see" Pacific peoples/communities and culture, they will seldom be directed to Ponsonby/Grey Lynn, the place(s) where the 'browning of Auckland' has its roots, rather, they will no doubt be directed to South Auckland, to Otara, Mangere, Glenn Innes and pockets out West and over the Shore. They will also be directed to PIC Churches and the myriads of other Pacific ethnic churches scattered across Auckland's suburbs, the annual Pasifika Festival at Western Springs and the Pasifika fashion extravaganza, the flea-markets at Otara Shopping Centre, and Avondale Racecourse on Saturday and Sunday mornings respectively. Another "not to be missed" annual event is the ASB Secondary School's Maori and Pacific Festival held in March every year where thousands of Pacific students 'strut their stuff' in terms of Pacific performing arts. Then there are the various Pacific dramas/shows/plays by a host of budding talented Pacific playwrights - the record-breaking Pacific 'vibes' of our young Pacific musicians, the famed art exhibitions by our gifted and brown Pacific artists, and the world-renown books and novels written by our Pacific literary geniuses. Polynesians are also 'browning' our local and national sports teams - the Auckland Blues, the Warriors, the All Blacks, Kiwis, Silver Ferns. They are also bringing back gold medals from the Commonwealth and Olympic Games. The 'browning of Auckland' and a strong Auckland Pacific identity' is here to stay in Tamaki Makaurau -Tamaki of a thousand lovers.

Salient today is how the rhetoric of Maori and Pacific 'culture' has become a "buzz-word" in New Zealand society, as elsewhere in the world. In the nineties and current climate of political correctness and cultural appropriateness, one finds "culture" in newspapers, magazines, educational policies and programmes, on television programmes, on the doors, letterheads and in the greetings of Government Departments, part of everybody's shiny corporate plan, part of the rhetoric of all public occasions. But perhaps more sinister is the appropriation of aspects of a minority's culture by the dominant group to maintain the former's subordinate position. Here in New Zealand Webster stresses this point in his discussion of the expert definition of Maori culture in which the resurgence of Maori culture at the ideological level is being allowed to flourish while the machinery of state is slowly widening the gap between tangata whenua and mainstream New Zealanders (Webster, 1989). It is clear that the actual situation of tangata whenua relative to other ethnic groups in New Zealand is in a state of crisis in terms of employment, income, health, education and justice statistics. And this situation has been exacerbated by the recession, and stringent restructuring, free-market New Right ideologies and policies of the Government (Smith, 1992).

This same dynamic is operating between Pacific culture and people in New Zealand. The Pasifika Festival held annually in Auckland is a case in point. Begun in 1990, and developed and sponsored by SPINDA (South Pacific Island Nations Development Association) since 1992, it has become a popular forum for the celebration of Pacific culture. The Mayor of Auckland stated that "...there will be opportunities for all Aucklanders to immerse themselves

in the rich cultural diversity of the Pacific Islands" (*Pasifika '93* Auckland City publication: 1; *New Zealand Herald* 10/3/93). An organiser states:

We have second, third and even fourth-generation Pacific Island New Zealanders who have a traditional heritage combined with a New Zealand upbringing.... They have a new way of design, of music and of looking at the world--and the world is starting to take notice of them in a big way.... The [fashion] show reflects what it is like being a Pacific Islander in this country today.... We are moving forward in a global culture, while retaining threads back to our own cultures. The diversity of styles within the show mirrors [Pacific Island] reality... (ibid.: 3).

What is ironic is that *Pasifika* promotes this pan-Pacific ideology, as well as reducing culture to aesthetic, traditional elements represented in music, dance and fashion mixed with modern globalising influences producing the 'hybrid' model as discussed above. This celebration happens at a time when in the 2000s, national statistics show that Pacific people are the most unemployable, most uneducated, poorest, most likely to be criminals, most state-dependant (even lower than Maori), most unwanted sector of the New Zealand population. They are at the bottom of the heap in all demographic, socio-economic indicators in New Zealand. What is there to celebrate? (See Pardon 1995 for positive prognosis of Pacific peoples' involvement in New Zealand's economic culture.)

The contribution of celebrating Pacific cultures through the arts and at an aesthetic level is successful in making the Pacific presence felt albeit in a positive way. But more importance should be given to the critical assessment of 'top down' delivery of resources to Pacific peoples, and their 'bottom up' articulation of their particular needs and service requirements. The point is that instead of trying to define culture at an academic or populist level where foreign diplomats, including Pacific elites, business promoters and media suddenly become the definers of culture, we need to critically examine and understand what culture, cultural identity and ethnicity means not for some kind of generic Pacific Islander, but for the different ethnic minority populations caught within this pan-ethnic identity.

To many New Zealanders the generic concept of Pacific Islanders is considered to be a homogeneous ethnic group (Krishnan, Schoeffel and Warren 1994: 1). When considering racism in New Zealand, Pearson states that: "National sovereignty denies the self-determination of specific groups within the nation.... minorities are forced to adopt the practices and beliefs of the majority" (1990: 170). This situation is exacerbated by the use of these pan-ethnic identities. Social organisation of people from the Pacific differs according to their country of origin. For example, from my experiences and research carried out in New Zealand it is my contention that Samoan social groups are differentiated in notions of extended family or *aiga*<sup>3</sup> lines, Cook Islanders in island identities (there are many islands which make up the Cook Island group), Niue in village identities (a dozen or so villages on one island) lines, Tongans in class identities (nobles as opposed to commoners) (See also Nokise, 1978: 2).

It is increasingly becoming anathema to the older generation of people from the Pacific Islands living in New Zealand to be labelled as Polynesians or Pacific Islanders for the following reasons: they are not indigenous terms but *papalagi*<sup>4</sup> constructions and ones which

arose out of the colonial context, they blur the different experiences of the people to whom they refer, they imply homogeneity throughout the Pacific. As a pan-ethnic label, "Pacific Islander" officially incorporates people living throughout the whole of Oceania--Melanesians, Micronesians and Polynesians, and ignores the uniqueness of these different culture areas and individual island nations, and the existence of differences in culture, language, philosophies and respective histories.

Perhaps the most significant reason for people objecting to this label is the negative, distorted, stereotypic image of Pacific Islanders as "overstayers", portrayed by the media during the overstayer debacle. In the early 1970s, Pacific peoples, especially Samoans and Tongans, were used as scapegoats by the New Zealand National Government. The issue of overstayers was used to deflect attention away from the economic problems and Government policies which caused or contributed to the recession. While many Samoans and Tongans were guilty of overstaying, it was the Government's handling of the matter, and their focus on these two ethnic groups in particular which became unacceptable to many Samoans, Tongans and ensuing generations of Samoans and Tongans. Regardless of their citizenship or migrant status, Pacific people became the scapegoats of a state-manipulated migrant problem wherein they were portrayed as a social and economic liability. Ross (1992) has pointed out that Pacific migrants made up only a minority of all migrants to New Zealand. In the peak immigration year of 1973-74, Fijians, Western Samoans and Tongans collectively accounted for only 40% of all temporary migrants. By far the greatest immigrant influx was from the United Kingdom and Australia.

Since the 1973-74 dawn-raids by police on potential overstayers many new migrants, for economic reasons and family reunification, have shifted their destinations to Australia or the USA (Duncan, 1990: 128, Va'a, 1992). For Pacific parents, grandparents and aiga, the traumatic, emotional dawn-raids are still very vivid memories, indeed bitter memories. The emergence of "The Polynesian Panthers" in the early 1970s saw the articulation of the idea that racism was the basic social cleavage in New Zealand society. Fuelled by the outrage caused by this openly racist attack on people from Samoa and Tonga, they sought to overcome this injustice:

The revolution we openly rap about is one of total change. The revolution is one to liberate us from racism, oppression and capitalism. We see many of our problems of oppression and racism are tools of this society's outlook based on capitalism; hence for total change one must change society altogether (Polynesian Panther Party, 1975: 226).

The fact that there was also a media frenzy around a whole team of Tongan league players overstaying in September this year (despite most of their Tongan families trying to make them see reason) continues this senseless negative stereotyping of all Pacific peoples as overstayers. History repeating itself. I mean do you blame them? New Zealand and Auckland in particular for many Pacific people is the "land of milk and h(m)oney". I remember a story told to me some time ago about New Zealand being represented as having "streets paved with gold" Little did Pacific migrants know that when they got to New Zealand it was they who had to "pave the streets" – never mind the 'gold'! The point I am making here is that focusing on ignorance, misinformation, stereotyping is a waste of time and energy. What we should be looking at and celebrating are the 'successful' stories and the positive contributions being

made by Pacific peoples and communities across the continuum. For undoubtedly New Zealand will not and cannot economically progress without full participation of Maori and Pacific peoples at every level (*University News*, August 2003:3). Moreover, coupled with all the negative statistics, a new vanguard is in the making.

### A burgeoning brown middle-class

The Samoan descent population is the largest and one of the longest established of the Pacific populations in New Zealand. Samoans started to graduate from Universities earlier and in larger numbers than other Pacific groups. Auckland University in particular can boast as its alumni current Pacific Prime Ministers and Members of Parliament, successful educators and business people scattered across the Pacific. This is because the settler migrants who came to New Zealand in the fifties and sixties have provided a strong foundation of migrant social solidarity amongst Samoans in Auckland, from which this middle class has emerged. Macpherson (2002:71) states that:

There is clear evidence of moral community within early expatriate migrant Samoan communities in New Zealand....critical to the emergence of moral community were demographic, political and economic factors....that influenced the choice of migrants by their families, the processes of migration, and the concentration of migrants in residential and occupational areas....First and second-generation on NZ-born Samoans....may reconstitute a new form of moral community derived from parental cultures and common experiences of, and social positions within, New Zealand society' (ibid).

Macpherson then goes on to state that the evidence for a moral community<sup>5</sup> exists in community and social cohesion, kinship, religion, institutional replication, emerging pluralism and that these coupled with economic factors (urban and suburban concentration), and social factors (motivation for migration, selection, and orientation (non)work-life), have provided the empirical solid platform for the persistence of a Samoan identity system amongst Samoans in New Zealand. He states: "The NZ-born and raised children and grandchildren of the migrants are coming of age in ever larger numbers and are becoming increasingly influential within the community" (ibid.:85). He points out that they bring to Auckland a broad range of experience – they are English-speaking – they are 'bi/multi-cultural' as a consequence of their socialisation, formal education and intermarriage with Maori, palagi and others. Whatever they call themselves – NZ-borns, Samoan New Zealanders, PI's, Polys, brown bourgeoisie, nesians, euronesians, pacificans, they have "significantly larger amounts of papalagi cultural capital...NZ-borns have higher educational qualifications and incomes and more secure positions in the labour market than do migrants (ibid: 86). This has however has had consequences on their own Samoan cultural capital. "The loss of cultural capital results from the level and pattern of their exposure to Samoan values and practices.... Language loss has increased among NZ-born Samoans to the point that....only 46 percent of NZ-borns do...To see the NZ-born Samoans as having some sort of cultural deficit is, however, to miss the point. The loss of inclination is a product in many cases of a viable alternative" (Macpherson 2001 Anae 2001)(Macpherson 2002:86). Finally Macpherson states:

Every year exposes more dramatic and musical talent, and each time a song, play, or book publicly challenges the foundations of moral community that migrants

established almost fifty years ago, it opens the way for others to extend the challenge. The values that underlie the earlier moral community and the institutions which enacted and reproduced it are changing but in an increasingly positive climate. They are being rearranged to form the foundations of new, multiple moral communities that reflect new ways of being Samoan in an urban industrial society (ibid.:88).

Although Macpherson is writing about the Samoan ethnic group, nevertheless their experience is likely to be representative of other Pacific populations, in time, as the urban experience and 'generic' processes amongst Pacific peoples who share similar social and physical locations in urban industrial society chugs on.

In his piece "Pacific Pride" in *Metro* (2002) Wong states that:

Already six out of 10 Pacific people were born in New Zealand, so there's a critical mass of New Zealand born Pacific people educated and raised here. Their parents and grandparents might have had their choices and futures limited to jobs in factories and unskilled labour but a well-documented drive for education has widened their children's options. More and more of them are joining the middle classes but their middle class experience is both unique and complex (2002:104).

Most of this burgeoning brown middle class are born, live, work and play in Auckland. While it is true that a big chunk of the Pacific population now live in South Auckland (the majority of them recent arrivals), an older core of the original settler Pacific community (parents and grandparents) remains not only still living in Ponsonby/Grey Lynn but also have aiga members in Manukau, North Shore, out west, and in eastern Auckland. It is their NZ-born children who frequent the Ponsonby cafes and elsewhere and who have a penchant for 'real' coffee. These are the new brown middle class, our professionals, entrepreneurs--the brown proletariat (ibid.) with white middle-class trappings but with secured Pacific identities (Anae 1998).

A word of caution here though. This new or changing identity is complex. I have stated elsewhere that a typical Samoan aiga living especially in inner-city Auckland defies strict class definitions. For example from that family you will find people who are teachers, lawyers – very 'middle-class' – however you will also find from that very same family, labourers, people in prisons, all in the same family unit. Another complex factor is that despite some of the members having middle class incomes and professions, affluence is tempered by the cultural obligations and commitments and service demanded by faasamoa and/or their Pacific cultures (ibid.; Wong 2002).

Not bad for only a fifty year history in large numbers in this land though. Despite demographics which tell us that Pacific peoples are at the bottom of the heap in all socio-economic indices, the latest census tells us that we are slowly rising from the ashes. It is blatantly clear that Pacific peoples have turned a corner. From the humble beginnings of Newton PIC church and Ponsonby - the heartbeat of the Pacific communities in the sixties and seventies – and from the hardships and struggles of our parents, we are poised to become real participants in the knowledge economy that this country is hurtling towards. There are visible signs. Construction has commenced on a \$6 million dollar Fale Complex at the University of Auckland which will "serve as a single identifier of the ascending of indigenous peoples in their self-determination and expression and be a site for the engendering of future Pacific leadership and cultural and social



direction in the future” (Anae in *University News* 2003:Issue 7). There’s a new nationally networked Pacific Radio Station NIUFM which went to air last September. We have a new class of savvy Pacific entrepreneurs in every sphere of life (Macpherson et al 2001) who are not only balancing but maximising their identities as Pacific peoples and New Zealanders forging inroads into the interior of the infrastructures which not so long ago imprisoned and confined us as an underclass (Macpherson 1996,1997).

### **Infiltration of the infrastructure**

The intra-cultural institutional replication that Macpherson talks about (2002:75) “ the form of replication of institutions that both ensured and confirmed the existence of moral and social integration” amongst the Samoans communities in New Zealand are represented by the continuation in New Zealand of such institutions as fono matai<sup>6</sup>, fono a tiakono<sup>7</sup>, ifoga<sup>8</sup> (dispute resolution), marriages (ibid.) within Samoan communities and these represent but a few of the repertoires of Samoan institutions. This has been necessary process in the persistence of a Samoan identity system in New Zealand (Anae 1998). However what is salient is that some of these institutions have become ‘Pacific’ initiatives being replicated inter-culturally in the mainstream. For example, the institution of ‘fono’<sup>9</sup> has become a common Governmental process within its many departments to provide a space within which Pacific issues can be aired, discussed and debated about by its Pacific and mainstream stakeholders.

A significant event which has driven the institutionalisation of Pacific processes and which signifies the infiltration of a Pacific identity at a national level was the Pacific Vision Conference 1999. In July 1999, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs convened a conference to forge a vision for Pacific peoples in New Zealand in the new millennium. The conference: Pacific Visions: Navigating the Currents of the New Millennium’ sought to develop strategies to close socio-economic gaps identified in a series of status reports released by the Ministry. The conference brought together some 700 people from Pacific communities, the academy and government ministries, to define goals and formulate an action plan in the five areas of: prosperity, partnership, leadership, society and identity. Over three days, the conference generated huge amounts of energy, discussion and commitment which were distilled and published in December 1999 as the ‘Pacific Directions Report: a report to the government on a possible pathway for achieving Pacific peoples aspirations” (Macpherson et al 2001:9).

Since Pacific Vision, what has happened? A ground-breaking publication which provides insight into these processes is *Tangata O Te Moana Nui: Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples and Communities in Aotearoa New Zealand* (ibid.). This book firstly deals with changing social and economic characteristics of Pacific populations in New Zealand and the dynamic contexts in which they exist - they set the stage for ways in which this dynamism is manifested in the ways Pacific peoples see themselves. Secondly, the consequences of dynamism in particular social spheres is discussed . A third set of chapters deals with the ways in which these processes have surfaced in institutional contexts, and the way new social spaces have produced opportunities to redefine what it is to be a Pacific person for example, in the areas of professional sport, music and performance and how this has offered the young new opportunities to succeed and created new Pacific role models and emerging identities. Fourthly, the book explores some of the implications of this increasing diversity for the agencies which seek to articulate Pacific aspirations and visions, for the politicians who must ensure that these are embodied in law, and the social agencies which have to deliver social services to Pacific peoples.

The editors state:

Gone are the days when the common socio-demographic features of Pacific populations were used to justify a 'one-policy-fits-all' approach to Pacific policy. Issues such as immigration regulations which concerned migrant parents do not concern their NZ-born children in the same way. Conversely, issues such as Pacific language loss and language maintenance which may concern NZ-born children may not concern their parents who are secure in their language ability and identity. What challenges do these pose for those who seek to formulate policies and deliver services to these increasingly diverse populations? (ibid.:15)

The Pacific has found its way to New Zealand and enmeshed itself in the infrastructure. It has manifested itself in the very numerous Government Departmental fono which is a strategy used by Pacific chief executives, managers and leaders, to come together to talanoa<sup>10</sup> and share dreams, visions and strategies, recommend policy changes, improve service delivery. What is salient here is how mainstream have come to the party. They too have come to realise and acknowledge that 'for Pacific by Pacific' is not just rhetoric but necessary for ways forward.

This catch cry is being echoed through New Zealand infrastructure through education sectors, government departments, and amongst Pacific researchers. Few people realise that when the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) Charter was established that Pacific peoples were not included as a stakeholder group at all. It was not until strong, active lobbying amongst our Pacific leadership (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, Pacific community leaders, academia and elsewhere) produced that all important Strategy Five in the TEC plan<sup>11</sup>.

That stalwart of conservative education, the Ministry of Education has also seen the light. In 2001 it commissioned two integral research projects poised to change the status quo in education and research for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. They are Pacific Peoples and Tertiary Education: Issues of Participation project (see Anae et al 2002), and the Pacific Education Research Guidelines project (see Anae et al 2002), amongst others. Our cream of Pacific leaders (although few on the ground as invited by conference organisers attended the Knowledge wave conference in February 2003 (Malifa-Afamasaga 2003; Anae in *University News* Vol 33, Issue 2, March 2003:6).

Our Pacific researchers are also making crucial inroads as to how research can benefit Pacific communities in terms of research guidelines incorporating Pacific research methodology and pedagogy. There is already a growing body of research which articulates specific Samoan, Cook Islands, Tonga and Niue cultural paradigms for educational and health research in Aotearoa (in Park et al. 2000, Tupuola 1993, Tamasese et al 1997, Mara 1999, Smith 1996). Each Pacific ethnic group is expanding its knowledge base and insisting upon inclusion of those values at all phases of the development, implementation and outcomes of research. Such initiatives must continue to be fostered and supported so that a wider and more authentic research base can be formed. All researchers, whether working with/on/or for the attainment of Pacific goals can no longer claim ignorance about appropriate methodologies. Until the capacity of Pacific researchers reaches a critical level it is important to ensure collaborative research with Pacific peoples and communities is both empowering and appropriate research, as defined by Pacific communities

themselves. Many Pacific researchers are also obtaining research funds for ethnic-specific research rather than pan-Pacific research (Park et al 2000, Anae et al.2002).

### The 'browning of Auckland': an *ie toga*

To conclude, the 'browning of Auckland' may be 'new' for New Zealand, but the strategies used by Pacific people to continue the voyages of their ancestors are not. Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders, Niueans, Tokelauans, Fijians are maintaining their cultural identities the best they know how wherever they go, wherever they worship, whomever they marry. They bring with them, their respective histories and knowledges, their languages, values and institutions, their clothes, their food, their art, their *taonga*. The unknown future destinations in their global journeys will depend on the future generations of Pacific diaspora born not in their Pacific homelands but elsewhere.

The changing contours of their Pacific identities and the nuances of these in relation to western education, the influence of cosmopolitan personal networks, the effects of intermarriage, language loss, upward social mobility, weakening of familial links resulting from geographical dispersal has been documented and debated elsewhere (Bedford et al.1999; Anae 2001). But the Auckland New Zealand experience has shown us that what is emerging amongst this generation is the persistence of Pacific identity systems, based on the solid platform of moral communities given to us by our Pacific parents and grandparents. They are a 'with it' and 'savvy' generation who have maximised their identities as Pacific peoples and as New Zealanders and have used these to alleviate the subordinate positioning of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. They are the new Vikings of the Sunrise, our role models our leaders our brown bourgeoisie.

Wong says it all:

Heritage, identity – and class. All that first-generational migrant drive for children to make the most of education has resulted in police officers, nurses, teachers, bank managers, lawyers and doctors...Some have attained the higher reaches of society. People like Ae'au Epati Semikueiva Epati, the country's first Pacific Judge, a former Attorney-General of Niue...Ida Malosi, New Zealand's first female Pacific judge...Dr Colin Tukuitonga...Director of Public Health...Leopino Foliaki Jr, a senior partner at PricewaterhouseCoopers...Damon Salesa who teaches Pacific history at the University of Michigan....But there's enough of a critical mass that professional associations have sprung up...Pasifika Medical Association, Pacific Lawyers Association....a critical mass of Pacific people forming a new identity a few hours by 747 from their home islands. New Zealand is close enough to the springs of Pacific culture for those living here to be refreshed and constantly renewed, whatever they choose to call themselves. And wherever, in terms of class they end up." (106-107).

Bolstered by acknowledgement of and inroads forged by *tangata whenua* in their struggle for sovereignty and autonomy in their own land, Pacific peoples in Auckland have come of age. The foundation of a Pacific identity forged by our Pacific migrant settlers in the 1950s has given birth to a generation of a brown middle class who have infiltrated New Zealand's infrastructure at national and community levels. The 'browning of Auckland' is unparalleled in the world. The 'browning' of sport, the arts, fashion, academia, business and the corporate world, politics,

music, performing arts in New Zealand has created a unique Auckland identity and one that should be celebrated.

The 'browning of Auckland' represents an ie toga, because like a fine mat being woven, the strands of Maori, New Zealand and Pacific cultures and histories, the world views and indigenous knowledges they represent, and their interaction with each other and others interconnect to form the unique Auckland identity. This ie toga is presented to the rest of the New Zealand, the Pacific and the world with respect, gratitude, deference, recognition, obligation, a tangible symbol of an alliance and an exchange with all others and other places where Pacific peoples live. In its creativity in design and fineness of weave this ie toga is offered as a source of identity, history and wealth.

Soifua.

### **Fa'afetai**

This paper is based on My PhD Thesis *Fofoaivaoese: Identity Journeys of NZ-born Samoans* (Anthropology, The University of Auckland, 1998), and a previous article, "Towards a NZ-born Samoan Identity: Some Reflections On 'Labels'", in *Pacific Health Dialog* 1997, Vol. 4, No. 2:128-137. Any shortcomings are my own.

### **Notes:**

1. Church congregation
2. Newton Presbyterian Church: formerly PICC (Pacific Islanders Congregational Church), then PIPC (Pacific Islanders Presbyterian Church) on merge with PCANZ. Newton has a 50 year history in New Zealand and is the mother-church to some 30 PIC branches nationally. Its ekalesia consists of Samoans, Niueans, Cook Islanders, and is the only PIC which has an English-speaking component for its young NZ-born members. The first Pacific ethnic church to be established in New Zealand.
3. Family, extended family, descent group or kinship in all its dimensions; transnational corporation of kin
4. Also *palagi* sky-breaker (lit.), white man, Europeans, foreigner, Samoan not born in Samoa in Anae (1998) thesis context.
5. Characterised by social integration (extensive and intimate attachments) and by moral integration (shared beliefs about morality and behaviour)
6. Ceremonial meeting of matai – chiefs; titled men; head of households
7. Meeting of deacons of the church
8. Ceremonial request for forgiveness made by an offender and his kinsmen to those injured
9. Ceremonial meeting; council; conference; gathering of interested parties
10. Discuss; converse; chat; have a talk

11. TEC Strategy 5: Educate for Pacific peoples' inclusion and development. Objectives: Pacific learners are encouraged and assisted to develop skills that are important to the development of both the Pacific and New Zealand; A tertiary education system that is accountable for improved Pacific learning outcomes and connected to Pacific economic aspiration; Pasifika for Pasifika education services are assisted to grow their capability and enhance Pasifika people's learning opportunities; An increased proportion of Pacific staff at all levels of decision-making in the tertiary education system

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## Appendix I

### Geographic Distribution (as percentage) for Selected Pacific Ethnicities, 1996 Census

Ethnicity	Auckland Region	Rest of North Island	South Island
Samoan	65.8	27.2	7.0
Cook Island Maori	57.3	36.3	6.3
Tongan	79.2	16.4	4.4
Niuean	78.6	16.9	4.5
Tokelauan	22.8	73.9	3.2
Fijian	59.5	32.2	8.3
Total Pacific	65.2	28.4	6.4
NZ Maori	24.2	63.4	12.4
Total New Zealand	29.5	45.6	24.9

### Snapshot of Pacific Peoples (from 2001 Census)

#### Overview

One in sixteen or 231,801 people in New Zealand were of Pacific ethnicity at the time of the 2001 Census, according to latest figures from Statistics New Zealand. Half or 115,017 of those Pacific peoples were Samoan, an increase of 34 percent since the 1991 Census. The next largest groups were Cook Islands Maori (52, 569), Tongan (40,716), Niuean (20,148), Fijian (7,041), Tokelauan (6,204), and Tuvalu Islander (1,965).

Manukau City had the largest count of People of Pacific ethnicity (1 in 4 people in that city were of Pacific ethnicity). This was followed by Auckland (where 1 in 7 people were of Pacific ethnicity), Waitakere City (1 in 7) and Porirua City (1 in 4).

The median age of people of Pacific ethnicity was 21 years, a rise from 20 years at the time of the 1991 Census. While nearly 2 in 5 people of Pacific ethnicity were aged under 15 years, 3 percent were aged 65 years and over.

The median annual income for adults of Pacific ethnicity was \$14,800.

Presbyterian was the most common religious denomination for people of Pacific ethnicity, followed by Catholic and Methodist. However, Catholic was the most common religious denomination for people of Samoan, Fijian and Tokelauan ethnicities.



## 1. Usual resident population count

- 1 in 16 people (231,801) in New Zealand were of Pacific ethnicity, an increase of 39 percent from the 1991 Census.
- 1 in 2 people of Pacific ethnicity were Samoan.
- There were 115,017 people of Samoan ethnicity, an increase of 34 percent from 1991.
- The next largest groups of Pacific peoples ethnicity were Cook Islands Maori (52,569), Tongan (40,716), Niuean (20,148), Fijian (7,041), Tokelauan (6,204), and Tuvalu Islander (1,965).
- The count of people of Tuvalu Islander ethnicity more than quadrupled between the 1991 and 2001 Censuses, while there was a 75 percent increase in the count of people of Tongan ethnicity.

## 2. Country of birth

- 6 in 10 people of Pacific ethnicity were born in New Zealand.
- 7 in 10 people of Cook Island Maori and Niuean ethnicity were born in New Zealand, compared with 3 in 10 people of Tuvalu Islander ethnicity.
- Of those born overseas, the median number of years since arriving in New Zealand varied with people of Niuean ethnicity having a median length of 26 years, while people of Tuvalu Islander ethnicity had a median of 4 years.
- Nearly 2 in 5 overseas-born people of Pacific ethnicity had arrived in New Zealand by 1981, with 3 in 10 having arrived between 1981 and 1990.
- The New Zealand census count of people of Niuean ethnicity was about 10 times the estimated size of the population of Niue in 2001.
- The New Zealand census count of people of Tokelauan ethnicity was about four times the estimated size of the population of Tokelau in 2001.
- The New Zealand census count of people of Cook Island Maori ethnicity was about two and a half times the estimated size of the population of the Cook Islands in 2001.

## 3. Location

- Manukau City has the largest count of people of Pacific ethnicity with 72,3789 or more that 1 in 4 people in that city.
- The next largest counts were in Auckland (1 in 7 or 47,619), Waitakere (1 in 7 or 23,241) and Porirua City (1 in 4 or 12,228) cities.
- 2 in 3 peoples of Pacific ethnicity in New Zealand lived in Auckland region.
- 4 in 5 people of Tongan ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, with 1 in 3 in Manukau City and 1 in 3 in Auckland City.
- 4 in 5 people of Niuean ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, with 1 in 3 in Manukau City and nearly 3 in 10 in Auckland City.
- 2 in 3 people of Samoan ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, with almost 1 in 3 in Manukau City.

- 3 in 5 people of Cook Island Maori ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, with almost 1 in 3 in Manukau City.
- 3 in 5 people of Fijian ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, with almost 1 in 4 in Manukau City.
- Over half of the people of Tokelauan ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Wellington region, with almost 1 in 3 in Porirua City.

#### 4. Demographics

- The median age of peoples of Pacific ethnicity was 21 years, and increase from 20 years in 1991.
- The median age for people of Fijian ethnicity was 24 years; Samoan 21 years; Tuvalu Islander and Niuean 20 years and Tongan, Cook Island Maori and Tokelauan 19 years.
- Nearly 2 in 5 people of Pacific ethnicity were aged under 15 years.
- 3 percent of people of Pacific ethnicity were aged 65 years and over.
- The count of people of Pacific ethnicity aged 65 years and over has double between 1991 and 2001.
- There were 97.0 males of Pacific ethnicity for every 100 females in 2001, compared with 97.3 in 1991.
- There were 101 males of Tongan ethnicity for every 100 females.

#### 5. Religion

- Presbyterian (Congregation and Reformed) (46,971) was the most common religious denomination for people of Pacific ethnicity. This was followed by Catholic (44,184) and Methodist (27,150).
- Catholic was the most common religious denomination for people of Samoan( 26,934), Fijian(1,590) and Tokelauan (2,145) ethnicities.
- Presbyterian (Congregation and Reformed) (46,971) was the most common religious denomination for Cook Island Maori (15,582), Niuean (6,609), and Tuvalu Islander (1,062) ethnicities.
- Methodist was the most common religious denomination for people of Tonga ethnicity (15,402).

#### 6. Income, qualifications and work

- The media annual income for people aged 15 years and over of Pacific ethnicity was \$ 14,800 for the year ended 31 March 2001.
- The media annual income for adult males of Pacific ethnicity was \$ 17,800 nearly \$5,000 more that the median of \$13,000 for females.
- 1 in 6 adults of Pacific ethnicity had a tertiary qualification as their highest qualification.
- Nearly 3 in 10 adults of Fijian ethnicity had a tertiary qualification as their highest qualification.

- Over one half of adults of Samoan ethnicity had a secondary school qualification as their highest qualification.
- Nearly 2 in 3 adults of Pacific ethnicity were in the labour force.
- 4 in 5 employed adults of Pacific ethnicity worked full time.
- Nearly 3 in 4 adults of Fijian ethnicity were in the labour force.
- The most common occupation groups for adults of Pacific ethnicity was plant and machine operators and assemblers (12,804), followed by service and sales workers (11,382) and clerks (11,097).

