COMPARISON OF TWO MINORITIES:
New Zealand Maoris and Australian Aborigines

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Australia is the smallest continent in the world, but one of the largest nations. Located below the Southeast Asian archipelago, it is bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean and on the West by the Indian Ocean. Its area, including the state of Tasmania, is 2,974,581 square miles, an area slightly less than that of the continental United States. The population of the Australian continent, estimated at 12,967,000 in June 1972, is predominantly of British origin, but is changing slowly with continued immigration from Europe. There are 80,000 Australian Aborigines, 25 percent of which live in the Northern Territory.¹

The Aborigines have inhabited Australia for 13,000 years. When the first white settlers arrived in 1788 they were distributed over the whole continent and numbered 300,000; by 1972 the native population had decreased to approximately 80,000. These indigenous peoples, along with 48,000 part-aborigines constituted an under-privileged minority in the new society.²

The original 300,000 Aborigines belonged to about 500 tribes, each tribe having 100 to 1,500 members. Each tribe was distinct in language and occupied a specified area of land. Members of smaller tribes often lived as single communities and wandered over the tribal tract of land in search of food. Large tribes were generally subdivided. Descent was determined patrilineally, while residence was determined patrilocaly. Also, marriage laws required exogamy which created further social and economic ties between local groups.

The Australian environment lacked any animals that could feasibly be domesticated.³ The people subsisted through
means of hunting and gathering, shifting according to scarcity or abundance of food. There was a minimal amount of economic specialization although there was a sexual division of labor; men generally hunted while women provided plant foods. Production was largely the result of individual labor despite occasional co-operative ventures such as animal drives or the construction of a fish trap. Each family (man, wife, children) slept and fed around its own fire.

Social interaction took place in accordance with kinship rules. The nomadic existence of the tribes offered little opportunity for leadership and public opinion was important in maintaining order in social relationships. A tribe was a territorial and linguistic group with its own peculiar customs; it was not a political unit as there was no central authority and it had no warraking function.

The Aborigines had few material possessions because of their nomadism. They owned only essentials that could be carried and had no need for permanent shelters. Clothing was unknown to the Aborigines although in areas of extreme cold animal skins were used for protection from the weather.

The Aborigines had made social and economic adaptations to nature. Their religion manifested this same "natural" orientation. They were spiritually tied to their tribal land, which was the home of their ancestral spirits. Their religious life was keyed to nature and the Aborigines depended on this religion as food-hunters and gatherers. They performed rituals for rain and for the increase of native vegetation and animal life. Their religious adaptation to nature is totemism.
The Aborigines saw society and nature as sharing a common life and belonging to one moral order.

Associated with this cult were two important ceremonies. In each local group territory there was a specific site at which ceremonies for the increase of plants and animals were performed. The Aborigines were ignorant of biological causes of reproduction, believing that spirits of flora and fauna pre-existed and were re-incarnated by such ceremonies. Male initiation ceremonies were also significant.

The Aborigines were a preliterate people. They recorded their past in myths and legends and expressed themselves through dancing, music, singing and art. All of these means of expression had both a secular and a sacred level of significance.

The Europeans first arrived in Australia in 1788. They found the indigenous peoples to be harmless and reserved. Settlers first landed and erected tents on the shores of Aydney Harbor. Some Aborigines aided the settlers and had friendly contact with them. They believed that these Europeans were only temporary trespassers. However, as time passed and the Aborigines realized that the settlers were a permanent fixture, their behavior changed.

Contact with European culture and civilization was destructive to Aboriginal culture in many parts of the Australian continent. The culture deteriorated, not because of direct assaults on it, but as a consequence of the way of life established by the Europeans. The natives showed no inclination to discard their culture and to imitate the European way of life. Their lack of interest led to European belief that they
were incapable of becoming civilized. The cultural back-
grounds and values of the Europeans and Aborigines were
directly opposed. They had differing social, economic, politi-
cal, and religious organizations. The Europeans were seden-
tary, the Aborigines were simi-nomadic. The Europeans valued
material possessions while the Aborigines did not. The
Europeans were characterized by a belief in their cultural and
racial superiority.

The two cultures were so incompatible that co-existence
in the same area was not feasible. The Europeans forcibly
alienated the land of the Aborigines. This process played
havoc with Aboriginal culture which was based on the importance
of tribal land. The settler's economy was based on farming
and grazing, and required large sections of land. The Abo-
iginal economy could not exist in the midst of an agricul-
tural settlement.

Being scattered and nomadic, with no centralized political
organization or weapons to match those of the Europeans, the
Aborigines were powerless. They had no means to resist the
killing of native fauna and the clearing of land by Europeans.
At centers of settlement, the rate and density of European
settlement were high. In less than a generation the European
population had far surpassed that of the Aborigines.

The change in natural environment disorganized the Abo-
iginal way of life. When the gathering and hunting base
was removed, the social and religious life lost its meaning.
With the breakdown of the economic system, the validation of
the social structure disappeared.
Of the changes in social structure that occurred, the most significant was the development of camps as the major unit in the social structure instead of local groups. The camps were permanent and grew up near to European settlements, on which they eventually became totally economically dependent. These camps became the distribution centers for government rations. Membership was not determined by kinship and their composition was unstable. Aborigines could affiliate with any camp according to choice. The tradition of patrilineal descent broke down when children of white fathers were absorbed into their mother's group and determined descent accordingly. Polygamy gave way to monogamy as men could no longer support more than one wife. The authority of lod men was also weakened as young men, who were employed by white settlers, were put in a powerful position as many people were dependent on the rations they received from their employers.

For a time the Aborigines were left in control of their own affairs. However, the Europeans wrongly believed that the Aborigines had chiefs and charged some man in each camp with the job of keeping order. The system failed because chieftanship was foreign to the traditional tribal structure. The Aborigines' mobility also weakened this system of control. With the later establishment of official Aboriginal reserves, political control passed to government officers, missionaries and the police.
In 1788 the policy of the British government toward the Aborigines was in accord with its reason for founding a colony in Australia. The aim was to create a penal colony to accommodate the overflow from English prisons. The policy toward the Aborigines was not to assimilate or acculturate them but rather to protect them by isolation. The administration was only concerned with the maintenance of order. 

In 1825 modifications to the previous policy were made. The Aborigines were now to be civilized and converted to Christianity. The change was a result of the humanitarian movement concerned with the effect that colonization was having on native subjects of the British Empire. The new policy had little effect in Australia.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the several states of Australia were granted responsible government which was accompanied by responsibility for the Aborigines within each state's boundaries. The general policy was a continuation of protection through isolation on reserves. This policy dominated until the 1940's.

The new policy was the result of the Canberra conference of 1937 which was attended by all Aboriginal authorities. The recommendation was made that full and mixed-blood Aborigines should be assimilated into the dominant Australian society. The policy's aim was to avoid having an isolated racial minority which was at a disadvantage due to rejection by the European community.

In 1943 the Protection Board for Aborigines in New South Wales changed its name to the Aborigines Welfare Board to signify the change in policy previously mentioned. This
board was abolished in 1969 and replaced by the Provisions of the Aborigines Act. Under an earlier act, the New South Wales Aborigines' Protection Act, the commissioner of police was Chairman of the Protection Board. The police officers in rural towns were responsible to the board for the behavior of the Aborigines in the reserves. Police officers had the right to enter a reserve as agents of the Board with rights of inspection. They were consequently able to enter people's homes and intimidate the Aboriginal inhabitants. In 1955 a report noted that "officers entered and inspected Aborigines' houses unannounced and uninvited, interfered in domestic quarrels and suppressed behaviour not in keeping with European standards. The people sometimes referred to the old Protection Board as the 'Persecution Board'". Aborigines could not complain to law or administration as the police and the reserve managers worked together.

As a reaction to official policy, various Aboriginal rights organizations began to develop, including both Aborigines and whites in their membership. In 1911 the white academic Association for the Preservation of Native Races was formed. In 1927, Ted Maynard's Australian Aborigines Protection Association was created; the organization worked to abolish the aboriginal child apprenticeship system in which children were subject to child labor atrocities. The Australian Aborigines League was formed in 1932 in Melbourne. In 1937 one of its aboriginal members, William Cooper, drew up a petition for an aboriginal representative in Parliament. In Sydney in 1937 the Aborigines Progressive Association was
formed; several members of the association became the first aboriginal representatives on the Welfare Board. The Aboriginal Fellowship, organized in 1956, later merged with other groups to form the first national aboriginal rights organization in 1958. This organization was called the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines, and Torres Strait Islanders. This council was largely responsible for the successful Federal referendum of 1967 which gave Aborigines full citizenship rights. Since that time, the National Tribal Council has been formed in several states and, as its membership is made up of all Aborigines, had the potential to form the more militant and action-oriented segment of the Aboriginal movement.

Aboriginal discrimination needs to be fought with Aboriginal self-assertion. Legislation and welfare are helpful and essential but they are not solutions to the problem. In New South Wales, legislation giving the state control over the Aborigines has been repealed. However, the Aborigines are still poor and powerless. They have been brought up under a system of absolute authority and all decisions were made by external agents. Even when an act gives the Aborigines power to appeal, they frequently are not aware of this recourse or are unable to use it.

Aborigines have moved to electoral equality, except that voting registration is still voluntary for many Aborigines while it is compulsory for other Australian citizens. The political awareness of the Aborigines has grown, and they have shown themselves capable of organizing campaigns such as the Aboriginal "Embassy" which camped for the first six months
of 1972 on the lawns outside the Parliament House in Canberra. During this time young, radical Aborigines confronted the government and taught Australians about their situation. Interviews from the tent were featured on Australian radio and television whenever an issue arose affecting Aborigines anywhere in Australia.

On July 20 the government's patience wore thin and police moved in against the last of the tents. For the Aborigines, the "Embassy" had symbolized their feeling that they are foreigners in their own country so long as they have no legal title to any part of Australia, even to Aboriginal reserves. As the police removed the last of the encampment, bitter fighting erupted. The government was victorious in the conflict but the question remained and.

In the words of an Aboriginal poet, Kevin Gilbert:

What is it you want, whiteman?
What do you need from me?
My culture? My dreams?
You have leached the substance
Of love from my being.
You have leached the substance
Of race from my loins.
Why do you persist?
Is it because you are a child
Whose callous inquisitiveness
Probes, as a finger questing
To wreck a cocoon
To find the chrysalis inside?
To find, to explore,
To break open, to learn anew
That nothing new is learned
And, like a child
With all a child's brutality,  
Throw the broken chrysalis  
To the ground,  
Then run, unthinking  
To pull asunder the next?  
What do you seek?  
Why do you destroy me,  
Whiteman?

Today's Aborigines are descended from people who came to Australia 30,000 or more years ago, and in their isolation developed over that immense period of time a way of life that suited them and their environment. In 1788 there were approximately 300,000 Aborigines in Australia; today there about half that number. They comprise about 45,000 of unmixed Aboriginal descent, the remainder are of mixed race.

Almost all the pure blood Aborigines are in the north and center of the continent where white settlement has been sparse. Most Aborigines (68%) live in the country, unlike white Australians, but recently the number of Aborigines in the capital city has doubled. The Aboriginal population is increasing at a rate more than double that of the Australian population as a whole.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11}A 1972 report of the Council for Aboriginal Affairs stated that all Aborigines were "severely disadvantaged" compared with white Australians. The report went on to say:

Aboriginal health is distressingly poor. Evidence of malnutrition is widespread. Infant and maternal mortality is many times the general Australian level. Aborigines, said the report, were "unsatisfactorily housed" and at least 1,000 new houses a year were needed. In education and employment the Aborigines were also a long way
behind the white Australians.\textsuperscript{12}

The formal legal and political barriers to full citizenship for Aborigines have been removed. The barriers that remain are social, the legacy of years of training in dependency, poverty, and isolation from the mainstream of national life.

The cycle of dependency, poverty, high mortality, high fertility, and poor health that constrains Aboriginal opportunities for advancement is not strongly realized because there are no comprehensive and reliable data on the overall extent of dependence on social welfare payments and no data at all on income.\textsuperscript{13}

An indeterminate number of individuals with Aboriginal backgrounds have been absorbed into the European population, and a small number have become participants in the larger society while retaining an Aboriginal identity. The remainder are isolated in varying degrees from the opportunity structure of the economy and from political participation. In a highly urbanized nation, Aborigines are the least urban element; in a rich nation they are the poorest, and in a well-educated society they are the least educated.

The Australian economy is moving into a period of advanced technology. Australia requires a declining number of unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers. Instead, large numbers of literate skilled workers and rapidly increasing numbers of people capable of coping with technological change, resource exploitation and the management of people are needed. Aborigines do not have the training to take advantage of
opportunities in expanding industries, nor to compete successfully in other areas of employment.

Although school attendance is compulsory in Australia, the rule is not consistently applied to Aborigines. As recently as 1966, one-tenth of the 5-14 age grouping were not in school (table 1). The failure of the educational authorities to fully incorporate young Aborigines into the school system will inevitably prolong the inferior educational status of Aborigines compared with other Australians.

Table 2 shows differences between the states in school attainment of Aboriginal males aged 15 or older, and table 3 gives the same information for females. Apparently there are no real differences between Aboriginal males and females in levels of educational attainment. Nationwide, less than 4% had attained a secondary school certificate (columns 1 and 2). It is clear that New South Wales and Victoria have better retention rates into and through secondary school. The other states, except for the Northern Territory, are very similar (between 2 and 4%) in taking Aboriginal students as far as their certificate. Queensland and South Australia lag behind the other states in drawing pupils into the secondary level, and again the Northern Territory shows the weakest performance. The Northern Territory also has the poorest record on Aborigines with no education.

Table 4 shows the educational standard achieved by all non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal males; there are similar reports for females. The juxtaposition of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal
figures is extremely informative. Even from the five-year groupings, it is clear that at every age Aborigines lag behind their white age peers. They enter school later, progress slower, quit sooner, and terminate at a lower level. Australia is a highly literate country but at age 45 and above one-half to three-quarters of the Aboriginal population report no formal education and are presumably illiterate. As young as ages 25-29 nearly one-quarter of Aborigines have not been to school, and at ages 15-19 the fraction is 7/10. But at those ages virtually all of the rest of the population has some education.

The social and economic consequences of educational deficiencies do not stop with occupational effects. Because Aborigines are less able to deal with words and numbers they are less efficient consumers and buyers. They are less likely to know about or take advantage of welfare benefits. Such conditions make it difficult for them to get value for money or for work and to make the most of what they have.

Columns 1-3 of Table 5 report that at all ages except the youngest the Aboriginal workforce population rate is lower. The one exception, ages 15-19 is due to their earlier school leaving. For Aborigines the workforce participation rate (col. 3) is highest for ages 20-35, but it is lower than for whites and it declines through the remainder of the potential working life. Fewer Aboriginal than white males remain in the workforce at all ages, and more of those who remain are unemployed.

The geographical distribution of Aborigines in areas of limited job opportunities in low-technology, strongly
industries also hinders the chance for normal work careers. Heavy outdoor work which is correlated with low-economic status wears out workers at younger ages. The alternative of seeking work in different environments is hard for Aborigines whose experience and knowledge rarely encourage approaching the white Australian work-world.

No evidence is available on the union participation of Aborigines, but inference from occupational distributions suggest slow incorporation. In Australia, unions perform many social and economic roles beyond bargaining and membership protection. Unionizing Aboriginal blue-collar workers would therefore make an impact on social adjustment as well as occupational standing.

The occupational distribution of Australian males (table 6) shows that Aborigines are virtually absent from the white-collar world of professional, managerial, proprietary, occupations. Only two percent of Aboriginal workers occupy the top seven occupation groups as compared with 35% of non-Aboriginal workers. Two-thirds of Aboriginal male workers are concentrated in farm and manual labor, categories which include only 1/7 of white workers. Military services may provide technical training that is valuable in civilian jobs. There is a lack of Aborigines in any military occupations; only 35 men in the armed services and only 110 in all sorts of fire, police, and protective services.

Scrutiny of Aboriginal males in the workforce who have the best educational qualifications shows that there is little relationship between education and occupational status. The
pattern is much the same for the males with intermediate education. However, lack of education does make a difference; two-thirds of those with only primary schooling were in the two lowest laboring categories and three-fourths of those with no education were in the same categories. Education, is a condition but not the determinant of Aboriginal job status.

Opportunity and perception of opportunity, geographic location and attitudes toward geographic mobility, group ties and motivation all limit the uses of education: Education, health, work experience, and geography limit the employment prospects of Aborigines.
Racist attitudes are instilled in white Australians from pre-school years through adult. A typical school yard rhyme contains the ultimate insult to the Aboriginal black:

Jacky Jacky, him smoke baccy,
Eat gwanna, snake and grub,
He not given to White man's liven,
Him belong in bloody scrub.14

The attitude of European Australians towards the Aborigines varies according to social class and extent of contact. The upper class has little contact with or comprehension of the black Australian. Types of contact are limited to contact with Aborigines who are not average, those who have achieved some degree of success in the white man's Australia. Among the middle class there is some contact with Aborigines but this contact occurs mainly through academic. Anthropologists and academics may form a close relationship with specific aspects of Aboriginal life but not enough contact occurs for complete understanding of Aborigines. The most contact is made at the working class level, largely because this is the only level open to Aborigines. Usually, however, this contact is fraught with conflict as the whites need to feel that they are not on the bottom of the social ladder.15

Aside from lack of contact with Aborigines, there are several causes of European racism. From the beginning, the need to rationalize dispossession and exploitation of Aborigines has been felt in Australia. For the colonist, it was desirable to persuade himself that the natives were inferior and deserved their fate. Expropriation was also justified on the grounds that Aborigines had no government or law and consequently, no
title to their lands. They did not improve the land and therefore stood in the way of progress as represented by British civilization. The need to re-rationalize exploitation of the land was coupled with the need to rationalize exploitation of the Aborigines themselves. When shortage of convict labor became a problem, use was made of cheap Aboriginal labor. Race relations became paternalistic. Communities were stratified according to living standards, legal rights, and cultural traditions. Among the colonists there was a tendency to dismiss the Aboriginal culture by judging its technology and material accomplishments.

A result of the rise of racism was a policy that was founded on the belief that the Aborigines lacked the capacity to achieve equality. It was necessary to deny the humanity of the Aborigines and to exclude them from society so as not to bring egalitarian ideals into question.

Aborigines were unable to adjust to European intrusion in a manner that the Europeans considered successful. They lacked the central organization and economic assets required to adapt. The natives were consequently considered incompetent, and apathetic, stereotypes that still persist today. However, recently a sociological or cultural explanation has begun to replace the racist one.

Currently, despite the pessimistic class divisions stated earlier, there are a few whites who are concerned and want to remedy the situation.

Institutional racism serves to support and re-inforce traditional racist attitudes. The Federal government rarely
exercised its legal right to override state governments on Aboriginal affairs; a right that was allotted to the government in a 1967 referendum.

A number of factors hinder the implementation of a policy of assimilation in Australia. An obvious factor is the length of time during which segregation was the rule. It is difficult to counteract the effects of this earlier policy.

A second factor is that of prejudice. In some areas, the Aborigines and Europeans share common living areas and use the same local facilities. However, relationships between them are non-existent barring limited service relationships which are stereotyped. If there is contact at work, there is none outside of this sphere of activity. In some regions the Aborigines are socially segregated because of their regional segregation—living on reserves or in camps on the outskirts of towns. People of the town fear that Aboriginal neighbors will have an adverse effect on property values. Europeans rationalize the social distance by criticisms and stereotypes. European co-operation is required if the policy of assimilation is to be successful.

A third barrier to assimilation is the group life that exists among pockets of de-tribalized Aborigines throughout Australia. These Aborigines live on reserves or in camps, isolated from the dominant society. Rejected by Europeans, these camps have developed into highly integrated social groups. In these groups, the Aborigines have a social life characterized by relationships of equality. Group values are represented by co-operation, mutual aid, and generosity. In these groups
the Aborigines live a life that combines aspects of both European and Aboriginal culture. The traditional features that persist serve as a barrier to assimilation as Europeans see them as alien and inferior. These Aborigines resist assimilation because, although there are social and economic benefits, the policy would result in the destruction of these groups. These local loyalties hinder a national feeling of solidarity among the Aborigines.

A final factor is the problem of administration. The new policy was introduced at the beginning of World War II when finances and personnel were lacking. These shortages still exist in many states. Financial difficulties are great and cannot help but hinder welfare activities.

Despite these barriers to assimilation, current developments in Australia suggest that there is increasing movement of Aborigines into the mainstream of Australian society.

"Black Power is the empowerment of Black people to be able to make decisions concerning their destiny and control the management of their own affairs". According to this definition, there are recent manifestations of Black Power among the black Aborigines of Australia. The initial moves towards Black Power in Australia are being made by a few Aboriginal leaders. The National Tribal Council is regarded as the most powerful and radical Aboriginal organization in Australia. The Aborigines feel that promises have been unfulfilled and want action. If the dominant whites do not make concrete improvements in their situation, more black Aborigines may turn to Black Power for results. The movement
is a cry of despair against white failures. Young Aboriginal militants, produced by the spread of education among Australian blacks, are bringing their problems to the attention of blacks and whites alike.

The Aborigine must achieve a satisfactory balance in identifying with two major reference groups on a cultural level. Even among the young and better-educated the feeling of group identity is strong and there is an increase in self-confidence and pride in ancestry. A mood of assertiveness is becoming noticeable among many young Aborigines as witnessed by this comment, "We Aborigines have yet to be restored to the personal dignity with which we once roamed the lands of Australia. Our government speaks of equal rights for all men, yet treats the aboriginal race as though they are children. They pat us on the head, speak fine words and talk about what should be done... Once given the opportunity we will prove ourselves capable of standing on our own two feet... and becoming responsible upright citizens."

Use of the mass media for applying political pressure has tended to increase Aboriginal confidence. Reports of injustice and discrimination against a minority make news, and the Aborigines are beginning to take advantage of this fact. The threat of adverse publicity may serve as a weapon in the hands of the Aborigines.

Through local and nation-wide organizations Aborigines have become aware of each other's problems. Through mass media they realize that their situation is similar to those of other minority groups around the world. Contact with other groups has led to a feeling of solidarity.
Pour your pitcher of wine into the wide river
And where is your wine? There is only the river.
Must the genius of an old race die
That the race might live?

From "The Dawn At Hand" by Kath Walker

Settlements are currently the home of about 50,000 Aborigines. Some settlements have disappeared as Aborigines died or moved to fringes of white society. Others have developed into communities or Aboriginal towns, but others are little more than feeding posts with detention centers. In 1972 there were between 120,000 and 140,000 Aborigines in Australia. Of these, about one-third lived in settlements. The proportion of Aborigines living in such communities varies by regions, and is highest where the full-blooded population is largest, in the Northern Territory, Queensland, and South Australia. In the 1950s the Commissioner of Native Welfare pursued a policy of assimilation in which government settlements were shut down and Aborigines encouraged to settle in white communities. Two broad categories of settlement are evident; those in the more densely populated southern and eastern regions of the continent, and those in the north where there are few whites. The isolated settlements of the north cannot prepare Aborigines for integration in the wider Australian community.

Settlements should be allowed to continue only if they serve the interests of the Aborigines rather than the administration, and only if the Aborigines become involved in their local government with Europeans as aids rather than controllers. The level of living must be raised so that competent Aborigines will not be defeated or discouraged by the social and economic burdens caused by obligations to numerous kin and neighbors.
The Aborigines must be encouraged to play a role in determining their own behavior. More collective action will increase self-awareness and self-confidence and may result in a broadened Aboriginal identity. If Aborigines are to gain a larger role in determining their present and future, available alternatives must be demonstrated and changes made in Aboriginal perceptions of the alternatives.

Intervention in the interrelated areas of health, housing and education would produce lasting social change. Poor health retards mental and physical growth. School improvements must be paralleled by changes in the home environment. Unless Aborigines are to remain social and political outcasts, they must be able to participate on an equal footing in the central institutions of the society.

Until 1967 each state administered its Aboriginal population through state legislation; restrictions on liquor were not uniform, minimum wage rates differed, and there was no uniform scale for rationing. Currently, as a result of a change in the Constitution, the Commonwealth has a right to make laws relating to Aborigines throughout all of Australia. Until the mid-1960's, Aborigines were generally treated as persons in need of special care which meant that they were subject to legislation that denied them the rights of other citizens. By the end of the 1960's most, but not all, of such discriminatory legislation had been repealed. The legacy of these laws is Aboriginal distrust of the legal system as well as dependency and powerlessness.

As the legal system has been characterized by discrimi-
nation, the political system has evidenced indifference to the Aboriginal situation. Until it was repealed in 1967, the Australian Constitution provided that, "In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a state or other part of the Commonwealth, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted". Today the political and legal barriers to Aboriginal participation and assimilation have been removed. Social barriers to assimilation still remain but with increases in Aboriginal awareness and self-reliance it can be hoped that the problems of cultural differences and European prejudice will be resolved. European co-operation is a pre-requisite to lasting change. They must be make aware of the variety of factors that have resulted in the Aborigines' predicament instead of blaming differences on innate inferiority of th Aboriginal race.
New Zealand is located in the southwest Pacific, about 1,200 miles southeast of Australia. It has a total area of 103,736 square miles, a size approximate to that of Colorado. The country consists of two main islands, North Island and South Island, separated by Cook Strait; Stewart Island, a smaller island to the South with a population of less than 600; and various other small coastal islands. The estimated 1972 population was 2.9 million. Of the total population, 234,400 are indigenous Maoris; the remainder are predominantly of British origin.19

Through their voyages of exploration, Europeans learned of New Zealand in 1642, but it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that lumbering, sealing, and whaling attracted small numbers of white settlers to New Zealand.

The Maoris whom the Europeans found living in New Zealand in the late eighteenth century were easily identified, both physically and linguistically, as Polynesians. Their oral traditions included accounts of an original homeland and of ancient quarrels which caused a great migration by voyaging canoes southwards across the Pacific.20

When Captain Cook came to New Zealand in 1789, the Maoris were a pre-literate people whose tools were mainly of stone, and whose economic and political structure was based on kinship. The majority of the population was divided into approximately fifty tribes. These tribes were independent political units and occupied separate territories. The tribe was a descent-group defined by descent from a founding ancestor through both male and female links. Each
tribe was divided into sub-tribes, each of which controlled a defined stretch of tribal territory.

The basic social unit of Maori society was the household, which usually consisted of an extended family. Seniority of descent within each descent group determined the social status of an individual. The lowest class of Maori society was made up of slaves. These were mainly war captives and were completely de-tribalized. They were regarded as property and permitted neither rights nor possessions.

The basis of Maori life was an annual cycle of food-getting. Each tribe engaged in a variety of food-getting activities, the emphasis varying with the environment. Fishing, hunting, gathering and cultivation were all means of staying alive. Industry was valued and idleness discouraged. The Maoris made tools of wood and stone. They were skillful in adapting to natural conditions and employed a few mechanical aids (e.g. wedge, plough). Men performed tasks that required strength (hunting, planting), while women were engaged in less strenuous tasks (gardening, cooking). Slaves did the jobs that their masters considered dull or unpleasant.

Despite their small population, the tribes claimed most of the country between them. The Maoris valued land not only as a source of food, but also because of its permanence and connection with their ancestors. The prestige of the tribe was bound up with its land. The land was woned by the tribe and land could not be transferred to an outsider without consultation with and the consent of the whole tribe.
Children received their education at home. The object of the teaching was to pass on traditional knowledge in its original state. A selected few who were outstanding were sent to a school for instruction from the tribe's leasing priests. Instruction on a less sacred level was given to larger groups in subjects such as astronomy and agriculture.

The values of Maori society were derived from a sacred conception of the universe. All human activities were governed by an elaborate system of ritual. The Maoris believed in a pantheon of eight major gods and a supreme god called Io. Each tribe had its own exclusive tribal gods, usually of war. There were also family gods which originated from spirits of the dead. Men made offerings to the gods to obtain benefits or avert disaster. The most important rites were performed by specialists in ritual at the community altar.

Leadership in Maori society was in the hands of hereditary chiefs, assisted by a few priests and the heads of households. Each sub-tribe had one chief who was the most senior member of the group. The chiefs exercised great influence but they depended on the voluntary support of their kin, which they had to preserve through good leadership.

The Maoris had no courts or police system. Social control was exercised by the chiefs with the aid of public opinion. War was waged to obtain compensation for insults and injury and to maintain the tribe's prestige. Hospitality and generosity were as important as success in war for enhancing prestige.
The first stage of European contact with the Maoris stretched from 1769-1840, from the time of Captain Cook's visit to the beginning of large scale European settlement. During this period the Europeans came in small numbers as whalers, traders, and missionaries. The Maoris borrowed specific goods and customs that fitted into the context of their own culture. They began to use European clothing, iron, tools, and muskets. These additions began a process of change that reacted on Maori society in unexpected ways.

To acquire the goods they desired the Maoris took up new economic activities; they cut timber and made varnish from tree gum to sell to the Europeans. Many villages were moved closer to gumfields from previous hilltop sites. Thus Maori work patterns and village life were changed by European contact. During the 1820's muskets became an integral part of traditional tribal warfare. The increased loss of life from war caused a large population decline and disruption of traditional social organization.

During the period between 1835-1850 the rate of cultural change was accelerated. This stage was characterized by adoption of many aspects of European culture. There was extensive conversion to Christianity, which the Maoris viewed as a possible solution to the problems of war and disease. The increased pace of change was also due to the commencement of large-scale European settlement in 1840. In this year some Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi which ceded sovereignty to the queen of England. The settlement that followed brought the Maoris into a market economy. By
the 1850's several tribes had begun to practice commercial agriculture.

By 1850 the colony was firmly established and the European population began to surpass the declining indigenous population. The Maori reaction to the opportunities that had now become a threat resulted in the Maori land wars of the 1860's in which the tribes of central North Island fought the settlers in the area for over a decade.

By 1865 the Europeans had acquired large areas of the North Island and nearly all of the South Island. The rest of the nineteenth century was characterized by Maori protest and adjustment. In 1865 the Government set up a Native Land Court, which first determined land on a tribal basis, and then allotted each individual in the winning tribe a share of the block of land. In this way the land could be bought from individuals. Between 1865 and 1892 Maoris sold seven million acres of land to the Europeans.

In 1893 the Maoris were given the right to vote as subjects of the Queen. They were also given four seats in Parliament, where they were still outnumbered by the Europeans. In this same year the Government set up native schools in Maori settlements; English was the language of instruction and a policy of assimilation was understood.

By 1890 Maoris everywhere were entering paid employment, mainly of an unskilled and seasonal kind. In several areas Maori landowners developed commercial farming on a communal basis; however, without a single title to the land, these farmers could not obtain loans for development.
At this time, Maori chiefs and elders were protesting the loss of their land and the lack of control over their own affairs. During the 1880's tribal representatives met yearly at Waitangi and pressed for the establishment of separate Maori civil institutions. They were ignored and in 1892 they established their own Maori Parliament. In 1901 they disbanded after the government passed legislation establishing local Maori Councils.

Between 1900-1935 was generally a period of recovery for the Maori people. Towards the end of the century, Maori population as a whole began to increase again. However, Maori land continued to be sold. The first attack on this problem was made by the Maoris themselves. A scheme was developed on the East Coast where owners could farm an incorporated body to negotiate loans and work their lands as a unit.

During this period two great leaders emerged among the Maoris. A Maori prophet and seer called Ratana founded a new Maori church in 1925; the church had strong political interests. In another area a member of the Maori royal family organized her people to develop farming and to restore confidence in themselves.

About 1930 the Department of Education made fundamental changes in its policy toward Maori schools. The curriculum was widened to include aspects of Maori culture and more emphasis was placed on practical education. In 1935 a period of accelerated change began. Land development schemes allowed two-thousand Maori families to settle on 253,000 acres of land.
that had been developed for their use. Maoris were granted the same social security benefits as Europeans and the money spent on Maori schools and housing was increased.

During the second World War most of the young men served in the Armed Forces. In New Zealand the Maoris set up a large War Effort Organization, and moved to work in necessary industries. Consequently, the proportion of Maoris living in cities increased greatly and many Maori entered occupations that were new to them. After the war social and economic change continued. Es-servicemen took advantage of rehabilitation schemes to train as tradesmen, acquire businesses, and attend university. Many laws that discriminated against Maoris were eliminated.
The Maoris are currently New Zealand’s largest and most distinctive minority. They differ from the non-Maori population in their patterns of employment, income, housing, health, family life, education, and crime rate. A study of current Maori statuses is characterized by variations on a regional basis and rapid social and economic change. Neither Maoris nor European New Zealanders make a clear distinction between full-blooded Maoris and persons of mixed descent. Maoris are identified as anyone having dark skin and/or Polynesian features. Maoris usually identify themselves as such if they are half Maori or more, were brought up by Maoris, or prefer the Maori way of life.

Legally, Maoris have the same basic rights as all New Zealand citizens; they can vote and run for Parliament, they have equal access to state services, including education and social security, they can enter any trade or profession if properly qualified, and they earn the same wages and pay the same taxes.

However, the statute books include many acts and clauses that deal with Maoris only or make a distinction between Maoris and other New Zealanders. The most significant of these deal with ownership and administration of Maori land, the institutions dealing with Maori affairs, parliamentary representation, and Maori community government. Many of these clauses were passed to protect the Maoris from practices such as drinking or to counteract disadvantages, such as language difficulties.

Many of these clauses have been removed from the statute books. Restrictions on the sale of liquor to Maoris were abolished in 1948, separate registration of births and deaths in 1961, and Maoris became eligible for jury service in 1961.
The provisions that remain are justified by the government as being necessary to compensate for unique difficulties.

Legal distinction of the Maoris as a minority group is strengthened by the existence of a Department of Maori Affairs. The Department attends to the improvement and recognition of Maori land titles, the development and settlement of Maori land, the providing of Maori housing, and Maori welfare.

All New Zealanders agree in recognizing the existence of a Maori culture. Language, arts and crafts are included, along with ways and beliefs that are derived from pre-European culture. However, Maori culture includes not only beliefs derived from pre-European ancestors, but also beliefs borrowed from association with Europeans. There is then a common area of culture existing between Maoris and other New Zealanders. However, there are areas of the dominant culture that are rarely shared by Maoris. These include university, big business, and upper class society.

There are aspects of Maori culture that remain distinctively Maori. An example of this is the use of the Maori language. Maoris also retain a special attachment to the land and continue to trace connections and fulfill obligations to a large circle of relatives. The Maoris also value the holding of large scale gatherings, the most important of which is the funeral wake. They also continue to believe in sorcery and Maori ceremonial forms. There is individual variation in the value placed on specific Maori ways but the large majority place a positive value on at least some of the things that are unique to their culture.28
Maoris find it necessary to learn English to survive in New Zealand today. All Maoris speak English for practical purposes and many speak the language fluently. A large proportion of Maoris, however, speak and write English with difficulty. These difficulties arise from lower class status, residential isolation, and limited education.

Many communities still exist where the Maori language is the main means of communication among adults. Most Maoris know some Maori and most homes include at least one member who speaks it fluently. Maori children speak mainly English because it is the language spoken in school, on radio and television, and in films. As Maoris grow older they tend to become more interested in Maori heritage. The Maori language is used in most formal or ceremonial occasions and is the chief symbol of Maori distinctiveness.

The distribution of the Maori population differs from that of other New Zealanders in several ways. Maoris are concentrated in the Northern half of the North Island. Also, large numbers of Maoris live in areas where there are few non-Maoris. Slightly more than half of the Maoris are rurally located. However, since 1945, Maoris have begun to move out of remote Maori areas into regions that offer better opportunities. In the northern cities, timber industries and hydro-electric plants are attractive to Maoris. In rural areas Maori settlements are dispersed; villages occur only where there is employment nearby. Urban Maoris live scattered among non-Maoris.

While some are employed in almost every occupation
available in New Zealand, Maori workers are heavily concentrated in certain limited types of occupation, mostly of an unskilled or semi-skilled type. Over 50% are employed as laborers, domestic workers, drivers, farmers, and carpenters. They are under-represented in management and administration and professional and technical occupations. Of the small numbers in "white-collar" occupations most are nurses, clerks, and teachers.

In the rural areas, jobs are scarce in number and narrow in range. Consequently, Maoris who migrate to urban areas are unaware of the scope of employment opportunities available and tend to work in the same type of employment as friends and relatives.

Some employers discriminate against Maoris by giving preference to non-Maoris who apply for the same jobs, especially if the position is one of responsibility. Employers generally defend their actions by saying that clients or employers would object. Since 1945, Vocational Guidance and Maori Welfare officers have widened fields of employment for Maoris and persuaded employers to give qualified Maoris a chance. Discrimination occasionally favors the Maori in that employers frequently prefer a Maori for jobs requiring manual dexterity. Unfortunately, these jobs are predominantly semi-skilled.

For a Maori, higher levels of occupation often signify isolation among non-Maori strangers. Many refuse higher status jobs rather than risk alienation from Maori friends and relatives. This trend is most evident in rural areas as urban Maori populations tend to be more heterogenous.
In an attempt to increase the proportion of Maoris in trades and professions, the government and the Maori Education Foundation provide special vocational guidance and financial assistance for Maori students.\textsuperscript{33}

Rural Maori families supplement their cash income with a non-cash profit from the land. Many live rent free on land in which they have shared, keeping animals and cultivation vegetables in small gardens. The Maoris still place a high value on generosity and sharing. As a result, real family income is frequently reduced in families with many connections and relatives. In 1956 a group of citizens led by a Maori doctor started a budget advice service for Maoris. As a result, similar groups have been formed and in 1965 over 700 Maori families were receiving budgetary counselling from Maori and non-Maori advisors\textsuperscript{34}.

Inflation has recently made family life impractical on a rural income. Consequently, Maoris are migrating rapidly to urban areas, as the city has more opportunities to offer. The urban Maori is faced with the need to adjust to patterns of individual home ownership, a household unit centered around the nuclear family, regular employment, and the cash orientation of an urban industrial economy. The Maori must adjust to these urban demands and surrender some values derived from Maori culture. Voluntary Maori urban associations have developed for mutual aid, the expression of Maori values, and to ensure the continuity of Maori culture.

At the 1966 census more than 90\% of Maoris in the labor force had no educational qualifications and 75\% was classified
as semi-skilled or un-skilled. Maori educational and employment handicaps are closely related. In 1966 almost 75% of the male Maori labor force earned less than $2,200, while only 50% of the male non-Maori labor force earned less than that amount. For each working Maori male there were more than two dependent children compared with a little more than one for non-Maori working males. In 1966 the proportion of unemployed Maori males in the labor force was double the non-Maori proportion.

Compared with non-Maori housing, Maori dwellings include a higher proportion of temporary homes and have, on the average, fewer conveniences (e.g., piped water, refrigerator). Compared with the rest of the population they own fewer of the houses they occupy and rent more, particularly in urban areas.

Since 1936, the government has provided special housing assistance for Maoris by granting housing loans and allocating state rental homes in urban centers. Over 50% of new homes built for Maoris are in urban areas. This is largely because the Department of Maori Affairs is concerned with avoiding problems that arise when employment is not available. In urban areas the government has attempted to avoid segregation by interspersing Maori homes among non-Maori. However, the shortage of space and high cost of certain sections has led to the creation of a few small all-Maori enclaves in several cities.

Maori standards of health are also low in comparison to non-Maoris. Lower Maori health standards are attributed mainly to environmental factors; poor housing, sanitation, water supply, overcrowding, and inadequate clothing.
It is important to recognize that the distribution of Maori workers in the field of manual labor is associated with the lower educational achievements of the Maori as compared with the European. This in turn relates to the economic status of the parents and the lack of economic incentives in Maori communities.

Christian missions first established schools among the Maori people and the government's entry into this field supported missionary education. Today there is a system of public education for Maori and non-Maori children although Maori schools still exist in predominantly Maori districts. Because the public schools are more numerous and widely dispersed, more Maori attend them than the special Maori schools. Technical colleges, teacher's training colleges, and universities are open to all who pass the entrance examination. However, home background, language difficulties, and economic and social problems put the Maori child at a severe disadvantage in education as the system tends to be European.

In 1967 the government decided to transfer control of Maori schools to education boards. The government, however, recommended that all teachers with Maori students know the Maori language and history; recently, Maori and Maori Studies courses have developed in universities. Also, it has been suggested that the educational under-achievement of Maoris is due, in part, to the school system. The system does not recognize the cultural differences of the Maori and is oriented toward European society and custom.
The 1968 Education statistics show that nearly 90% of Maori school drop-outs had not attained the School Certificate as compared with less than 50% of non-Maori drop-outs. Less than 3% of all Maori pupils had been awarded University Entrance of higher qualifications as compared with 20% of non-Maori pupils.

The majority of Maoris are Christians and religion is highly respected among the Maoris. Nearly all European-derived churches have special clergy for working with Maoris. The Mormons alone have one organization for both non-Maori and Maori. The Church of England has a Maori bishop and Maori clergymen of all denominations conduct their services in Maori, in Maori churches constructed in Maori villages.

There are also Maori derived sects. The most important of these are the Ringatu and Ratana movements. Both were originally movements of protest against the European confiscation of Maori lands and both are currently recognized as churches on a legal basis.

The number of Maoris convicted of crimes is higher than that of non-Maoris. This is partly due to the fact that Maoris are unaware of their rights as citizens; they obtain counsel and plead guilty more frequently than non-Maoris. Prejudice and lack of understanding of Maori culture are causes for the higher crime rate. Also, Maoris who steal do so because childhood experience in a community where borrowing is common fails to develop strong internal restraints. Other factors also contribute to Maori crime, unemployment, poverty, reaction against discrimination, and resentment of non-Maori prosperity are all variables that interact to result in crime.
The Maori are represented in Parliament by four Maori members. Maoris obtained the full vote in 1893 but the secret ballot not until 1936, and compulsory registration in 1956. The majority of Maoris support the same political parties as non-Maoris. The major parties each have national Maori executives and regional branches. Maoris tend to show a lack of interest in politics due to isolation and limited education.

There are four Maori national movements; they are the Ratana Church, Kotahitanga, Kauhanganui, and the King movement. The Kotahitanga (Unity) movement devotes itself to getting breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi investigated; effective membership is limited to a few hundred. Kauhanganui (the Maori Independent Movement) was established in 1949. Its members seek the establishment of an independent Maori federation headed by a chief's council. They also seek revision of the Treaty of Waitangi, and fair settlement of Maori land complaints.

The King movement is made up of three tribes who give allegiance, under the Queen and Parliament of New Zealand, to the Maori King. A Maori king was first elected in 1858 in the hope that he would settle land encroachments by the Europeans. Since 1881, the King movement has withdrawn from national politics and concentrated on its own social and cultural activities. The movement today seeks neither political independence nor a place in politics. Its main aims are to unite the people and preserve Maori culture by maintaining a king who embodies the prestige of the Maori people.

In December 1971 the Race Relations Act was passed; its
purpose was to "affirm and promote racial equality in New Zealand and to implement the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination". This Act was the first of its kind in New Zealand legislation. The Act states that it is unlawful to discriminate on grounds of color, race, ethnic of national origin in respect to access to places, vehicles, and facilities to which the public is admitted; the provision of goods and services, employment, land, housing, and other accommodation.
As stated earlier, Maoris have the same basic rights as other citizens, but are also distinguished by law for certain purposes. Previous to 1971 New Zealand had no legislation controlling discrimination on grounds of race. Maori - non-Maori relations vary widely according to situation; occupational status, history of contact in certain areas, and relationship with the land are all variables that must be taken into account. In central areas of North Island, where civil war, and confiscation of property left Maoris landless and distrustful, relations differ from those on the East Coast where Maoris outnumber non-Maoris, own much of the land, and are often prosperous. Differences also exist between rural and urban areas.

Discrimination does occur but it is apparently unofficial and reversible. Few non-Maoris discriminate against Maoris at a personal level. Discrimination against Maoris occurs mainly in housing and employment. Employers and landlords who discriminate claim that Maoris do not look after property, and allow overcrowding as tenants, and are unpunctual and frequently absent as workers. Most will make an exception when confronted with a Maori who does not fit their stereotype. Unfortunately, many Maoris are discouraged by experience and ready to accept the inferior positions that are available. If discrimination is exposed, the public reaction is one of disapproval.

Maoris and non-Maoris mix fairly freely in public, at school, work, in clubs, at church, at community gatherings. However, Maoris are often under-represented in local associa-
tions and consequently form separate ones of their own. Mixing in the home is limited. Prejudice is only one of the factors that hingers intimacy between Maoris and non-Maoris. In many areas there are either few Maoris and many non-Maoris or vice-versa. The concentration of Maoris in the lower socio-economic classes leads to differences of interest and behavior. Maoris tend to prefer the company of other Maoris because they speak the same language and share common values.

Most Maoris and non-Maoris are prejudiced in favor of their own group rather than against the other group as they believe in their own norms and values. Most non-Maoris deny belief in the superiority of being white but their behavior is frequently at variance with this denial. Because the majority of Maoris are employed in un-skilled and semi-skilled jobs and are below average in standards of living, housing and education, they tend to identify lower class standards as being Maori. They are surprised when a Maori does well by their standards. Maoris, on the other hand, assume that the non-Maori is in charge in co-operative enterprises. Because color is a major index of membership in the Maori group, judging Maoris on the basis of group membership necessarily involves color prejudice. However, this prejudice usually will give way in the face of contradictory experiences.

Non-Maoris regard the Maoris stereotypically, using value judgements and emphasizing differences. Maoris are believed to be dirty, lazy, lacking in ambition, uncaring about time and property, and natural sportsmen and singers.
It is important to note that discrimination and prejudice are often associated with and offset by respect and co-operation. Most non-Maoris admire the Maoris as the discoverers and original inhabitants of New Zealand. They also admire modern Maoris as soldiers, entertainers, and sportsmen. Many voluntary associations go out of their way to attract Maoris as members. Maoris who stand for public office often poll exceptionally well, even when they are personally unknown. Two Maori women have been selected as Miss New Zealand. Non-Maoris support the Maori Education Foundation with money and effort and serve on Maori education committees and budgetary advisory panels.

Interest in Maori language and culture is increasing with opportunities for knowledge. Books and records by or about Maoris sell well on the whole. Maori arts and crafts are taught in primary schools and a study of Maori prehistory and culture is included in the curriculum. Many secondary schools have Maori clubs.

Maoris have far fewer opportunities for discriminating against non-Maoris than vice-versa because they are in a minority and are infrequently landlords or employers. Maoris express resentment by not co-operating, talking Maori in their presence, and giving misleading information. Communities associated with the King movement and the Ringata Church excluded non-Maoris until quite recently. Maoris generally regard non-Maoris with suspicion. Unsure of non-Maori expectations, they are cautious and assume that non-Maoris are not to be trusted until proven otherwise.
Maoris characterize non-Maoris as being cold, selfish, ambitious, neglectful of kin, preoccupied with material goods and success. However, Maoris admire and respect non-Maoris for their skill in technology and administration.

In the history of contact the Maoris have borrowed and changed more than the Europeans. However, there has not been a direct process of assimilation or acculturation and it does not appear likely that there will be. While the Maoris abandoned some of their ancestral ways (e.g. cannibalism and slavery), they have maintained many more by adapting them to changing circumstances, incorporating borrowed ideas into earlier patterns. Non-Maori ways are rarely adopted without some form of modification. Nor is success, economic or social, associated with loss or rejection of Maori heritage. On the contrary, Maoris in white-collar and professional positions tend to take pride in being Maori. Maori acculturation involves making borrowed ways a part of their culture, thereby increasing the overlap with non-Maori culture and resulting in a reduction of differences. Some acculturation has even taken place in the opposite direction. Non-Maoris have adopted Maori names for places, plants, and wildlife. Areas of common culture are extended by new patterns of association. These associations occur in the fields of sport, soldiering, and entertainment, areas in which Maoris have achieved national prominence.
Throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century the government followed a policy of assimilation in its direction of Maori affairs, assuming that equality between Maori and non-Maori could be achieved by eliminating differences and turning Maoris into Europeans. However, the Maoris, resenting the implication that their own culture was of no value, strongly resisted the pressures to assimilate. From about 1930, the government gradually modified its policy, introducing the teaching of Maori history, arts and crafts into Maori schools and setting up Maori Committees. During the 1960's the policy of assimilation was dropped in favor of one of integration.

The Hunn report of 1960 defined integration as "to combine the Maori and Pakeha (non-Maori) elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct". Maoris generally accept integration as a goal, but often question government implementation of it. They assert that recent land measures, encouragement of urban migration, and the interspersing of Maori houses with non-Maori, further assimilation rather than integration. They also complain that not enough is done to foster a sense of the Maori way. Most agree that their future is linked to that of the non-Maoris, and give little support to nationalistic or separatist movements. Simultaneously, they are determined to retain their own identity. The majority would support the view of integration suggested by a Presbyterian Maori leader: "As we understand it, integration is the combination of the Maori and Pakeha peoples of the nation into one harmonious
community in which each enjoys the privileges and accepts the responsibilities of their common citizenship, wherein there are no racial barriers and wherein, with mutual understanding and respect, each race is free to cherish its cultural heritage, that in this way the best elements of both cultures may be united to form the pattern of future New Zealand society". The idea of the development of a truly New Zealand culture incorporating both existing cultures is possible for the distant future.

Non-Maoris place the main emphasis on the improvement of Maori living standards, education, and occupational status as an essential condition of integration. The majority assume that such improvements will depend on Maoris discarding their different ways and becoming more like non-Maoris. However, in areas where maintaining Maori ways would not interfere with a raised standard of living, non-Maoris are prepared to support the maintenance of these distinctive aspects of Maori culture.

There are now many more Maoris than previously. More of them are landless and despite the success of the land-development schemes, many modern Maoris have ceased to be land-oriented. Many of them have lost much of their own culture and knowledge of the Maori language. The great majority of Maoris still are rurally located where poor housing conditions and lack of training facilities are evident. The major problems confronting the Maori today are those of technical training and community development in
a period when old ways are passing. For most Maoris the land does not offer a solution.

Present educational institutions need to be supplemented by modern technical, vocational and agricultural schools at the post-primary level. It is promising that the number of Maoris in universities is increasing. However, formal education is not sufficient. The Maori home and community are of equal influence as school. They are important in linking the traditional culture with the modern trend toward assimilation of non-Maori ways of living. Money and buildings are needed and it is necessary to develop programs of community development. Maori leadership is needed as the programs must build upon Maori tradition and use Maori methods although non-Maori advice and assistance would be beneficial. The development of land, revival of crafts, the building of meeting-houses, and the infusion of ancient heritage into new forms of expression will be significant in guaranteeing the survival of Maori culture. For the past twenty-five years, Maoris have been moving out of predominantly Maori areas into towns and cities and entering into new fields of employment and interaction. Despite improvements, their standards of living, health, education, and occupational status lag behind the average, their crime rate is higher, and they maintain Maori ways. Closer contact between Maoris could result in increased discrimination as Maoris begin to be competitors for jobs and housing. On the other hand, more people may learn to understand and respect each other through extended contact. As intermarriage and inter-group friendships increase, direct
experience of both cultures is also increased.

There is hope that the Maoris and non-Maori: New Zealanders can avoid conflict and effect a positive improvement in their relations. In the first place, both groups include some persons of mixed ancestry. Persons of mixed descent do not form a separate group. Maoris accept anyone with Maori ancestry as Maori; non-Maoris accept those who do not look Maori without difficulty and those who look Maori if they live up to European standards. Relations are also varied and open to change.
The most obvious contrast between these two minorities is their relative size; the Maoris represent 10% of the total population of New Zealand while the Aborigines account for .6% of the total Australian population. These figures are significant in that they influence the power and resources available to both minorities in their struggles against the dominant majorities. The Maoris are at an advantage because their size is more impressive.

The impact of European contact on the original Maori and Aboriginal cultures points to many similarities and several basic differences. The cultures of both societies, as detailed earlier, had developed into complex and well-organized structures.

Both countries were invaded by Europeans at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the policy of the British differed greatly in its treatment of the two indigenous peoples. In Australia, policy reflected the penal nature of the colony; the first colonials were the overflow from British prisons. The policy towards Aborigines was one of protection and paternalism; there was no interest in acculturation or assimilation. The natives were isolated from the Europeans, in an attempt to "protect" them. The administration's primary goal was the maintenance of law and order.

In New Zealand the pattern of colonization was different. The settlers came voluntarily and all levels of English society were represented. The first stage of European contact was between 1769-1840. The Maoris adapted certain European values to their own culture, selecting those features that
seemed advantageous and fitted into the context of Maori society.

While the Maoris readily adopted European tools, clothing, and weapons, the Aborigines showed a marked lack of interest in European material goods. The Maoris were village-oriented and sedentary while the Aborigines were semi-nomadic. To acquire the foods they desired the Maoris acquired new economic activities and re-oriented and even re-located village-life to achieve these ends. Christianity was also popular among the Maoris. The culture of the Aborigines was the antithesis of the Europeans' on social, economic, religious, and political levels.

Incompatibility of cultures made co-habitation of European and Aborigine an impossibility. For purposes of agricultural development the Europeans forcibly alienated Aboriginal lands. This alienation of land served to indirectly destroy Aboriginal culture due to the significance of tribal lands. A parallel process was occurring in New Zealand. After the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the Europeans began large-scale settlement and by 1865 had acquired large areas of Maori land. In both countries the European population had far surpassed that of the indigenous peoples by the turn of the century.

The alienation of land was disruptive to both original cultures, but the reaction of Aborigines and Maoris differed. The Aborigines were dispersed and nomadic; they lacked the centralization and weapons necessary to combat the Europeans. The Aboriginal food gathering economy could not co-exist
in the midst of an agricultural settlement. The change in environment disorganized the Aboriginal life-style as when the hunting and gathering base was destroyed, the social and religious levels of organization lost their significance. Camps developed on the outskirts of European settlements, replacing local groups as the basic unit of social structure.

The Maoris reaction to the loss of their land is in sharp contrast to the Aboriginal adaptation. During the 1820's and 1830's muskets were adopted into traditional patterns of warfare by the Maoris; this adoption resulted in increased loss of life from tribal warfare. However, when Maori reaction to the European threat resulted in the Maori land wars of the 1860's, the tribes of North Island were able to fight the settlers for over a decade. Between 1865-1892, seven million acres of Maori land were sold to the Europeans. In 1893 Maoris were given the right to vote as subjects of the Queen and native schools were established in Maori settlements; a policy of assimilation was understood as being the goal. At this time Maori chiefs were protesting the loss of their land and the lack of control over their lives. A Maori Parliament was established in 1892 and did not disband until 1901 when the government agreed to create Maori Councils on a local level. Between 1900-1935 was a period of recovery (numerical) for the Maoris. However, Maori land continued to be sold. The Maoris attempted to solve this problem by an incorporation of land owners to negotiate loans and work land communally. Two leaders emerged among the Maori at this time; Ratana founded the Ratana Church
in 1925 and a member of the Maori royal family organized her people to restore Maori confidence in themselves. In 1935 Maoris were given the same social security benefits as Europeans and funds for Maori housing and schooling were increased. Also, land development schemes allocated many thousands of acres of land to Maori families for their use. During the second World War many Maoris joined the armed services and entered occupations that were new to them. Also, many laws that discriminated against Maoris were abolished.

Thus the Maoris social organization allowed for more effective protest than that of the Aborigines. In Australia a policy of protection through isolation on reserves dominated until the 1940's. A policy of assimilation was initiated due to a desire to avoid having a disadvantaged and isolated racial minority. In the establishment of this goal, the Australians lagged behind New Zealand by fifty years.

It is clear that Australian policies have fostered barriers to equality by creating dependence among and enforcing isolation of the Aborigines. New Zealand policies manifested a trend towards satisfaction of white desires as a primary goal, but consideration of the Maoris was also evidenced.

In New Zealand, land development programs have been in existence since 1929 and Maoris have been compensated, to a minor extent, for their losses. On the other hand, Australian Aborigines still hold no legal title to any of the land that was alienated, not do they own any of reserve lands. Both minorities have the right to vote but while registration has been required of the Maoris since 1956, the Aborigines still
register on a voluntary basis. There are currently four Maori members of Parliament; in Australia there is only one Aboriginal representative to the federal Parliament.

In Australia Aborigines are greatly discriminated against in the areas of housing and employment. Consequently, there are many urban slums populated by Aborigines and dwellings on reserves are barely habitable. In New Zealand, government policy has resulted in the interspersal of Maori and European urban homes. However, for both minorities, health is poorer and crime rates higher than for the white community. In Australia courts and police are biased against blacks. In New Zealand there is discrimination but it is less severe and the high rate of crime is partially attributable to Maori unawareness of legal rights and ignorance of the legal system.

In New Zealand pre-schools prepare Maori children for an educational system that is European-oriented. Such schools would aid the Aborigine in adjusting to language and cultural barriers to higher education.

In the economy, both Maoris and Aborigines are concentrated in un-skilled and semi-skilled jobs. This fact is partially explained by the low academic achievements of both minorities. However, as stated earlier, in New Zealand the problem is attributed to problems in the system of education. In Australia Aboriginal complaints are largely ignored. Also, Maoris are at an advantage due to the exposure to different types of employment and training that they received during World War II. The Aborigines could not join the armed forces.
In New Zealand a recent act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race. In Australia there is still no such provision. Both minorities include radical organizations dedicated to eliminating social, economic and institutional discrimination.

In New Zealand the majority attitude is largely responsible for the more humane treatment of their minority. Also, the gap between the two original cultures was less wide in New Zealand, and adjustment was easier for the Maoris. Both minorities exhibit similar reactions to trends toward assimilation but their attitudes differ in terms of feasibility. In New Zealand it may be possible for Maori culture to co-exist with that of the dominant majority. In Australia it appears that assimilation may be the only real possibility for realizing equality as traditional features of Aboriginal culture are seen as not only alien but inferior by the white majority. It is hopeful that once equipped for participation in the wider society, Aborigines will be able to successfully opt for a degree of separation and for the preservation or resurrection of traditional values instead of those of the European society.

There is a chain of causation that keeps these two minorities in a depressed status. With poor health, jobs are uncertain. Without education, un-skilled, low-paying work is the only realistic expectation. Without good wages, housing will remain poor, over-crowded, and unsanitary. To break this chain of handicaps, structural modifications must be made, minority confidence and pride must be strengthened,
### I. Aborigines Not Attending School, by State 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Not at School %</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S. Wales</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Australia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Territory</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,388</td>
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</table>

### II. Educational Attainment of Aboriginal Males Age 15 and Older, by State, 1966 (in %)

<table>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S. Wales</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>30.3</td>
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<td>9.1</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>20.2</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Australia</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>30.7</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Australia</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>27.2</td>
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<td>8.7</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Australia Total</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>Numbers</td>
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<td>571</td>
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<td>8,821</td>
<td>7,352</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>21,837</td>
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**Key:**
1. Matriculation of Higher
2. Intermediate Certificate
3. Attained High School
4. Attended Primary School
5. No Education
6. Not Stated

1966 Census, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Non-Aborigines</th>
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</thead>
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<td>2,646</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>3,057</td>
<td>2,543</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>192</td>
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<td>25-29</td>
<td>2,589</td>
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<td>144</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35-39</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>1,691</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1,804</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>1,530</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>50-54</td>
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<td>834</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>14,328</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1,113</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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**Key:**
1. Age, Total
2. Work Force
3. Participation Rate
4. Unemployed
5. Unemployment Rate
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<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
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<td>0-5</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
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<td>10-14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
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<td>27.5</td>
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<td>20-24</td>
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<td>19.2</td>
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<td>25-29</td>
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<td>30-34</td>
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<td>45-49</td>
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<td>7.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
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<td>8.8</td>
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<td>16.9</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
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<td>7.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>22.4</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
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<td>46.5</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>70+</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
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<td>14.9</td>
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<td>8.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. University qualification
2. Other tertiary
3. Leaving or matriculation
4. Intermediate certificate
5. Attended high school
6. Primary
7. No education
8. Not stated

Note: N.A. = non-Aboriginals
A. = Aboriginals, 1/2 or more ancestry
## Occupational Distribution of Males, by race, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Aborigines number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Non-Aborigines number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Upper Professional</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>48,364</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Graziers + wheat + sheep</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>90,888</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Lower professional + farmers</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>152,074</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>268,067</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed shop proprietors</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other farmers</td>
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<td>Clerical + related work</td>
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<td>388,038</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
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<td>Armed service + police</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen + foremen</td>
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<td>224,703</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Miners</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farm + Rural workers</td>
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<td>133,464</td>
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<td>40.7</td>
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<td>Laborers</td>
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<td>3,921,814</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>57.9</td>
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**Index of Dissimilarity**
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Footnotes

1. Clarence Northcott, *Australian Social Development*, p. 34
2. A.J. McLeod, *The Pattern of Australian Culture*, p. 441-476
3. Ronald and Catherine Berndt, *From Black to White In South Australia*, p. 26-31
4. Ibid.
5. Ronald and Catherine Berndt, *Aboriginal Man In Australia*, p. 21-146
6. Ibid. p. 208
8. Ronald and Catherine Berndt, *From Black to White In South Australia*, p. 61.
10. F.S. Stevens op. cit. p. 67
11. Lancaster Jones, *Australia's Aboriginal Population*, p. 31
13. Ibid. p. 11
14. F.S. Stevens, op. cit. p. 150
15. Ibid. p. 9-21
16. Ibid. p. 153
17. Ibid. p. 29
18. Lancaster Jones, op. cit. p. 31
22. Ibid. p. 28
23. Ibid. p. 29-31
24. John A. Williams, op. cit. p. 11
25. Joan Metge, op. cit. p. 46
26. J.B. Condliffe, op. cit. p. 82-95
28. Ibid. p.61
29. Ibid. p.21
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Graham Vaughan, op. cit. p.22
36. Ibid. p.25-27
37. Erik Schwimmer, op. cit. p.353
38. Joan Metge, op. cit. p. 216