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TONGANS IN AUCKLAND

A Preliminary Investigation of the Tongan Community  
in the Central Auckland Urban Area

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Geography  
at Massey University

by

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### ABSTRACT

The minority Polynesian community examined in this thesis required more than those research techniques familiar to students of migrant groups. Specific interviewing difficulties and solutions to these are proposed for interviewing Tongans. Suggestions to overcome the suspicions of respondents and the dangers of ethnocentrism on the part of the researcher are also suggested. A questionnaire is included and its design, to include internal checks and ease in tabulation are noted. Chapter Two deals with migration motives, both real and stated. These motives are confined in the main, to those acting at the source, Tonga, and include population pressures on land, housing, employment and capital. Data is provided from recent surveys in Tonga, together with the results of a survey of Tongans residing in the Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974. An examination of data provided by the Department of Statistics, concerning arrivals and departures, is included in Chapter Three. This is supplemented with data on airfares and the manner in which the migrant raised sufficient capital to purchase his passage, from the survey. Special attention is paid to permits and the reason why some Tongans have overstayed their legally permitted stay. Chapter Four compares the demographic and social characteristics of Tongans with other Polynesians in New Zealand. Age, marital status, dependents, sex, religion, birthplace and educational qualifications of migrants in the survey are recorded. The results of an investigation into the occupational and residential characteristics of Tongan migrants are recorded in Chapters Five and Six. Comparison is drawn between the unskilled occupations of Tongans and other Polynesians and the location of place of work and residence is noted. The method of securing initial employment revealed the social and psychological pressures impinging on the recent migrant and reasons and results suggested. Using data supplied by the Department of Statistics the spatial distribution of Tongans in New Zealand, and in particular each statistical subdivision of Auckland is recorded. Movement over time within the Central Auckland Urban Area is discussed using indices of segregation and a Lorenz Curve.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines some of an increasing number of migrants entering New Zealand from the kingdom of Tonga. The research recorded in this thesis had two main aims:

1. To investigate the demographic structure and migrant characteristics of Tongans residing in Central Auckland,
2. To investigate residential and occupational characteristics of Tongans residing in Central Auckland.

For a year prior to the research, an understanding of Tongan language and custom was gained through the assistance of Tongans in Palmerston North. Research in Central Auckland was undertaken using a questionnaire as the primary information gathering tool. It was administered to 114 Tongans over the age of 15 years gainfully employed and residing in the Central Auckland Urban Area. This area was chosen because it was the most densely settled Tongan area in New Zealand. The size of the population universe was unknown. According to the 1971 Census, there were 887 Tongans in Central Auckland. This figure should be interpreted with caution. The Department of Statistics is aware of defects in collection and coverage. Some Tongans are unable to accurately complete the Census form. Those who have overstayed their permits would not wish to be recorded in the Census. In some cases the appearance of a white face on the door step would be sufficient excuse not to answer the door.

Finally, the inadequate grasp of English might make it impossible for other than a Tongan to administer the Census.

How many Tongans there were in New Zealand in 1971, and how many are here now is impossible to ascertain. According to the 1971 Census 1416 Tongans were resident in the Auckland Urban Area. Figures extracted from the 1971 New Zealand Census, when adjusted through the addition of excess arrivals over departures, provided the most accurate total available for the Tongan population in New Zealand.

A coded questionnaire was prepared and tested in Palmerston North on Tongans in various occupations. These included students, teachers, mechanics, labourers and nurses. After some adjustments, flash cards were prepared with the range of responses available for each question. These were in both English and Tongan to assist the respondents, many of whom were more at ease communicating in Tongan than English.

An assistant, able to translate, accompanied the author on many occasions. This provided an informal introduction and established a relaxed atmosphere.

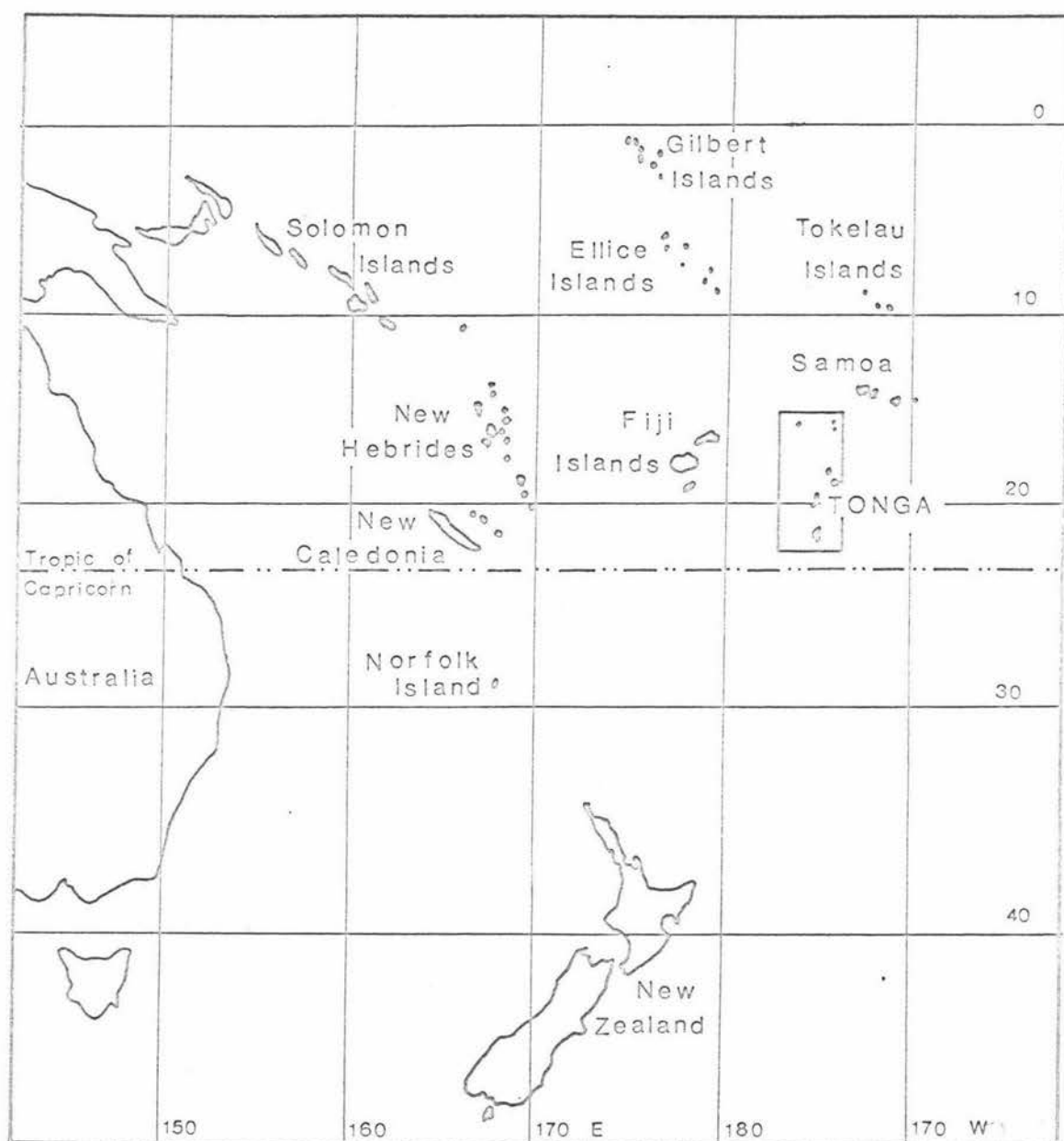
The coded responses were punched onto computer cards and processed using a Burroughs 6700 computer to print out frequencies and cross tabulations.

#### Definition of a Tongan National

The computer print-out from the 1971 New Zealand Census recognised four racial groups of Tongans. These were Tongan,

that is people of pure Tongan blood; Tongan-European, people who were half or more Tongan and part European; Tongan-New Zealand Maori, people half Tongan or more and part New Zealand Maori; and finally, European-Tongan, people half or more European and part Tongan.

These classifications tend to provide an inflated value to the total number of 'Tongans' in New Zealand. It is possible to be classified by the Statistics Department as Tongan with only 1/32nd or less Tongan blood. If European-Tongans were excluded from the total Tongans in Auckland Statistical Area, the grand total would reduce from 1416 to 635. For the purpose of this thesis, a Tongan is defined as anyone falling within the Statistics Department classification, unless otherwise stated. This includes Tongans by name who are now naturalised citizens of New Zealand.



**Figure 1:** Location of Tonga in the South-West Pacific.

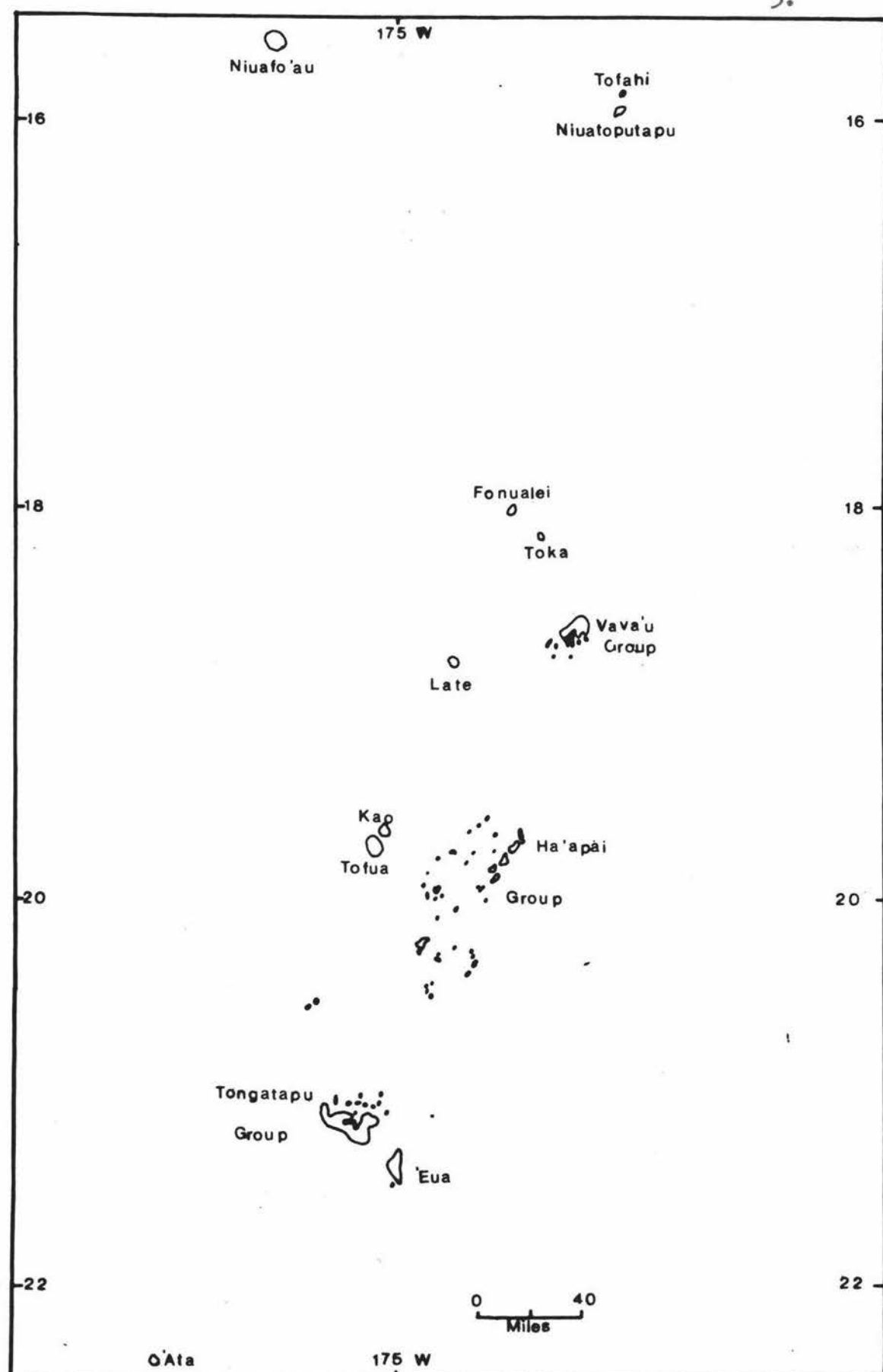
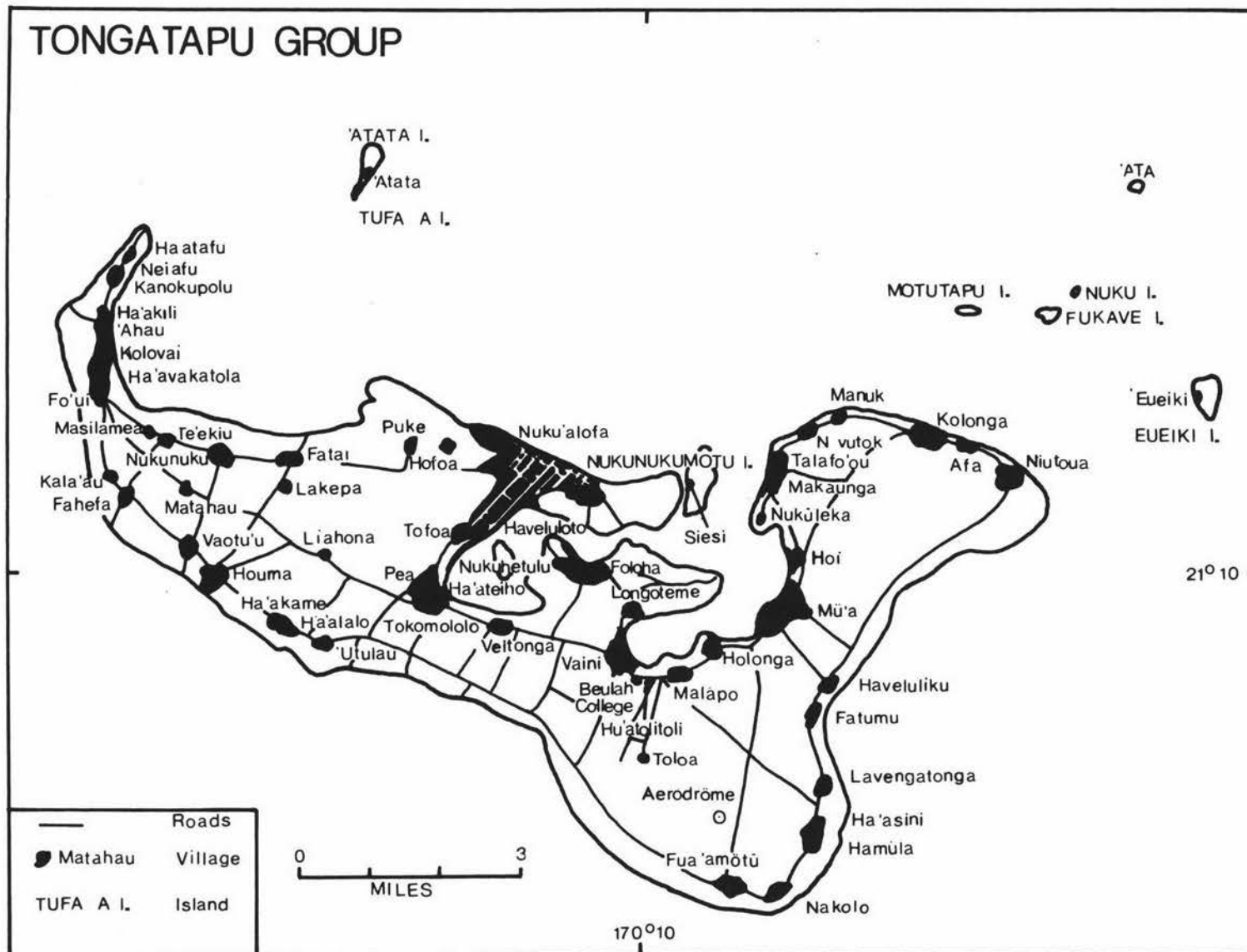


Figure 2:     The kingdom of Tonga.



**Figure 3.**

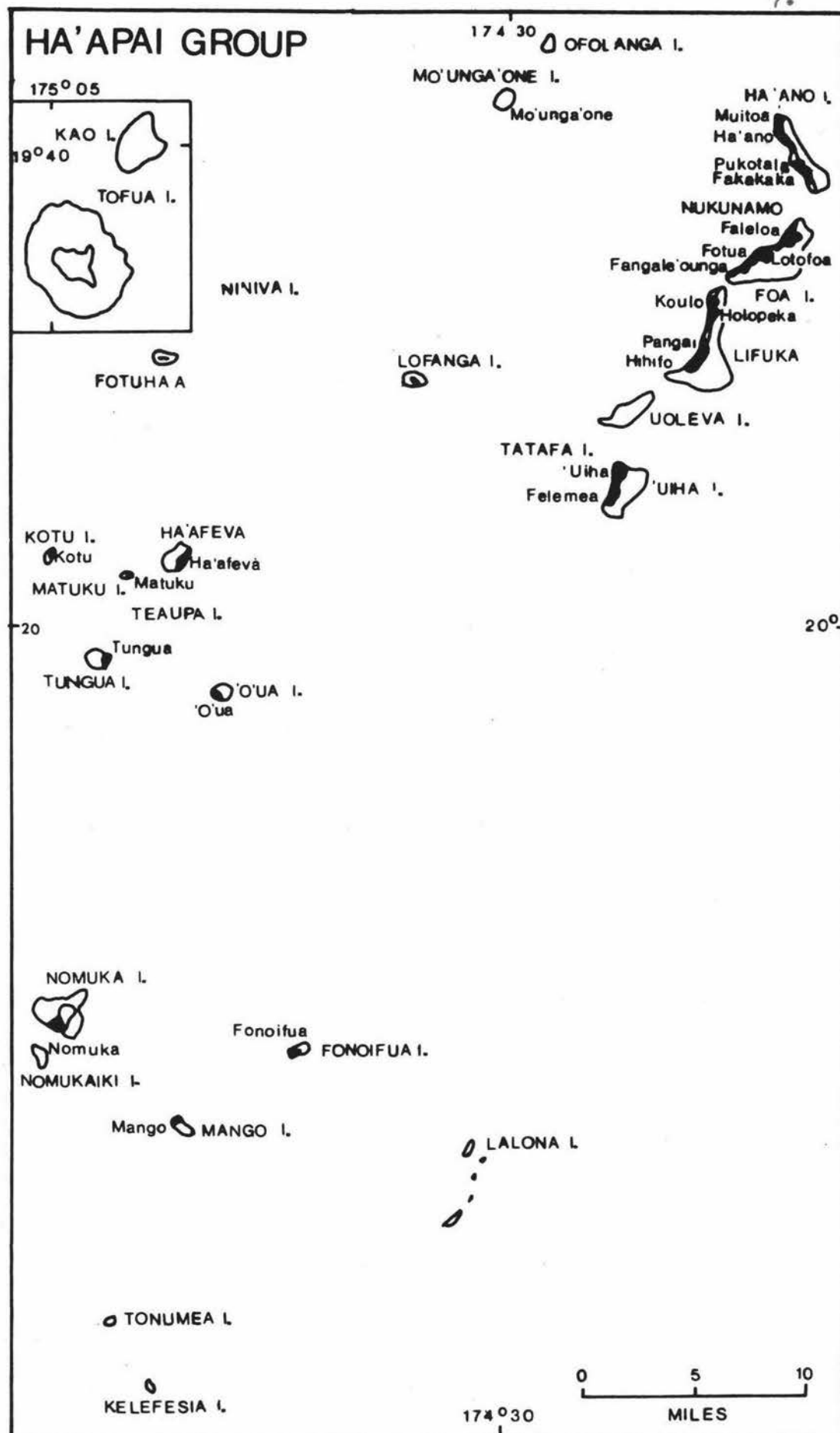
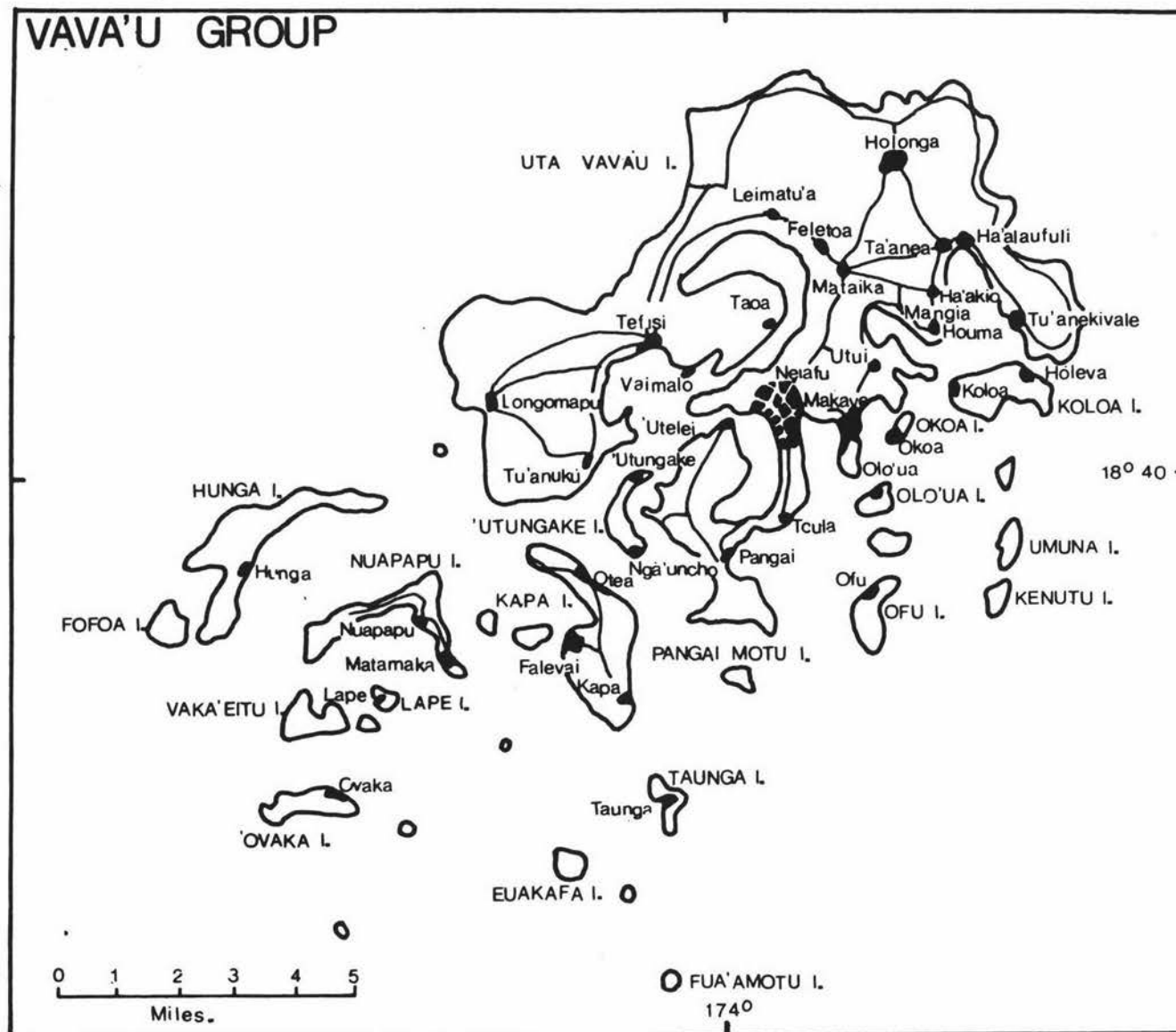


Figure 4.



## CHAPTER ONE

METHODOLOGYLocating the Respondents

Several strategies were attempted in the task of locating Tongans in Auckland. The Immigration Division of the Department of Labour was approached for the numbers and location of Tongans entering New Zealand. This request was unsuccessful. The Auckland office of the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour was likewise unable to assist. The author was informed that all statistics were kept in Wellington and they could provide no information at all on Tongans in Auckland. Enquiries in Auckland covered such points as to how many Tongans were in Auckland, how many passport extensions were granted and how many Tongans had been deported.

The Department of Internal Affairs, when approached, stated that it was not their policy to reveal names and addresses of applicants for citizenship. Although the Department holds an index of names, it is impossible to recognise Tongan names. They were, however, able to provide figures of grants of citizenship by registration and naturalisation of persons born in Tonga. The Department of Statistics provided useful information on the location of Tongans, by each statistical sub-division in Central Auckland Urban Area, for 1971. This provided specific densities and therefore the most favourable areas in which to locate and interview Tongans.

The most successful technique adopted was to ask each Tongan contacted for a list of other Tongans he knew in Auckland. This not only provided a cumulating list of people, but gave some indication as to community ties and the willingness (or otherwise) of Tongans to assist the author.

The initial contact was Mr C. Hoeft, a senior noble, who had lived in Auckland for 27 years. It was thought essential to obtain the permission of a senior Tongan before surveying for diplomatic and practical reasons. This was a mistaken assumption as the ties between the senior Tongans and the short-term mobile immigrant are weak. There was really no practical reason for the co-operation of senior Tongans. As one permanent resident Tongan stated, "When the boys come to New Zealand they become individuals".<sup>1</sup>

Contact was also made with the Methodist Church, in particular, the Overseas Mission and ministers in Herne Bay, Mt Eden and Auckland Central. Introductions were provided by these people which allowed a further addition of names and addresses. This 'chance' system of locating Tongans is surprisingly effective, although there is the problem of surveying a disproportionate number of Tongans within certain neighbourhoods and usually surveying those of similar age to the initial contact. It is by no means a statistically valid method, but it is a practical method when faced with an unknown population universe and a highly mobile immigrant population.

As emphasis in this study was placed on the accommodation and occupations of Tongans an attempt was made to locate the place of work. Tongans prefer employment next to other

Tongans and this results in a concentration of migrants in certain factories. Location of these factories provided an economic method of sampling.

With the assistance of industrial personnel officers it was possible to locate those industries with Polynesian concentrations in their work force. As the questionnaire survey continued certain factories appeared to have a nucleus of Tongan workers. Discussions with local Tongans and employees of the Auckland City Council confirmed the emerging trend of occupational concentration among Tongans. Initial contacts readily identified factories with a concentration of Tongans. Gaining permission to interview them at work, however, proved more difficult.

Employers were hesitant about authorising research in their factories. Obviously concerned with labour stability and morale and aware that some of the Tongan employees had exceeded their permits, most factories would not allow the survey. Immigration officers also visit factories. Because of the tension this creates on the factory floor the researcher must establish that he is not connected with the Authorities, before commencing his survey. Due to full employment in New Zealand at the time of the survey, some industries in Auckland were highly dependent on Tongan labour. Any depletion of staff through information indiscreetly handled might threaten production. Understanding these risks, the author is grateful to those factories who permitted interviews.

### Translation and Interviewing Problems

There are a number of inaccuracies which may enter into the questionnaire through translation. First is the problem of the Tongan language not containing words used in English. For example, many factory operations carried out by Tongans in New Zealand do not exist in Tonga, as they do not have similar factories. The problem for the translator and the researcher is to find out exactly what type of occupation is undertaken by the Tongan. This requires forming a supplementary question, on the spur of the moment. The translator may phrase it in a biased way or provide a response with which the Tongan simply agrees.

When a group of Tongans are waiting to be interviewed, and listening to the responses of a friend, the temptation is to copy. For example, if one respondent states he has come to New Zealand to earn money for a fale,<sup>2</sup> which is impossible in three months, others may regard this as a prestigious response and copy. Earning \$60 a week for 12 weeks, the Tongan can save, perhaps \$540. Paying for his air fare out of this remuneration hardly leaves enough to build a fale in Tonga.

Conversely there are Tongan words that have a broader meaning than a similar word in English. The word family, famili,<sup>3</sup> in Tongan encompasses a broader meaning than the nuclear family concept it conveys in English.

To overcome some of these problems the author explained and administered a questionnaire to the translator. Discussion between the author and translator also took place before any supplementary questions were framed.

The disadvantage of translating too many clarifying or exploratory probing questions is in straining the confidence of a respondent. The formal interview with questionnaire was kept as short as possible, leaving these probe-type questions until the end.

Translation of responses and phrases used by the author to gain the confidence of Tongans, were made by a Tongan Royal House translator. This translation and that of the translator accompanying the author, were in a Tongan form suitable to the class of Tongan migrant.

#### The Method of Collecting Information

Formal face-to-face interviewing is perhaps the most common way to collect information 'reliably' from an immigrant population. This is especially so if the population's grasp of English is slight. Connell and Kahn<sup>4</sup> distinguish three broad concepts as necessary conditions for a successful interview. First there is the accessibility of the required information to the respondent. Tongans at times did not appear to have the information because, for example, he could not read the name of the factory where he worked, or was unaware of the name of the street he lived in. This latter situation was predictable as the use of street or road names for locational purposes in Tonga is less developed. Respondents were more comfortable responding that they lived near some other Tongan or by some landmark. Some respondents were not clear as to their place of work because they had only recently commenced and had been taken to the factory by a relative or flat mate. It was not uncommon to ask "Where do

you work", and have the respondent answer "with my brother".

Another reason why the respondent might not have the information required is because he has repressed information which involves some emotional stress to him, or because he cannot answer in the manner required, again causing tension in the mind of the respondent. Suspicion of the author's background and the use to which he was putting the information; the fear which is part of the overstayers everyday life, and the language problem all contribute to a situation where emotional stress suppresses information.

The second condition is that of cognition by the respondent of what is required of him. The respondent adopts a cautious role, carefully deciding what is relevant information to give both from his point of view and that of the interviewer. Where both parties are fluent in the same language it is often possible to prompt a respondent, probing for further details when his answer is incomplete or off the point. The use of an interpreter by the author plus the author's own knowledge of Tongan was invaluable in solving this second condition of cognition.

The third requirement for a successful interview is motivation on the part of the respondent to answer the questions accurately. This is perhaps the major obstacle when interviewing a migrant minority. Tongans were often tired after long, hard hours of labouring.

There was some embarrassment through their ignorance of English, although at times this turned into a competitive situation during the interview. One member of the household would confidently translate into broken English for his flat-mate, thus

prompting the respondent to draw all the stops on his available English. Dislike of the interview content and fear of the consequences were also problems.

### The Interviewer's Task

The amount of time the interviewer spends on different aspects of his work depends on such factors as the length of the questionnaire, the location of the survey, language problems and costs. Sudman<sup>5</sup> found that only about one-third of the time is spent on interviewing, the other two-thirds being divided between travel time and locating respondents, editing the interviews and other clerical work and studying materials and administrative matters.

In the Central Auckland survey the ratio was about half and half. When interviewing in areas of dense Tongan settlement, like Ponsonby and Grey Lynn, one confident contact often lead to more interviews in the same household or within the same area. Other Tongans were on one occasion collected by the head-of-the household for the author and brought to him. On that particular evening all the questionnaires were administered in the one house, some to Tongans who lived up to three blocks away.

With a respondent fluent in English a questionnaire could be administered in five minutes. When translation was required or when the respondent was hesitant, administering the questionnaire took up to 15 minutes. Initial contact, explaining who the author was and what was required, was always more time consuming than any individual questionnaire. Confidence was

promoted by stressing the useful nature of the study both to Tonga and the Tongans. This strategy was particularly useful when interviewing respondents over 30 years of age. Stressing that the author was not from the police or immigration was necessary when interviewing the younger migrants.

Travelling time in a large city like Auckland can be costly and lengthy. There are advantages in living in the 'migrant area'. The researcher is seen, becomes known, is talked about. Chance informal meetings are made with valuable results. Participation in drinking schools, church activities and cricket, in the case of the Tongans, makes the more formal interview contact easier on both parties. Travelling time is also a critical factor when the time available for interviewing is limited both through the long hours worked by Tongans and the limited time available to the student.

The time spent on editing interviews is directly related to how the questionnaire is constructed. Using a coding system with overlapping pages there should be little need to add information subsequent to the interview. Open questions do require editing and coding when the survey is complete. When, for example, the Tongan respondent was asked to instance some case of discrimination, the response was recorded verbatim and later coded into common groups.

Although a questionnaire with a closed set of responses and a coding system is economic, requiring little, if any, editing, it is not altogether appropriate for the immigrant interview situation. Apart from the general limitation imposed through a set number of pre-selected responses, it promotes a

'sterile' interview situation. The less formal discussion situation with respondents, especially after the questionnaire has been administered, supplies a good deal of insight and information, although it may not be as reliable. Few people like admitting they have problems. Fewer still in the Tongan community like admitting this to a stranger. Questions concerning accommodation, problems at work, of language and with other Polynesians do not lend themselves to a closed set of responses.

The author therefore recorded, in perhaps more subjective fashion, this information verbatim dispensing with the coding system.

### Ethnocentrisim

When researching a different race, with a contrasting cultural background, the student must take care he does not project his values and assumptions when recording and analysing responses. What, for example, is overcrowding in the eyes of a New Zealand town planner, may not be through Tongan eyes. A house which to a New Zealander appears sub-standard, to a Tongan may be superior to that he left in Tonga. A partly furnished flat in many cases is better furnished than the homes of Tongan migrants. Electric light, stoves, inside toilets, to some Tongans are novel and exciting. This situation provides an opportunity for rent exploitation.

The lack of experience in rent matters makes questions about excessive rent suspect. It is of little value asking a newly arrived migrant whether he considers his rent excessive.

In some cases he has not received his first wage packet, and is still struggling with food and transport costs. Likewise, when asking for examples of deterioration in the house responses must be viewed through the filter of cultural experience.

### Interviewing

It was found necessary to adopt different interviewing techniques with Tongans from those which might be adopted with English speaking New Zealanders. Different techniques again were employed when interviewing either male or female, permanent or short stay, Tongans.

It was found necessary to establish a working relationship with the Tongan respondent, before administering the questionnaire. This involved greeting the person in Tongan, explaining the purpose of the study and the status of the author. A preliminary discussion mentioning that the survey had the approval of local Tongan dignitaries, and had been administered to them, sometimes increased confidence. In addition, a discussion about Tonga, where the respondent was born, people we both might know in Government, familiar landmarks in Tonga, the hurricanes, inter-island boats and the church helped develop a working relationship.

When the questionnaire was administered the confidence gained was often rapidly extinguished. This necessarily more formal exercise was sometimes a considerable strain on the Tongans. The precise nature of each question demanded a grasp of English which was often beyond the ability of many Tongans. In addition

to this tension promoting situation was the nature of the information required. This was especially apparent with questions relating to permits, place of residence and various accommodation and personal problems the Tongans may be experiencing.

This situation at times prompted some people to respond incorrectly, or, as they thought the author might want. Others, for amusement or callous reasons, deliberately responded incorrectly. Because the questionnaire contained internal checks, such as comparing response 14 with 34-39 or 59-64 with 34-39 or asking a supplementary question on response 29, it was possible to check incorrect responses.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge of Tongan was useful where a different English response was provided from the initial Tongan.

To overcome this situation three measures were taken. Firstly, the author was able to ask most questions in Tongan. All the first page of the questionnaire was usually asked in Tongan, where necessary, encouraging at the same time the respondent to use English. Secondly, flash cards were printed providing a choice of response, both in Tongan and English. Finally, a Tongan translator accompanied the author during a little under half the interviews.

The toughest task was to establish and maintain a working relationship with male Tongans. Suspicion of the author and concern about how the information might be used meant each interview involved a longer time. Interviewing this group was more time consuming than either the permanent residents or female Tongans.

While it was easier to establish confidence with the

female Tongans, other difficulties were encountered. A papalangi<sup>7</sup> male surrounded by excited Tongan females provided a good deal of amusement for both parties. Where the interviewer and respondent could not be isolated from other Tongan women, it was tempting for the Tongan to 'play the crowd', answering with some amusing response, in Tongan, to the general hilarity of the onlookers. To stress the importance of the situation and answers, the author could, in Tongan, chide and establish the importance of the question to the group. To do this without losing their confidence was a delicate art.

When interviewing women, therefore, it was found better to withhold any understanding of Tongan until necessary. The impact a response in Tongan made at the opportune time was impressive.

Gaining acceptance by the complete household provided a further advantage. When the author's Tongan language was inadequate, and the respondent's English negligible, another member of the household would voluntarily assist as translator.

Interviewing Tongans who are permanent residents or naturalised citizens provided unique problems. All Tongans with noble titles were in this group. In one case, a Tongan would not answer the questions because he felt that the authorities and other papalangis were already asking too much of his services. He instanced the police and courts requiring translators, and other university researchers. In this case, a thorough knowledge of the questionnaire was important as the Tongan was eager to discuss matters relating to himself in particular, and the Tongan community in general. The interview was thus more a

discussion with prompted responses to questions directed by the author and from the questionnaire. While this is not an accurate information gathering technique, the discussion provided an insight into the Tongan scene of Auckland, in a manner impossible through the closed responses of a questionnaire.

Another senior Tongan noble, who was also a permanent settler, provided problems demanding other strategies. He was amenable to being questioned, but he felt it beneath him to assist any further with names or introductions. Resistance of this kind can be explained in part by his status and the barrier this creates between the noble and the commoner.

The problems the author encountered when interviewing this immigrant group are probably common to anyone in the same field. Knowledge of the language and the ability to establish confidence with a group are surely pre-requisites in attempting to obtain valid responses.

#### Other Interviewing Difficulties

'Polynesians in Auckland have been over-researched', was the idea behind many of the contacts made in Auckland. The point was made most forceably by the motor-cycle group, the 'Polynesian Panthers', who at the time of surveying, called a moratorium on Polynesian research. Some members of this group are Tongan, and their leader until recently, was a Tongan. Their attitude, echoed by other Polynesians the author met, was a dislike in being segregated as a group from the population and analysed, thus highlighting the difference between 'them' and

'others'. The author had to avoid this group by working as diplomatically as possible.

As the group to be interviewed worked long hours the time available outside factory hours was limited. Most interviewing, of necessity, was undertaken from 4 p.m. through to the early hours of the morning. Although it is preferable in surveying to work at various hours, this was only possible when interviews were allowed in factories. Working at night did permit an opportunity to sample workers in the household rather than just 'housewives'.

#### Questionnaire Structure

The first page of the questionnaire was designed to be administered rapidly. The advantage of this structure was in gaining the confidence of the respondent, and having one word responses. Questions 1, 6, 7, 8, 11, 18, 20, were easy to translate and remember in the Tongan form. Questions requiring effort by the respondent, in recalling residential changes, reasons for occupational or residential mobility were placed on page two. The more sensitive questions concerning accommodation problems or discrimination were placed at the top of page three. When designing the questionnaire, it was thought by this stage the respondent would discuss more personal topics. This proved to be incorrect. The informal discussion following the questionnaire proved to be the best time. Deliberately placing pens down and pushing the questionnaire to one side indicated to the Tongan that all was complete. Points which then arose from

the ensuing discussion were noted after the Tongan had left, but before the next interview. The final questions, 70 and 71, provided a useful lead to further discussion. The Tongans were eager to talk about Tonga and especially their occupation (or lack of work), in Tonga.

There was an advantage in designing short, limited response, pre-coded questions initially and open questions later in the questionnaire. As suggested above, when interpreting open ended questions there is a risk of introducing ethnocentric bias. The use of tape recorders should not even be considered when interviewing a cautious group like the Tongan migrant. It remains in the hands of the researcher to be as accurate and unbiased as possible.

### The Researcher

The author found it useful to wear the same clothes and carry the same shoulder bag when interviewing. This assisted in recognition even if it was only through the window.

Personality and approach were extremely important factors in gaining the confidence of Tongans. The researcher must develop a rapid appreciation of the migrants life-style. Humour and customs concerning hospitality should be understood and exercised. Just being a tanga poto<sup>8</sup> able to speak some Tongan is not enough. It would help the researcher if he is not only interested in his study, but also in the people he deals with.

The author found that helping Tongans with transport, buying text books, explaining bus routes, translating medical instructions and just listening to problems, was an equally valid exercise as applying a questionnaire. The danger of 'over-rapport' between interviewer and respondent is not so critical in this situation.

### Summary

There were problems in both locating and interviewing. The problems were compounded by a language barrier and the threat of legal sanctions on some migrants. These strictures in the Tongan case demanded strategies on the part of the researcher in terms of personal approach and questionnaire design. Faced with an unknown population universe so that a statistically valid sampling procedure was impossible, the researcher compiled a cumulating list of Tongans by asking each respondent for names of other Tongans. Errors were possible through translation and the ethnocentric interpretation of information when employing a free format discussion approach.

## CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION MOTIVESApproaches to the Study

There are two main approaches to the study of Tongan migration motives. First to accept the migrants own statement of motives, or second to infer motives from a study of objective structural determinants and then impute these motives to the migrants. There is possibly another approach, that of combining the migrants subjective account of motives with an account based on objective inference.

With the first option there is the problem of the 'real' and 'stated' motives. The imputation of motives based on inference from structural factors such as population-resource pressure, and the distance between Tonga and New Zealand are commonly utilized in the 'push-pull' model. A particular problem always associated with this approach is the distinction between 'push' and 'pull' factors, all factors can be said to exert a 'push' and a 'pull' effect. The problem of this approach is to determine what combination.

The migrants own motives for migrating to New Zealand were recorded using a questionnaire. The results are shown in Table I. The most popular response or most 'acceptable vocabulary of motives'<sup>9</sup> was to respond to build a fale. This is a prestigious response as a Tongan with a concrete block house

in Tonga commands the respect of a wealthy person. A house of this kind is a status symbol in the Tongan community, indicating that the owner has probably travelled overseas.

Education is a magic word in Tonga. To have children at secondary school, especially Tonga College or Queen Salote College, is regarded as important. Parents will expend considerable energy in raising capital to pay school fees. Twelve of the respondents indicated they had migrated to New Zealand for this purpose.

These two differing responses, 'fale' and 'to pay school fees' underline the problems associated with recording the Tongan's motives for migration. When interpreting these motives one imparts a secondary value judgment if the motives are classified as 'real' or 'stated'. Perhaps in the case of 'fale' the motive is more 'stated' than 'real'. As respondents who prompted 'to pay for school fees' were in the older age group, married and with children, their response was more 'real' than 'stated'.

Fifteen Tongans indicated 'no job in Tonga' as their motive for migrating to New Zealand. The imputation of this motive based on inference from structural factors, fits neatly into the 'push-pull' model. The paucity of wage employment opportunities in Tonga and the availability of such work in New Zealand works as the 'push' and 'pull' factors. There are, however, still the intervening obstacles associated with immigration to be overcome.

To consider that 'no job in Tonga' was the only motive for migration would be falacious. Perhaps the initial motive

was the need for wage employment, or even before that, the rising aspiration to acquire consumer goods or property which prompted the search for employment. The problem of this combination approach is in determining the major motive for migration.

Some motives do not require interpretation. Two Tongans migrated for medical reasons as the operations required could not be performed in Tonga. One required the services of an eye surgeon, the other a gynaecologist. Four migrated as dependents accompanied by their parents and three to join their spouses.

Table I

Motives for Migrating to New Zealand, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Stated Motive	Number	Percentage
To build a house in Tonga	51	45.5
No jobs in Tonga	15	13.3
To find a job in N.Z.	10	8.9
To pay for school fees	12	10.7
Dependent	4	3.6
To join spouse	3	2.7
No land in Tonga	2	1.8
Join kin	3	2.7
Frustrated in Tonga. Wanted a sense of achievement	5	4.5
Just wanted to come	3	2.7
Health	2	1.8
Scholarship	2	1.8
	112	100.0

Source: Survey.

### Migration Motives in Tonga

Many attempts to analyse migration are based on the premise that, in various ways, the destination is more attractive than the origin, offering advantages unavailable in the home country. Although the economic motive is perhaps dominant, psychological and political factors also enter into the decision to migrate.<sup>10</sup>

Many Pacific Island migrants probably migrate for motives which are in accord with Lee's statement that:

"Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected."<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the majority of Tongans are under no necessity to migrate but do so because they perceive opportunities in New Zealand and they can weigh the advantages and disadvantages at origin and destination. Sometimes this perception is undertaken by an agency, like the church or government, on behalf of the migrant.

Personal factors such as intelligence, awareness of conditions elsewhere, knowledge of the situation at destination, personal contacts and age enter into the decision. As Lee<sup>12</sup> states:

"The decision to migrate, therefore, is never completely rational, and for some persons the rational component is much less than the irrational".

It is possible that part of the migration from Tonga could be classified as 'primitive migration', that consequent from an ecological push. The rapid population growth in Tonga, the consequent pressures on natural resources and deterioration in the physical environment may generate a frustration which promotes migration.

It could be that internal migration is a response to inter-regional socio-economic disparities as Sevele suggests.<sup>13</sup> A similar reason could be submitted for the flow of migrants from Tonga to New Zealand. Just as Nuku'alofa might appear to offer a better life for the migrant from the outer islands, so even more New Zealand attracts the Tongan migrant.

Lee<sup>14</sup> discusses factors which enter into the decision to migrate. The factors associated with the area of origin can be positive, neutral or negative. Those which tend to 'push' the migrant from Tonga to New Zealand are negative factors associated with land, population and society.

### Land

The growing number of males eligible for api and the finite land resources of Tonga, have created a landless class on these densely populated islands. Institutional and societal pressures have contributed to a situation where, in 1966, 58 per cent of eligible Tongan males were without their own api. The situation was most serious on the main island, Tongatapu, both in terms of administration and migration. Here, 60.7 per cent were without their own api. Comparable figures for Vavau were 52.8 per cent and Ha'apai 51.8 per cent. What has traditionally been called the 'migrant group', those in the 15-29 year group, were most affected. Nearly 83 per cent of this group were without their own land.

### Housing

The movement of people from the outer islands to Tongatapu is also reflected in the average number of people per dwelling. Sevele states that there was an average of 6.4 persons per household in Tonga. However, Tongatapu had an average of 6.8, while Ha'apai and Vava'u 5.9 and 5.7 respectively. No household in Vava'u or Ha'apai had more than 11 persons, while 12 per cent of households on Tongatapu had more than 11 persons.<sup>15</sup> The main centres of each island group and Tongatapu in particular, are perhaps the first halting area for migrants, who then proceed to New Zealand. For the first time the migrant might sense a slight increase in the average number of people per dwelling.

### The Attraction of Nuku'alofa

Nuku'alofa has become the focus for the migrant and the kingdom. Government, trade and commercial enterprises, and to a certain extent the missions, have centralised their operations on Tongatapu. Tongatapu has the best power supply, water supply, schools, roads, entertainment facilities and commercial opportunities in all Tonga. It has become the kingdom's growth point in population. The proportion of the total population living in Tongatapu increased from 55.0 in 1956 to 61.9 per cent in 1966.<sup>16</sup> Migrants therefore move to Nuku'alofa for the advantages it offers. These include schools, the opportunity of gaining wage employment, the existence of the Nuku'alofa market and better chances of exporting produce from Tongatapu, better

transport and shipping services and the attraction of 'the bright lights'.

### Population Pressure

Tonga is a densely populated kingdom. In 1963 there was an average density of about 255 persons per square mile, but as much as 496 persons per square mile in the Ha'apai Group. Compared to this, Tongatapu rated 313 persons per square mile and Vava'u 279 in 1956.

An increasing proportion of the Tongan population is living on Tongatapu, the largest island of the Group.

Table II

#### Population Distribution Tonga 1956 and 1966 (per cent)

Group	1956	1966	Increase 1956-66
Tongatapu	55.0	61.8	53.27
Ha'apai	17.4	13.6	6.78
Vava'u	21.9	17.4	11.24

Source: Tuoniua, M.U. 1958.

Some islands, especially the smaller ones of the Ha'apai Group, are extremely crowded. Kotu and Matuku had population densities of 1056 and 1062 persons per square mile respectively in 1966. Both islands are less than 2 square miles.

Population pyramids for 1966 suggest the young and

mobile nature of the Tongan population. (See Figure 6) Ha'apai and Vava'u pyramids display a 'distended' shape in the 0-14 age group while some contraction in the 15-39 age groups, especially for males. This suggests an outflow of working age migrants from these two island groups. Another clue to this short distance move is provided through an examination of sex ratios. (See Table III)

Table III

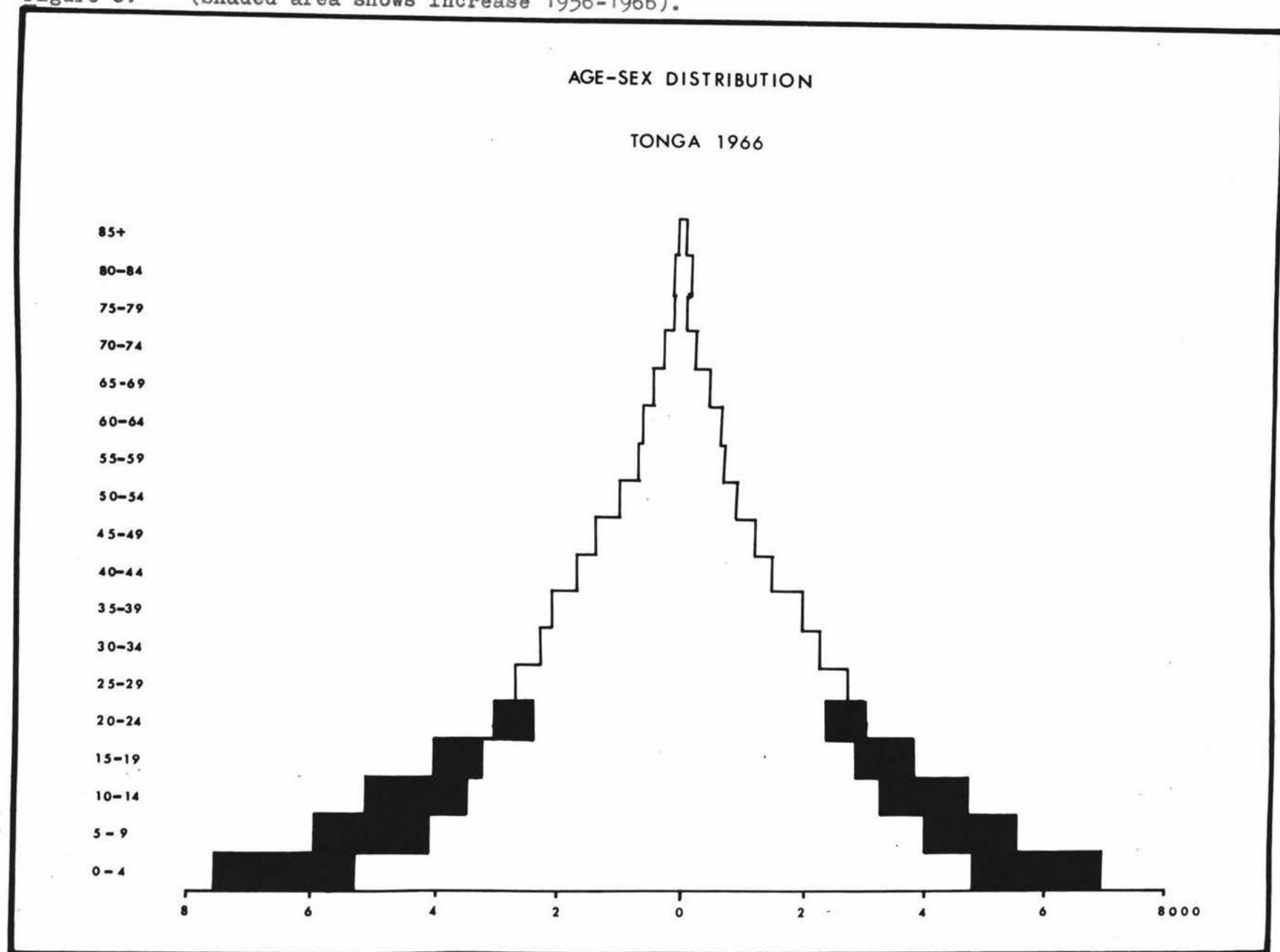
Sex Ratios for Population Living on Tongatapu  
But Born in Vava'u and Ha'apai, by Age - 1966

Age	Ha'apai	Vava'u
5-9	115.9	120.0
10-14	136.4	131.4
15-19	122.7	161.7
20-24	91.2	123.7

Source: Results 1966 Census.

Tonga is not only densely populated but rapidly growing in population. The average annual increase in population 1966-1971 was 3.26 per cent. Annual population increase has risen steadily since 1962, when it stood at 2.63 per cent. By 1966, it had risen to 3.46 per cent, which corresponds to a doubling time of approximately 26 years. The intercensal period 1956-1966, witnessed an increase of 53.27 per cent in the total population of Tongatapu. The comparable figure for Ha'apai was 6.78 per cent, suggesting the source and direction of inter-island migration. For the kingdom as a whole the intercensal increase was 31.18 per cent. Tongatapu and 'Eua alone exceeded this.

Figure 6: (Shaded area shows increase 1956-1966).



Nuku'alofa, in particular, has experienced a rapid population increase. In 1966 the population of Nuku'alofa was almost 16,000, nearly a third of the Tongatapu population. Its annual rate of growth in population between 1956 and 1966 was 6.9 per cent, nearly twice that of the kingdom as a whole. With a population density of 12 people per acre, it is one of the most densely settled Pacific towns.

This movement appears to satisfy another of Ravenstein's conclusions. That is, "The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it".<sup>17</sup> This is particularly applicable to Nuku'alofa.

The cause of this growth in population is the high birth rates and declining mortality rates. The 1966 birth rate was 37.58 per 1000 while at the same time the death rate had improved from 5.27 per 1000 in 1956 to an all time low of 2.90 per 1000 in 1966. Infant mortality rates since 1959 have dropped from 16.14 to 8.07 per 1000 in 1966.

### Economic Motives

Another factor in Tonga which may be encouraging migration is the scarcity of wage employment. Between 1966 and 1976, the projected number of persons entering the work force will be 11,142, as against about 1,444 persons who will retire during the same period.<sup>18</sup> The growing unemployed labour force seeking wage labour as an alternative to farming creates a potential migrant flow. Ravenstein suggested in 1885, that no migration current could compare in volume with that which arises from the desire

inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects. Lee restated this conclusion some 81 years later when he suggested the volume and rate of migration will vary with the state of economic progress in a country.<sup>19</sup>

Since there is no large scale industry and little likelihood of any industry providing a major source of employment within the foreseeable future, the migrant stream, in line with Lee's hypothesis, will probably continue and increase.

A rise in the crime rate has been attributed to unemployment. A news report suggested:

"A dangerous situation is developing in Nuku'alofa where young people leaving school and finding themselves unemployed are joining gangs and raiding houses for food, clothing and money".  
(Pacific Island Monthly, July 1970, 69).

### Summary

Motives behind the decision to migrate appeared to be associated with both 'push' factors in Tonga and 'pull' factors in New Zealand. The rapid population increase and consequent pressure on environmental resources in Tonga, unemployment, aspirations to acquire housing, education and consumer goods were some of the 'push' factors. New Zealand offers a chance for the migrant to satisfy his frustrations through wage employment, free medical benefits and the 'bright lights'. Before these needs are met, the migrant has to overcome the intervening obstacles of travel finance, accommodation and employment.

## CHAPTER THREE

THE JOURNEY TO NEW ZEALANDIntervening Obstacles

The spatial distribution of islands and people imposes a constraint on the intending migrant. Ravenstein in his celebrated paper on the laws of migration concluded "The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance" and "migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will only grow less (as distance from the centre increases)".<sup>20</sup>

Although vessels like M.V. Olohava, M.V. Pakeina, M.V. Ulufonua and M.V. Kao, provide an efficient service between the Islands, there are many isolated islands, especially in the Ha'apai group. Lack of transport and fewer opportunities to make contact with Tongans who have migrated to New Zealand, would tend to reduce the number of potential migrants from these areas.

Probably the decision to migrate within Tonga is less drastic as the distances involved are smaller and the change in life-style and surroundings less violent. The cost of transport is considerably less. Tonga is located over 1000 miles from New Zealand. By air it requires perhaps two changes of aircraft, by boat a lengthy voyage, seldom direct to New Zealand. Both are costly to the Tongan. The airfare at the time of writing was over \$340.

### Arrivals and Departures

The movement of Tongans within their kingdom has been suggested above. This is perhaps the first stage for some Tongans, who will eventually move from the main towns of Tonga to New Zealand. Ravenstein's hypothesis states that:

"Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry."<sup>21</sup>

The movement of Tongans to New Zealand appears to have produced a migration 'current', set in the direction of Auckland, Hutt Valley, Porirua Basin and Wellington, all major centres of commerce and industry.

Data on arrivals by country of last permanent residence confirm this movement to Auckland and Wellington. As Table IV shows the majority of Tongans arrive by air at Auckland. This is the obvious choice, as Auckland is on the most direct international air route from Fiji. When a direct air link from Tonga to New Zealand is established in mid-1974, Auckland will probably continue as the major port-of-entry for Tongans.

Since 1965 sea travel has become less attractive to Tongans. The rapid increase in air traffic has been exclusively to Auckland. The establishment of Air New Zealand in the Pacific, the upgrading of Fau'amotu (Tongatapu's airport) and a reduction in the number of ships providing cheap direct passage to New Zealand, are factors accounting for this trend.

Since 1968 there has been an excess of arrivals over departures for Tongans by nationality in New Zealand. This is a reversal of the steady trend since 1965, when there was

consistently an excess of departures over arrivals. In the 1969-1970 period, of a total 751 arrivals, 698 arrived by air at Auckland.

Table IV

Arrivals by Countries of Last Permanent Residence  
And Sea and Airports, Tongans 1965 - 1970

Year	Sea				Air			Total
	Ak.	Wgtn	Lyt.	Other	Ak.	Wgtn	Chch	
1969-70	46			3	698	1	2	751
1968-69	40	4		4	486			534
1967-68	117	2	5		476	2	2	604
1966-67	103		7		404			514
1965-66	68				276	1	2	347

Source: New Zealand Census of Population, Migration and Dwellings 1965-1970, Volume 1.

Table V

Arrivals by Birthplace and Purpose,  
Tongans, 1965 - 1971

Year	Tourist <sup>b</sup>	Education	Working <sup>c</sup>	Intending permanent	Total <sup>a</sup>
1965-66	158	31	61	59	389
1966-67	262	39	125	46	588
1967-68	252	58	146	28	700
1968-69	223	32	93	65	596
1969-70	322	72	214	27	812
1970-71	413	25	297	24	842

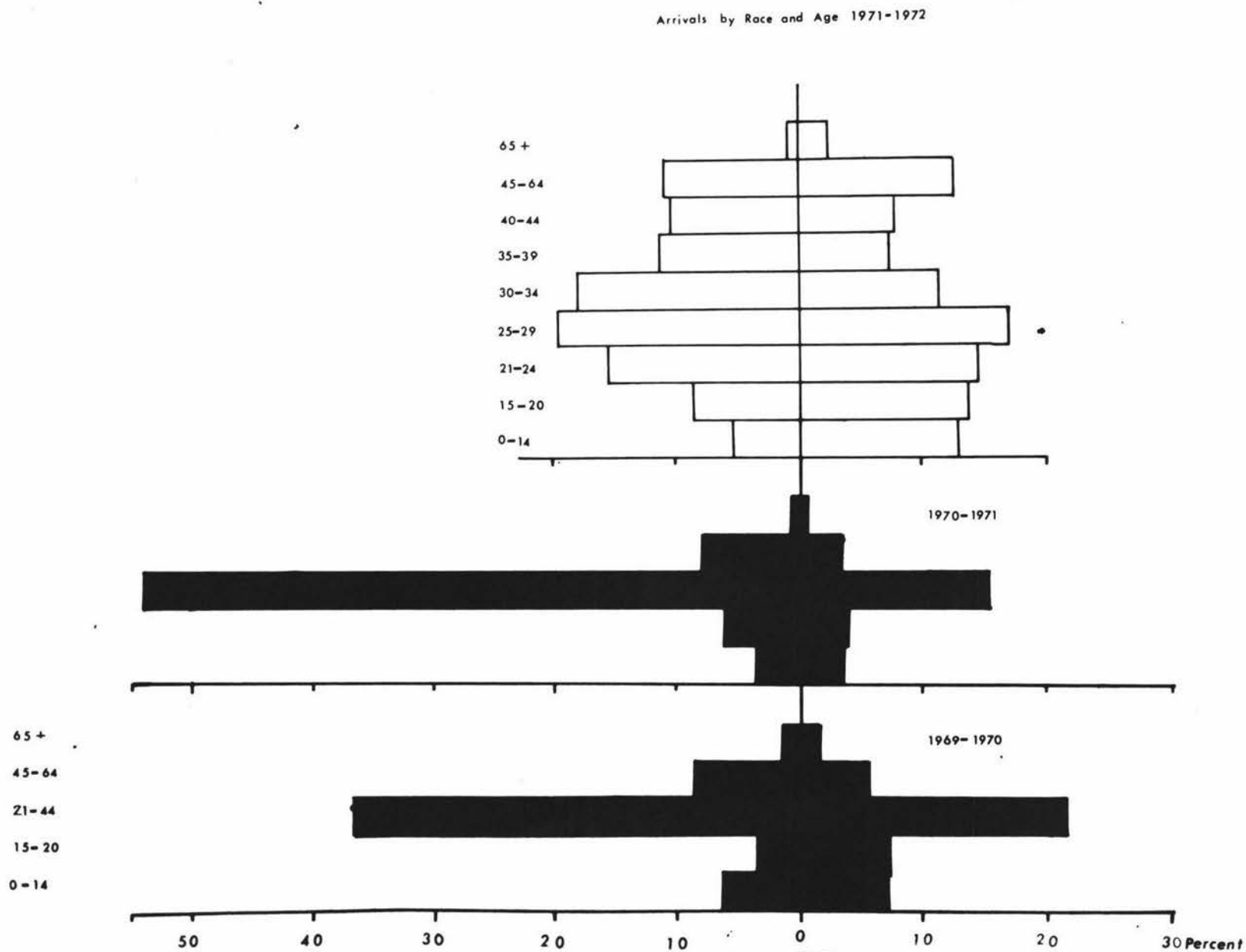
a Cross totals will not add to grand total as New Zealand residents returning and some minor groups omitted.

b Includes visiting relatives.

c Includes temporary work or working holiday.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population Migration and Dwellings 1965-1970, Volume 1.

Figure 7: Arrivals by Race and Age 1969 - 1971.



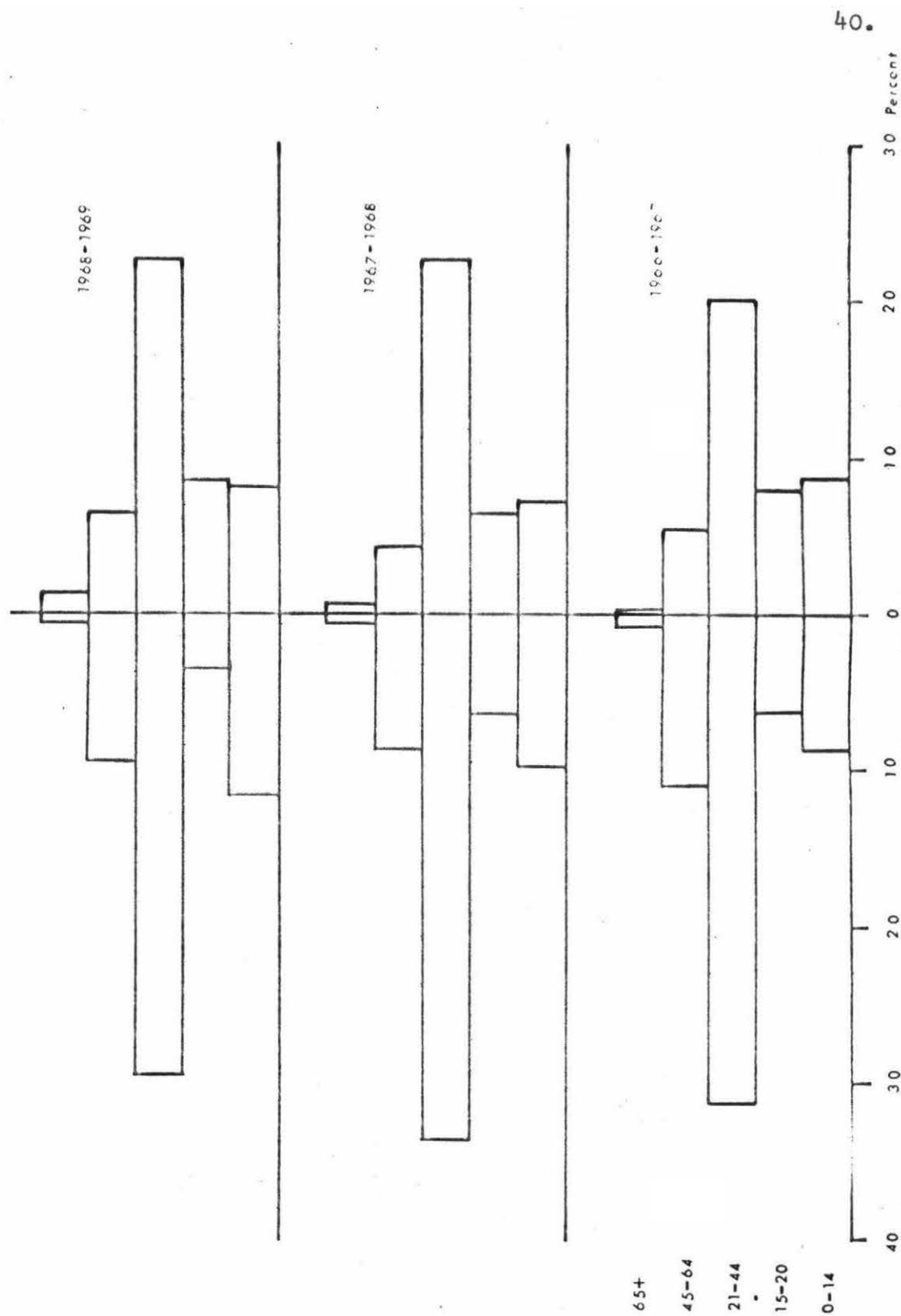


Figure 8: Arrivals by Race and Age 1966 - 1968

Figure 7 illustrates the significant increase in male Tongans by race arriving in New Zealand during the year March 1971 to March 1972. Actual totals by age and sex are listed below.

Table VI

Arrivals by Race and Age - Tongans 1971 - 1972

Age	Male	Female
0 - 14	77	76
15 - 20	126	78
21 - 24	232	82
25 - 29	292	95
30 - 34	270	63
35 - 39	168	41
40 - 44	154	43
45 - 64	163	71
65 & over	13	14
Totals	1495	563

Source: Survey.

Airfares

Just as the majority of Tongans are travelling alone, so too, they are providing their own air fare. Some Tongans in the sample who provided their own fare had planted crops and sold the produce to meet the expense. Watermelons were a popular choice. Land was sometimes borrowed for this purpose as the migrant had not yet been allocated an 'api'. Others worked on the wharves at Nuku'alofa or for Government Departments. To accumulate sufficient capital to enable the purchase of a return air ticket, the migrant would work a year or more at various ventures.

Ironically, when established in employment in New Zealand he would earn as much in two weeks as was possible in six months in Tonga. Table VII indicates that remittances from New Zealand were the major source of capital for paying airfares. Equally significant were other relations in Tonga. As migration streams and counter streams develop, it is probable that remittances from New Zealand will become a more significant source of capital for air fares. This will result from the further links in the chain of migrants and the diminishing opportunities for wage employment in Tonga. In the response, 'other relations in Tonga', one should remember the broad definition of 'relation' to the Tongan.

Table VII

Source of Fare to New Zealand, Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Source	Number	Percentage
$\frac{1}{2}$ from parents in Tonga	14	12.7
Raised own	38	34.5
$\frac{1}{2}$ from New Zealand	15	13.6
Husband	8	7.3
New Zealand Government	1	0.9
New Zealand employer	0	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ other relations in Tonga	15	13.6
Church in Tonga	6	5.5
Tongan Government	1	0.9
Other	12	11.0
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

Some Tongans in the 55 years and over age group, expressed the opinion that the youth of Tonga should stay in

Tonga, and work in agriculture. The young migrant is attracted more towards wage employment. As this is not readily available in Tonga his only choice is to migrate. The differing viewpoints of the young and the old are perhaps one reason why capital from parents is not as significant a source of airfares as might be expected. The donor of airfares through remittances from New Zealand tended to be of similar age to the recipient in the survey sample.

Some migrants travel to New Zealand in organised groups for a specific purpose. In one case, 14 Tongans had accompanied their minister to New Zealand for the set purpose of raising money to build a church. In contrast one respondent had worked his passage to New Zealand by accepting responsibility for the welfare of other Tongans on board a ship. These migrants were sometimes related or from the same area in Tonga. It would appear, however, that it was an individual decision on the part of each migrant, rather than an organised group movement.

Table VIII

Travel Accomplishes to New Zealand Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Travel Relationship	Number	Percentage
Own	58	52.7
Family	24	21.8
Other relative <sup>a</sup>	9	8.2
Villager <sup>b</sup>	9	8.2
Workmate <sup>c</sup>	7	6.4
Other	3	2.7
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

a Not family

b But not related by marriage

c But not related or from the same village.

### Port of Entry

As the majority of Tongans in New Zealand live in Auckland,<sup>22</sup> it was not surprising the survey confirmed Auckland as the port-of-entry. Wellington and Christchurch together accounted for only 4 per cent (6 persons) of Tongans in the survey by port-of-entry. These 6 persons all travelled by sea. Of the 102 persons in the survey who landed at Auckland, 98 arrived by air.

After the issue of a three month permit Tongans wish to travel rapidly to New Zealand and commence work. Auckland is the obvious choice, providing links with other Tongans, employment, and a direct air link from Fiji.

### Permits

Permits issued by the New Zealand High Commissioner in Apia to Tongans requesting entry to New Zealand are explicit in their conditions of entry. The majority of permits are classified as temporary permits, that is, of three months. Only two of the 114 permits issued to those in the survey were of the 'working permit' type. The majority were as stated in the permit:

"Your visit to New Zealand is granted on the strict understanding that you are going to New Zealand for a tourist or holiday visit. It is a condition of your permit, that you remain in New Zealand no longer than three months. Your permit will not be extended unless there are extenuating circumstances".<sup>23</sup>

'Working permits' are difficult to obtain. Officially it is diplomatic to record Tongans as tourists, although it is understood by officials that few, if any, are here solely as tourists.

The survey reflected regulations pertaining to entry permits in two ways. First, the majority of Tongans had arrived in New Zealand since January 1973. Secondly, a significant number had overstayed their permits.

Table IX

Year Arrived and Time in Auckland Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Year Arrived	Number	Number	Time in Auckland
1974	29	62	less than a year
1973	52	11	1 year
1972	9	8	2 years
1971	2	2	3 years
1970	2	3	4 years
1969	1	0	5 years
1968	2	1	6 years
1967	2	0	7 years
1966 or before	11	0	8 years
	110	87	

Source: Survey.

Questioning respondents as to how long they had resided in Auckland was difficult. From this response, and knowing that the Tongan held a three month permit, it could be ascertained if he had overstayed. The difference of 23, between the number who replied when they arrived, and the 87 who replied how long they had been in Auckland, indicates the hesitant response to this question. It was not only that some did not wish to reply. In the considered opinion of the author and translator the respondent perhaps miscalculated his response.

Over half the Tongans in the survey were on three month permits. Applications for extension of stay can be made, if there are good reasons, to the Department of Labour. The permit states, however:

"Applications to remain in New Zealand, or to study, made by persons visiting New Zealand will not be approved".<sup>24</sup>

Table X

Duration of Permits, Tongans, Central  
Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Permit Time	Number	Percentage
3 months	59	53.6
6 months	20	18.2
12 months	6	5.5
Permanent	10	9.1
Naturalised	6	5.5
Other	9	8.1
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

When cross tabulating the year of arrival against the permit held at the time of interview, the overstay situation becomes apparent. The survey covered 59 respondents on three month permits. Of these, six had overstayed by a year or more, in one case over three years and six months. Those Tongans who arrived in 1973 on three month permits totalled 35. If they arrived prior to November 1st 1973, they were at the time of interview, overstaying their permits. Although the month of arrival was not asked for, it is highly probably that more than half of that 35 had overstayed their permits.

Twenty Tongans in the survey held six month permits at the time of interview. Two of these had overstayed by a year or more, and probably some of the 13 who arrived in 1973 were overstayers. Three who held 12 month permits had overstayed by a year or more.

The desire of Tongans to remain in New Zealand is reflected by the number who had overstayed their permits. They are aware that, if caught, an illegal immigrant is deported and forfeits the right to enter New Zealand again. On March 18, 1974, 21 Tongans were arrested during dawn police raids in Onehunga. It was reported<sup>25</sup> on March 28, 1974 that eight of a group of 13 Tongans due to appear in Court on immigration charges had failed to report to Auckland police as the terms of their bail demanded.<sup>25</sup> Arrangements were being made at that time for the deportation of 15 other Tongans who had been remanded to Mt Eden Prison pending deportation. On April 2, amnesty was likely for Tongans living in New Zealand illegally. This would be in the form of a short extension of their stay in which they would declare their presence and earn the money needed to travel back to Tonga. Mr Kirk stated that the system should provide a "fair, just and non discriminatory answer to the problem facing the 1000 - 2000 Tongan migrants illegally in New Zealand".<sup>26</sup> The rewards of wage employment and life in New Zealand are obviously compensation for this risk. To support himself in New Zealand, balance the debt of the airfare, satisfy demands from the Islands for money, and finally earn enough money for a fale or the children's education, is an impossible task in only three months. Some Tongans gave as their reason for requesting a permit extension, "to earn some money for myself".

Table XI

Year of Arrival and Permit Held, Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Year Arrived	Type of Permit					Naturalised	Total
	3 month	6 month	12 month	5 years	Permanent		
1974	18	5	1	-	-	-	-24
1973	35	13	2	2	-	-	52
1972	4	-	2	-	2	-	8
1971	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
1970	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
1969	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1968	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
1967	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
before 1966	-	-	-	-	5	5	10
TOTAL	59	20	6	2	10	6	103

Source: Survey.

Summary

Major intervening obstacles confronting the prospective migrant were the cost and distance of travel between Tonga and New Zealand. Months and perhaps years were needed to raise the airfare and acquire the necessary passport and entry visa. From the survey it was apparent that migrants tend to work independently, both when raising the airfare and when travelling. In 1973 there were 3533 permits issued to Tongans for temporary admittance. By April 1974 there was a backlog of 6000 Tongans awaiting entry permits. These applications were subsequently suspended in April awaiting the revised immigration regulations of the New Zealand Government. Temporary permits had created a conflict between forefilling original motives and overstaying the legal duration of visits. The advantages of working in New Zealand would appear to have outweighed the risks associated with prosecution. The following chapter examines the demographic and social characteristics of those Tongans who have successfully 'run the gauntlet'.

## CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICSYouthfulness of Polynesians in New Zealand

Woolf states that:

"Polynesians are a young population compared to New Zealand as a whole...."<sup>27</sup>

Since 1945 the Polynesian population resident in New Zealand has assumed a younger profile. In 1945, a third of Polynesians in New Zealand were in the 0-15 age group. By 1956 this group accounted for 40 per cent, by 1966 47 per cent. In contrast, the 16-64 age group comprised a diminishing proportion, 65 per cent in 1945, 59 per cent 1956 and 52 per cent in 1966.

Youthfulness of the Tongan Migrant Stream

From 1965 to 1970 approximately 64 per cent of male Tongan and 43 per cent of female Tongan arrivals were in the 21-44 age group. Less than 10 per cent of the males and 14 per cent of the females, in the same period, were in the 15-20 age group. Children under the age of 15 years contributed an average of 17 per cent of arrivals by nationality in the four year period 1966-1970. The migration stream from Tonga is therefore selective by age and sex. This picture should not be confused with the age distribution of Tongans resident in New Zealand at

the time of the 1971 census, and discussed below.

In 1971, 35.5 per cent of the Central Auckland Urban Area Tongan population were under the age of 15 years and 63.8 per cent were in the 16-64 age group. These figures would place Tongan settlement in New Zealand at a stage similar to total Polynesians in the 1950's.

The survey in the Central Auckland Urban Area, conducted by the author, revealed a majority in the 20-44 age group. This result was biased through the selective nature of migration, the selection of working-age Tongans and interviews being conducted at work. As the 1966 and 1971 Census results show, the Tongan population in the research area is over-represented in the 20-44 age group. Only 5 per cent of the survey population was in the 16-19 age group. An equal number occupied the 55-64 age group, and one respondent was over 65.

Table XII

Age Distribution of Tongans, Central  
Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Age Groups	Number	Percentage
16 - 19	6	5.5
20 - 24	23	20.9
25 - 34	40	36.4
35 - 44	20	18.2
45 - 54	12	10.9
55 - 64	6	5.5
65 & over	1	0.9
TOTAL	108	100.0

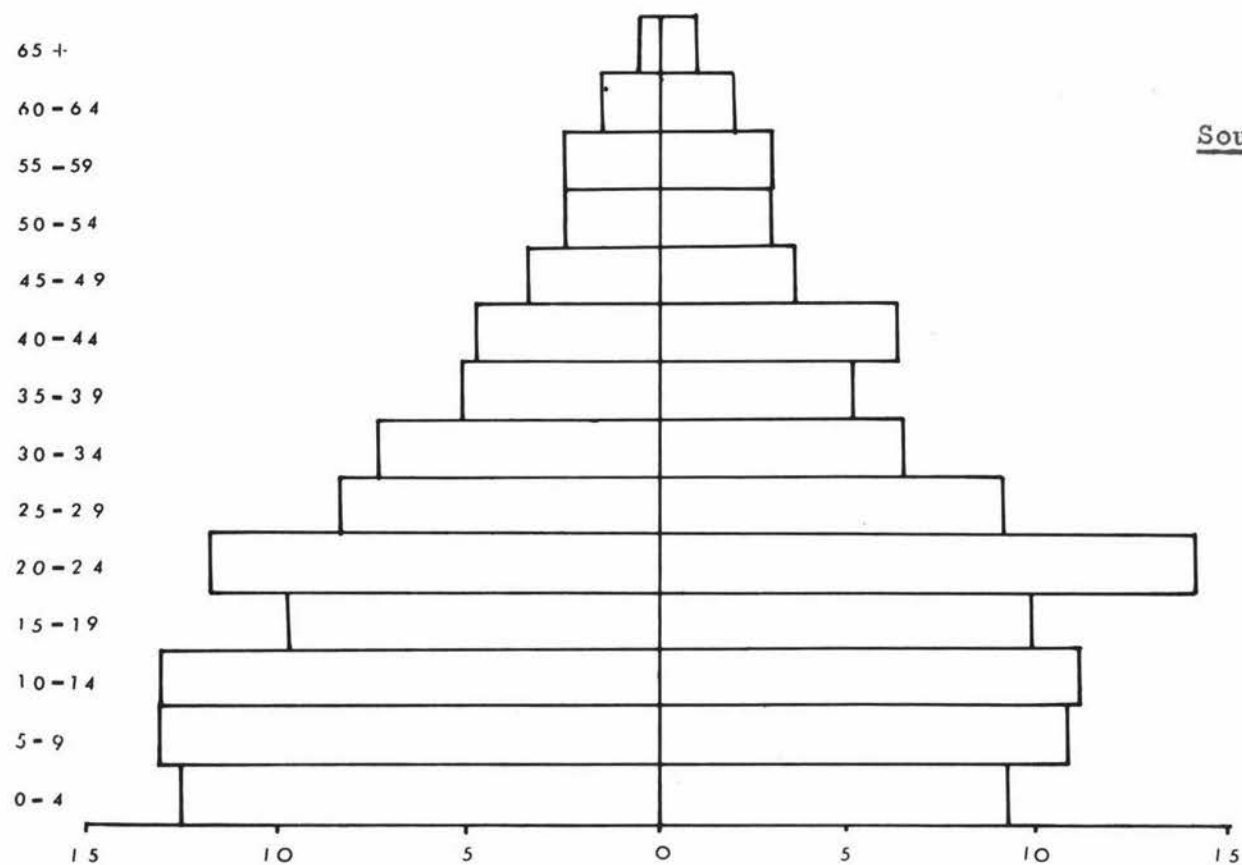
Source: Survey.

Table XII illustrates the modal nature of the 25-34 age group.

Figure 9:

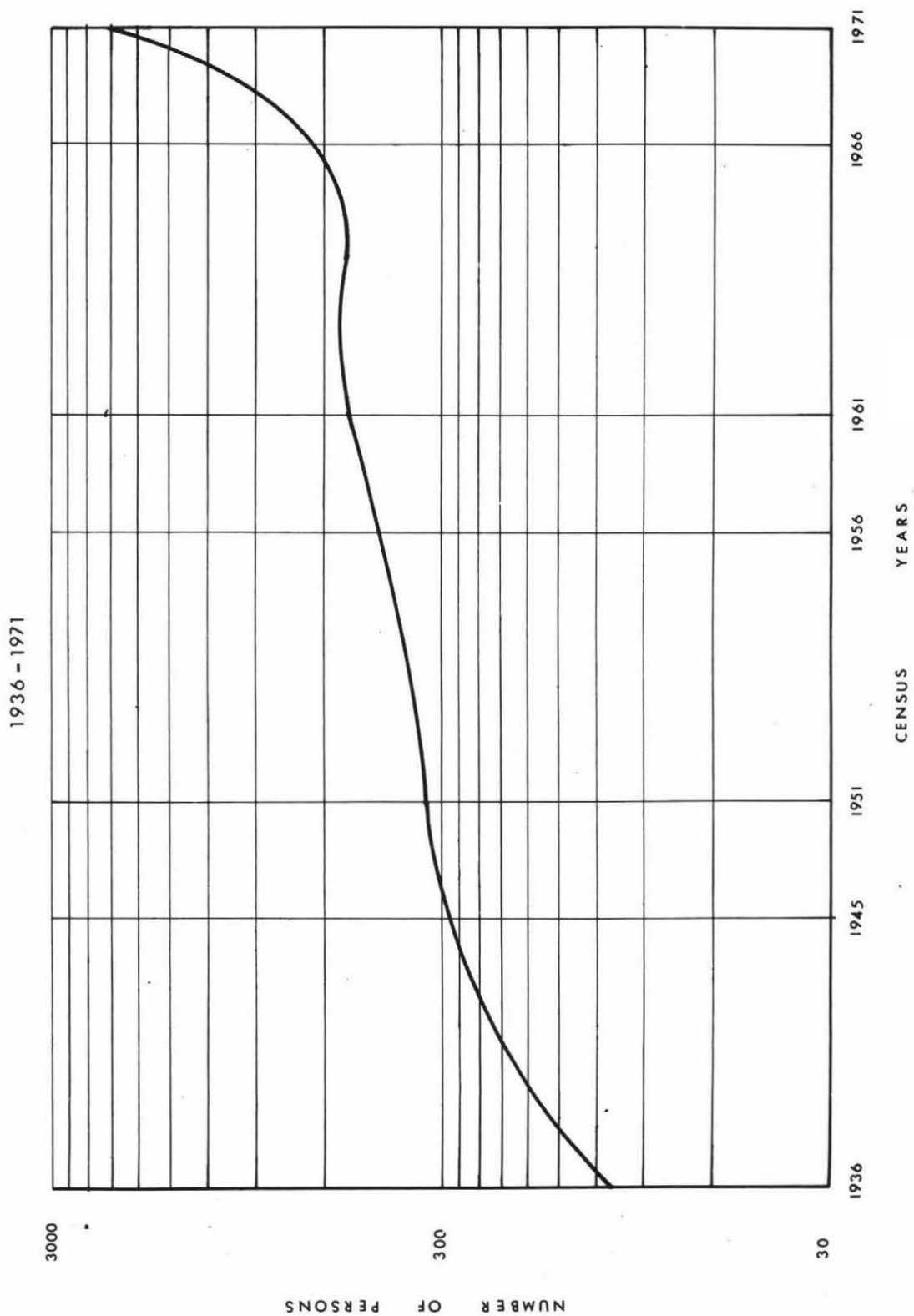
Tongan Population by Age and Sex

C. Auckland Urban Area 1971



Source: Department of Statistics,  
unpublished figures,  
1971 Census.

Figure 10: GROWTH OF THE TONGAN POPULATION IN AUCKLAND



One reason for the high proportion of young adults is their ability to adjust to a new environment. Other reasons include their stage in life, perhaps prior to achieving steady employment or marriage.

This supports Petersen's suggestion that:

"With respect to age differentiation, all migration is one: in both internal and international movements adolescents and young adults usually predominate. This is one of the most firmly established generalizations in demography".<sup>28</sup>

### Marital Status

"The most notable feature of the marital status distribution for Pacific Islanders compared to the total New Zealand population is the relatively large proportion who have never married."<sup>29</sup>

Table XIII

#### Marital Status Distribution (Percentages)<sup>a</sup>

Year	Class	Polynesians		Total Population	
		M	F	M	F
1966	Never Married	67	65	53	47
	Married	31	32	43	44
	Separated and divorced	1.5	4	3	9
	TOTAL	99.5	101	99	100

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Volume 7 'Race'.

a Note: Percentages may not add up, to 100 due to rounding.

The marital status of individual Polynesian communities is structured, in part, by age. The 1966 Samoan community in New Zealand comprised 68 per cent of males and 66 per cent of females who had never married. This reflected the large number of family groups in the migration stream and the youthful nature of the Samoan community in New Zealand at that time.

The marital status of those interviewed in the survey showed a predominance of married Tongans.

Table XIV  
Marital Status of Tongans, Central  
Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Marital Status	Number	Percentage
Never married	47	42.7
Separated	0	00.0
Divorced	2	1.8
Widow	0	00.0
Married	60	54.5
TOTAL	109	100.0

Source: Survey.

Of the 60 people who indicated they were married, 57 were married when they arrived in New Zealand. This suggests the stream of Tongan migrants to New Zealand is one of married persons. Only 12 persons had married since arriving in New Zealand. As the majority of Tongans are resident on a three month permit basis, it is probably only those who have gained permanent residence or naturalised status who had married in New Zealand.

Table XV

Marital Status and Island of Birth, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Birthplace	Never Married	Married	Separated or Divorced	Totals
Tongatapu	31	30	--	61
Ha'apai	5	7	-	12
Vava'u	8	17	1	26
'Eua	-	1	-	1
Niuas	1	-	-	1
N.Z.	-	-	1	1
Fiji	-	1	-	1
TOTALS	47	60	2	110

Source: Survey.

Age and Marital Status

The majority of 'never-married' Tongan migrants in the survey were in the 16 - 44 age group, while most of the 'married' group tended to occupy the 25 - 64 age group. Over half (55 per cent) of the survey was married, and 41 per cent of this 55 per cent were within the 25 - 54 age group. A lesser number, 43 per cent, were never married, and 36 per cent of this 43 per cent were in the 16 - 34 age group. No-one under the age of 20 was married, whereas there was only one person over the age of 45 either not married or divorced.

The modal age group for those never married was 25 - 34 years. This also happened to be the modal group for married although 35 per cent of those in this group were over the age of 34, and 46.8 per cent of those never married was below the age of 25.

Table XVI

Sex and Marital Status, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area 1974

Marital Status	Male <sup>a</sup> %	Female <sup>b</sup> %	Male (no.)	Female (no.)	Total
Never married	47.7	21.0	43	4	47
Married	51.1	73.6	46	14	60
Separated or divorced	1.2	5.4	1	1	2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	90	19	109

a Percentage of total males.

b Percentage of total females.

Source: Survey.

Table XVII

Marital Status on Arrival, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area 1974

Marital Status	Male %	Female %	Male (no.)	Female (no.)	Total
Married in Tonga	47.7	73.6	43	14	57
Married in N.Z.	20.1	5.4	11	1	12
Single	32.2	21.0	29	4	33
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	83	19	102

Source: Survey

Of the 54.5 per cent in the survey who were married, only 21.8 per cent had migrated with their wives or husbands. The majority 32.7 per cent had left their spouse in Tonga. Table XVIII relates the percentage of the survey, married, to the location of their spouse. This trend is common to short-stay migrants with families, where the wife remains in the country of

origin to mind the children. When the economic motive is foremost, this trend is further reinforced.

Table XVIII

Location of Spouse Tongans, Central Auckland  
Urban Area, 1974 (percentages)

Married	Spouse in Tonga	Spouse in N.Z.	Not Married
54.5	32.7	21.8	46.5

Source: Survey.

#### Dependents

It would appear from both the age structure and marital status of Tongans in the survey, that the migrant tends to be typically both young and, if married, newly married. Although 54.5 per cent of the surveyed population were married, 58.6 per cent had no children and a further 26.4 per cent had only one child.

Those married migrants with children were probably just establishing families, as from the author's observation, Tongans tended to have more than two children. The survey would indicate that whereas over half had no children, less than a third had between 0 and four children.

Table XIX

Total Dependents by Sex, Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Number of Dependents	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
0	78	70.9
1	5	4.5
2	8	7.3
3	5	4.5
4	6	5.5
5	3	2.7
6	3	2.7
7	0	0
8	2	1.8
TOTAL	110	100.0

Note: Dependents in both New Zealand and Tonga included.

Source: Survey.

### Birthplace of Migrants

The birthplace of Tongans surveyed were spread from Nuiāfo'au in the north to 'Eua in the south. The majority, 55.5 per cent, were born on Tongatapu, (Tongatapu contains approximately 66 per cent of Tonga's people). This was to be expected as the airport providing the link to Fiji, and the port-of-call for ocean liners are located on this main island. It is Tongatapu among all the islands in which contact with foreign countries, by print or person, is most developed. The Vava'u group was home to 23.6 per cent of the survey while the Ha'apai group contributed 10.9 per cent, (Vava'u accounts for approximately

17 per cent and Ha'apai 14 per cent of the population of Tonga). It may be that the efficient air link with Vava'u and the dispersed yet densely settled islands of the Ha'apai group, account for the slight ascendancy of Vava'u as the birthplace of migrants.

Table XX  
Birthplace of Tongans Residing in  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1971

Birthplace	Frequency	Percentage
Tongatapu	61	55.5
Ha'apai	12	10.9
Vava'u	26	23.6
Niua's	1	0.9
Eua	1	0.9
Fiji	1	0.9
New Zealand	1	0.9
Other	7	6.4
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

Of the 103 people who supplied their place of birth, only three were not from the main towns of Neiafu (Vava'u), Pangai (Ha'apai), and Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu). This supports research in other Pacific Islands especially in the Cook Islands.<sup>30</sup>

Distance appears to act as a filter system within Tonga and to New Zealand. The same male bias appears in the migrant population from Vava'u. Migrants must travel south from Vava'u to Tongatapu, before connecting with international flights to Fiji. Whereas migrants from Vava'u accounted for 26 of the total

survey, only one was a female. In contrast, Tongatapu provided 47 males and 14 females. Ha'apai holds an intermediate place between the two other groups both geographically and demographically. Ten males and two females had their origins in Ha'apai. Table XXI illustrates the percentage of males and females from each group.

Table XXI

Sex and Island of Birth, Tongans,  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Island Group	Male <sup>a</sup> %	Female <sup>b</sup> %	Male (no.)	Female (no.)	Total
Tongatapu	73.6	52.2	47	14	61
Ha'apai	11.1	10.5	10	2	12
Vava'u	27.7	5.2	25	1	26
'Eua	4.5	0	1	0	1
Niuas	0	4.5	0	1	1
New Zealand	0	4.5	0	1	1
Fiji	4.5	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	100.0	98.3	90	19	109

a Percentage of total males.

b Percentage of total females.

Source: Survey.

### Sex

"Migration is selective".<sup>31</sup> The Tongan population of Central Auckland is not a random sample of the population of Tonga, just as the total Tongan population of New Zealand differs from the total population of Tonga. The survey recorded responses from 90 males and 19 females. Males predominate in

long distance moves, both in the survey and in the 1971 Tongan population of Central Auckland Urban Area.

The sex ratio for the Central Auckland Urban Area was 115 males to every 100 females. In 1966 the ratio was 81 males to every 100 females. The Tongan population in this area has changed over the intercensal period, to one with a predominantly male population. This trend is similar to the migration of Cook Islanders between 1945 and 1954 and may characterise the early stage of Pacific migration. As Petersen notes:

"Selection by sex is also usual, but whether males or females predominate depends on the circumstances."<sup>32</sup>

The predominance of male Tongans in the Central Auckland Urban Area may be the result of the distance between Tonga and New Zealand which has a selective effect on international migration.

Single girls are generally more closely bound by the traditions of Tongan society which prescribes village roles. Husbands in the survey had left their wives in Tonga to manage the family. Consequently the male bias sex ratio has developed.

Contrary to most immigrant groups, Polynesians show an initial preponderance of females; the sex ratios in 1945 were 91 males to every 100 females. By 1966, the ratio had declined to 105 males to every 100 females. The Tongan sex ratios show a similar historical trend, with the initial preponderance of females. The excessive number of males in 1971 is perhaps indicative of the short-stay immigration and the limited number of Tongans who remain as permanent or naturalised citizens.

### Educational Qualifications

Migrants are often a selection of the better qualified and perhaps more intelligent people of the country of origin. Wolpert suggests that one factor that contributes to the mobility of a population is above average educational training.<sup>33</sup>

The Tongans included in the survey had attained various qualifications at school. Persons in the 35-54 age group had less time in formal education. Younger migrants tend to have reaped the benefit of improved educational facilities and perhaps been able to remain at school longer than their parents. Table XXII indicates that although the majority had successfully concluded primary or secondary schooling, few had gained qualifications. Of the 109 sampled 78 had achieved secondary education status and 15 had passed school certificate (mainly New Zealand examination). Table XXII shows that twice as many males had 'primary education only', than females: female migrants had also attained higher qualifications, 21 per cent with Higher Leaving as against 6.6 per cent of the males. Females were better qualified migrants than males. This may be because migration for a female has greater risk element. It is perhaps only the better educated women who will be confident enough to depart from their role in the Tongan community and seek experience overseas.

As the majority of high schools are on the main island, Tongatapu, migrants from this island tend to be better qualified, as Table XXIII indicates. If the educational qualifications of all Tongans residing in New Zealand, either on a temporary or permanent basis were ascertained, they would probably be better

Table XXII

Qualifications of Tongan Migrants  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Qualification	Male	Female	Male % <sup>a</sup>	Female % <sup>b</sup>
Primary	23	2	25.5	12.5
Secondary	42	11	46.6	57.0
Lower Leaving	14	2	15.5	10.5
School Certificate	4	-	4.4	-
Higher Leaving	6	4	6.6	20.0
University Entrance	1	-	1.1	-
TOTAL	90	18	100.0	100.0

a As percentage of total males.

b As percentage of total females.

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Survey.

Table XXIII

Qualifications and Birthplace, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Qualification	Tongatapu		Ha'apai		Vava'u	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary	12	19.6	1	8.3	7	26.9
Secondary	28	45.9	8	66.6	12	46.1
Lower Leaving	9	14.7	2	16.6	5	19.2
School Certificate	3	4.9	0	0	1	3.8
Higher Leaving	8	13.1	1	8.3	1	3.8
University Entrance	1	1.6	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	61	100.0	12	100.0	26	100.0

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Survey.

qualified than the average Tongan. At the time of the survey only one student (a plumber's apprentice) was resident at the Tongan hostel in Auckland, Atatanga. Students residing here, together with those on Government scholarships, probably constitute a more qualified population than the population of Tonga as a whole.

### Religion

Religion is a significant aspect of Tongan life. Sunday is strictly a day of rest. Missionaries of the Wesleyan faith established themselves in Tonga and gained considerable power in the late 19th century. Their influence continues today. The majority of Tongans are followers of the Methodist faith and their fine churches bear witness to the central position religion plays in Tongan life. Over half the surveyed population professed the Methodist faith, while Catholic and Mormon were a significant group.

Although migrants are a selected group by age, sex, marital status and educational qualification, they tend to reflect the Tongan situation in religion.

There appeared to be some residential grouping of Tongans by their professed faith. This area warrants further investigation. About 31 per cent of Tongans in the survey had over four other members of their household of the same religion. In one case all 15 members of the household were of the same religion.

Table XXIV

Religion of Tongans, Central  
Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Religion	Number	Percentage
Methodist	61	55.5
Catholic	21	19.1
Mormon	11	10.0
Anglican	3	2.7
7th Day Adventist	3	2.7
Free Wesleyan	2	1.8
Assembly of God	1	0.9
Not stated	2	1.8
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

Table XXV

Religion of Other Members of Household, Tongans  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Number of other members of household professing the same religion as respondent	Number of respondents	Percentage of total respondents
0	27	24.5
1	17	15.5
2	7	6.4
3	15	13.6
4	10	9.1
5	6	5.5
6	12	10.9
7	6	5.5
8	2	1.8
9	8	7.3
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

Summary

The migrant tended to be typically in the 25 - 34 age group and Methodist. The survey revealed over half were married and tended to possess higher educational qualifications than the average Tongan.

The married Tongan tends to leave his wife and children in Tonga for the duration of his short stay in New Zealand. The age and sex characteristics of the migrant stream differed from that of the settled Tongan population in Auckland. This latter group exhibited a greater number of children and appeared similar to that of the total Polynesian population in New Zealand during the 1950's. Migrants in the survey had been born in and migrated from the main towns of each island group in the kingdom.

## CHAPTER FIVE

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICSExpected Characteristics

Prior to the survey of occupational characteristics it was assumed that Tongans would enter employment arranged prior to their leaving Tonga. Although the majority enter New Zealand holding visitors permits rather than work permits, the motive for migrating was usually economic. Consideration of this motive lead the author to assume that, in their eagerness to accumulate capital, Tongans would have employment available the day they arrived. The results of the survey, outlined below, have altered this original prediction.

Industrial employment in Tonga similar to that available in Auckland does not exist. Tongans were expected to occupy unskilled and perhaps less attractive types of employment on a full-time basis. The degree of similarity between their occupations in Tonga and those engaged in New Zealand was expected to be slight. Tongans with professional, clerical or administrative positions in Tonga were expected to assume similar status in New Zealand. The survey revealed however, that few held positions in New Zealand similar to those held in Tonga.

The occupational mobility of Tongans in Auckland was expected to be slight, due to their short-term permits.

Tongans were also expected to find employment with other Tongans. As recorded in this chapter some of these initial assumptions proved inaccurate.

### Occupational Characteristics of Polynesians

Curson found that Cook Islanders "tended to follow a fairly narrow range of unskilled occupations - labourers in freezing works, wool store workers, agricultural workers, forestry workers, public transport employees, machinists, etc."<sup>34</sup> He notes that the New Zealand employer faced by a shortage of unskilled labour had welcomed Island labour and that some city firms had built up 'gangs' of Cook Island workers for production line or heavy labouring jobs.

The New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1961 indicated the largest proportion of male Cook Islanders were employed in the manufacturing industry, with a smaller concentration in transport and construction work. Curson notes that well over 75 per cent of the 1971 male labour force were employed in manual work requiring no special qualifications and with few opportunities for further advancement.

Trlin<sup>35</sup> noted that Samoans and Niueans were under represented in the 'white collar' occupations and that Niuean females were particularly over-represented in factories as cutters, furriers and related workers.

One method of comparing the occupational and residential characteristics of a migrant group with the total population is to use a measure of dissimilarity. By comparing the percentage

of each migrant group in various occupational categories or residential areas, a value can be calculated showing the degree to which a migrant population is similar to or different from that of the host population. Trlin as noted above, employing the categories of occupation, occupational status and income calculated indices of dissimilarity between Western Samoans, Niueans and the remainder of the total population of the Auckland Urban Area in 1966. These indices are shown in Table XXVI. The figures show that the occupational structure of these two Polynesian groups was markedly different from that of the total Auckland population. The residential location of immigrant groups was also dissimilar, and there appeared to be a significant correlation between the two categories of occupation and residence.

Using the example of five immigrant groups in Auckland, (only two of which were Polynesian), Trlin concludes that in 1966 the residential-occupational correlation coefficient using indices of dissimilarity, was .70. He adds that:

"this value warrants acceptance of the proposition that the index of residential dissimilarity for each of the immigrant groups in Auckland is related to their respective indices of occupational dissimilarity."<sup>36</sup>

Table XXVI

Indices of Dissimilarity (for Occupations, Occupational Status, Incomes) Between Western Samoans, Niueans and the Remainder of the Total Population, Auckland Urban Area 1966; and Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics.

Birth Place	Occupations <sup>a</sup>			Occupational Status <sup>b</sup>			Income <sup>c</sup>		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Western Samoa	37.4	49.4	40.6	9.6	3.4	7.7	28.2	21.2	22.2
Niue	49.6	63.8	52.5	10.5	4.1	8.4	38.2	24.1	28.7

Birth Place	Occupations (Percentages)		Occupational Status	Income	
	Prof./Admin.	Total White Collar	Employer/On Own Account	\$1400-	\$2200+
Western Samoa	3.3	9.7	0.7	43.1	18.9
Niue	0.7	2.2	0.1	49.7	11.6

- a Actively engaged only, distributed over a total of 70. ?  
Occupational divisions listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol. 4, 54-57.
- b Actively engaged only distributed over six status categories as listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol. 4, 107.
- c Fourteen income categories, excluding 'Nil income' and 'Not specified' categories, as listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol. 5.

Source: Trlin, 1973, 300-301, Tables 7 and 8.

### Secondary and Tertiary Employment in Tonga

The major secondary industry in Tonga is associated with the primary production of coconut. At Havelu Loto, just outside Nuku'alofa, there is a government factory which, besides making copra, processes coconuts to make dessicated coconut and coir matting. The highly mechanised factory employs about 600 people. Close to the dessicated coconut factory is another government factory which constructs furniture and small boats. The Tonga Construction Company employs some labourers, as do firms producing perishable goods such as bread and cordials. Handicrafts are an important cottage industry associated with tourism.

The government is the largest employer in Tonga. Its major employment sectors are fishing and trade vessels, the Dateline hotel, public works, telephones, education, police, electricity and the radio station.

The proportion of workers in each occupation group differs from that found in New Zealand. Approximate figures are provided in Table XXVII. Over 80 per cent of the Tongan work force is, in some way, associated with agricultural production. This is the major employment sector in the Tongan economy as little technical or trade training is available outside Tongatapu.

The average Tongan migrant is therefore handicapped by an inferior educational background and lack of specialised vocational training available to his New Zealand contemporary. His different economic background, skills, experience, expectations and adaptability govern his success in obtaining employment in Auckland.

Table XXVII

Proportion Employed in Each Occupational Group,  
Tonga and New Zealand 1966 (Percentages)

Country	Agriculture	Commerce	Services	Transport and Communications	Part Manufacturing and Manufacturing	Other
Tonga	45	5	20	10	10	10
New Zealand	10	20	20	10	35	5

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol. I  
and Walsh, 1972, 33.

### Occupations of Migrants in Tonga

As the Tongan economy is based primarily on agriculture it was not surprising that 31 per cent of those interviewed were farmers in Tonga. Farming represented the major occupational grouping for migrants in all ages and from each area. All occupational groupings were represented in the survey. A significant number of migrants were either at school or were not actively engaged in wage employment in Tonga. This group comprised 15.5 per cent of the sample. This group perhaps indicates the growing discontent with employment conditions in Tonga, a situation motivating their migration to New Zealand.

The third most significant occupational grouping was labouring. No occupational grouping should be considered as exclusive. Although the respondent may have indicated labouring this was often in conjunction with farming his api. Employment on the wharves in Tonga as a labourer was for many the wage earning opportunity necessary to purchase an airfare to New Zealand.

The three main island groups produced migrants with differing occupational characteristics.

Table XXVIII

#### Selected Occupational Characteristics

Island	Percentage of Survey	Percentage of Farmers	Percentage of Professionals
Tongatapu	55.5	58.8	53.3
Ha'apai	10.9	14.7	6.67
Vava'u	23.6	26.4	26.6

Source: Survey.

Tongatapu and Ha'apai accounted for a disproportionate percentage of the farmers in the survey, while Vava'u produced a balanced stream of farmers and professional workers. The differing occupational backgrounds of migrants can be explained in part by recalling that those from Vava'u tended to be older, married and better qualified than those from any other island group. Migrants from Tongatapu have the opportunity of wage employment. This situation is illustrated in that 69.2 per cent of labourers were born in Tongatapu, although this island accounted for only 55.5 per cent of the survey.

Because of the scattered spatial pattern of the Ha'apai group and the limited employment opportunities outside farming, the bias towards this occupation is apparent in the survey.

#### Tongan Employment in Auckland 1971

Tongans residing in the Central Auckland Urban Area were employed in a limited number of industrial classifications. Distinctive patterns emerged when considering employment on the basis of sex. Significant numbers of male Tongans were employed in the manufacturing of food, chemicals, rubber, glass, clay products and metal furniture. The construction industry, wholesale trade and waterside cargo handling sector also employed Tongans.

Tongan women, excluding those concerned with medical, dental and other health services, were concentrated in the manufacturing of wearing apparel, except footwear. This sector employed approximately 22 per cent of all female workers, and

appears to be popular with other Polynesian groups as noted above. Other minor concentrations occur in the retail and restaurant-hotel sector.

Tongans are therefore mainly associated with the manufacturing and construction sectors of the economy, in unskilled and production line occupations which offer overtime.

The percentages of Tongans employed in each industrial classification, differ from that of the total employed population of the Central Auckland Urban Area, see Table XXIX. They are over-represented in the 'manufacturing' sector. Conversely, Tongans are under-represented in all other industrial classification sectors.

The predominance of males in the manufacturing sectors underlines the chain-migration arrangement Tongans have established with certain firms in Auckland. It is possible that manufacturing receives a significant proportion of immigrants who would have otherwise been engaged in the construction industry.

Most of the women employed in the 'commerce' sector are probably working in hotels and restaurants while women employed in the 'service' sector were mainly engaged in community and social services. There appears to be at least 15 in this sector, employed as domestics at the National Women's Hospital.

Major areas of Tongan population in the Central Auckland Urban Area, tend to house Tongans employed mainly in the manufacturing sector. In a comparison between Tongans employed in manufacturing and those employed in all other industrial groups, Freemans Bay, Auckland Central and Newton had an excess of two per

Table XXIX

Comparison of Employment by Industry Tongans and Total Central  
Auckland Urban Area Population, 1971, (Percentages and Number)

Country	Agriculture Forestry etc.		Manufacturing		Electricity Gas and Water		Construction		Commerce		Transport and Communication		Services		Total Actively Engaged	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Tongan	0	0	55.2	39.4	.9	0	9.1	.7	12.0	21.1	29.6	3.5	12.9	35.2	100.0	100.0
New Zealand	.6	.2	35.7	30.7	.9	.19	10.5	.8	17.8	22.4	11.6	5.6	20.6	38.3	100.0	100.0
Total Tongan	0	0	115	56	2	0	19	1	25	30	20	5	27	50	208	142

Source: Department of Statistics, unpublished figures, 1971 Census.

cent or more, employed in the manufacturing sector. Likewise Kingsland, Sandringham (Mt Albert) and Sandringham (Mt Roskill) have a labour force employed predominantly in the manufacturing sector.

Table XXX

Index of Segregation for Selected Areas, Between Manufacturing and All Other Industrial Classifications, Central Auckland Urban Area, 1971

Area	Percentage of Total in Manufacturing	Percentage in all Other Industrial Groups	Difference
Auckland Central	5.4	1.4	4.0
Freemans Bay	6.8	4.8	2.0
Newton	2.7	.7	2.0
Kingsland	8.8	4.8	4.0
Sandringham <sup>a</sup>	10.8	8.9	1.9
Sandringham <sup>b</sup>	4.1	0	4.1

a Mt Albert.

b Mt Roskill.

Source: Department of Statistics, unpublished figures, 1971 Census.

The survey revealed that nearly 64 per cent of Tongans were employed as labourers. Closer examination of their employment revealed a concentration of Tongans in a few firms. These firms are classified as manufacturers of industrial chemicals (especially fertilizers), of fabricated metal products, electrical apparatus (especially batteries), and the construction group. The 10 persons interviewed in the Service, Sport and Recreation workers group were mainly associated with hospitals, and were exclusively female workers. Whereas each occupational

group was represented in Tongan occupations, this was not true for New Zealand occupations. Clerical, sales, miners, transport and communication workers were not represented.

A significant change in the occupational status of Tongans, has taken place because of migration. A comparison between their occupation in Tonga and their occupation in New Zealand reveals a diminished representation in the professional and administrative classifications. The change from farming, fishing, hunting and logging is the most basic change necessary for a rural population settling in an urban environment. The largest occupational changes have occurred in the labouring, craftsmen and production process workers and the service, sport and recreation workers.

Cross tabulation of migrants' occupation in Tonga and their occupation in New Zealand revealed the extent to which migrants have been forced to adapt to their new environment. Over all industrial classifications listed in Table XXXI only 13 out of 110 migrants held a job in New Zealand in a similar classification to that held in Tonga. This switch to mainly labouring occupations is reason for concern. Of the 15 migrants who held professional positions in Tonga, only three held professional positions in New Zealand. Of the remaining 12, six were engaged in labouring positions, five in the service industry and one in an administrative position.

No Tongan who worked in an administrative, clerical, sales, farming, mining, transport and communication or service industry held a like position in New Zealand (see Table XXXI). This means that migration had meant a change in occupation for

Table XXXI

Occupations of Tongans in Tonga and  
Central Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Occupation	Tonga		New Zealand	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, technical and related workers	15	13.6	4	3.6
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	11	10.0	2	1.8
Clerical workers	4	3.6	0	0.0
Sales workers	3	2.7	0	0.0
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	34	30.9	2	1.8
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	1	0.9	0	0.0
Workers in transport and communications	5	4.5	0	0.0
Labourers, craftsmen, production process workers	13	11.8	70	63.6
Service, sport and recreation workers	1	0.9	10	9.1
Housewife	6	5.5	22	20.0
Not actively engaged	6	5.5	0	0.0
Other	11	10.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	110	100.0	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

86.3 per cent of Tongans. Closer examination reveals that 97 per cent had moved from farming in Tonga to labouring positions in New Zealand, and that over 50 per cent of those employed in administrative positions in Tonga were in labouring positions in New Zealand.

The most immobile occupational group were labourers. Here, 76.9 per cent held similar jobs in Tonga and New Zealand.

The reasons for the change in occupation are similar to the motives for migrating. Production line work offers high wages and overtime producing the money to meet the migrant's aspirations.

#### Marital Status and Occupation in Tonga

Never married migrants comprised 42.7 per cent of the survey. They accounted for 58.8 per cent of the farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers. In comparison, the married group (54.5 per cent of total survey) accounted for only 41.1 per cent of this occupation. Married migrants included nearly all the administrative, executive and managerial workers and 66 per cent of the sales workers. They were also over-represented in the labourers, craftsmen and production process workers. (See Table XXII)

There was a tendency, therefore, for never married migrants to be over-represented in the farming sector and for married migrants to be over-represented in the administrative sector. The age of married migrants, who have established

Table XXII  
Marital Status and Occupation in Tonga

Occupation in Tonga	Marital Status in New Zealand					
	Never Married <sup>1</sup>			Married <sup>2</sup>		
	No	% of Survey	% of Occupation Group	No	% of Survey	% of Occupation Group
Professional, technical and related workers	7	6	46.6	8	7	53.4
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	2	2	20.0	8	7	30.0
Clerical workers	2	2	50.0	2	2	50.0
Sales workers	1	.009	33.4	2	2	66.6
Farmers, fishermen, hunters loggers and related workers	20	18	58.8	14	13	41.2
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	-	-	-	1	.009	100.0
Workers in Transport and communications	-	-	-	5	5	100.0
Labourers, craftsmen, production process workers	5	5	38.4	8	7	61.6
Service, sport and recreational workers	1	.009	100.0	-	-	-
Others, including housewives & not actively engaged	9	8	42.8	12	11	57.2
TOTAL	47	41.01		60	54.009	

Note: Percentage totals of never married and married will not add to 100.0 due to exclusion of divorced and widowed persons.

1 Never married persons comprised 42.7 per cent of total survey.

2 Married persons comprised 54.5 per cent of total survey.

Source: Survey.

themselves in the community compared with that of the never-married migrants, in part, accounts for this trend.

#### Employment Status

The majority of Tongans were employed on a full-time basis. Only three persons of the 110 interviewed, all female, were employed on a part-time basis. The classification 'full-time' should be interpreted in the widest possible way. Tongans were working considerable periods of overtime, up to six hours per day, six days a week. Some worked a permanent shift and a half, starting at 8.00 a.m. and finishing around 10.30 p.m. This arrangement is mutually acceptable to the Tongans and employers alike. As the figures on wages recorded below indicate, Tongans are earning above average wages.

#### Wages

The basic wage, without overtime, for Tongans living in Central Auckland Urban Area is shown in Table XXXIII. This bimodal distribution is caused through part-time and other female employees receiving less remuneration than the full-time male employees. The table indicates that over 40 per cent earn \$70 or more per week. If the almost continuous overtime remuneration was added into this basic wage, the actual wage earned by Tongan migrants would appear to be more substantial.

Table XXXIII

Basic Wages of Tongans, Central  
Auckland Urban Area, 1974

Wage	No.	Percentage
\$		
30 - 39	2	1.8
40 - 49	15	13.6
50 - 59	9	8.2
60 - 69	30	27.3
70 - 79	24	21.8
80 - 89	13	11.8
More than 90	9	8.2
No response	8	7.3
TOTAL	110	100.0

Source: Survey.

The comparison of age and wage reveals a complex situation. Migrants in the \$80 and above category tend to be older. About 33 per cent of those in the 55 - 64 age group earned \$80 or more. In the younger age group of 16 - 24 about 13 per cent earn \$80 or more. The comparable figure for 25 - 34 age group is 15 per cent.

Those in the lower wage groups tend to be younger. Nine out of the fifteen persons earning \$40 - 49 per week were less than 35 years of age, and six out of the nine persons earning \$50 - 59 per week were less than 25 years of age.

The middle income earning Tongans present a more complex picture. Those earning between \$59 and \$80 tend to fill an intermediate age position. Over 30 per cent of the 25 - 34 age group earned \$60 - 69 while over 30 per cent of the 20 - 24 age group earned \$70 - 79 per week.

Table XXXIV

Age and Wage

Wage \$	0-15		16-19		20-24		25-34		34-44		45-54		55-64		Totals
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
30 - 39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	-	-	-	-	2
40 - 49	1	100.0	1	16.0	2	8.7	5	12.5	2	10	4	33	-	-	15
50 - 59	-	-	2	33.0	3	13	3	7.5	1	5	-	-	-	-	9
60 - 69	-	-	1	16.0	7	30.4	13	32.5	6	30	2	16	1	16.6	30
70 - 79	-	-	2	33.0	7	30.4	9	22.5	3	15	1	8.3	2	33	24
80 - 89	-	-	-	-	4	17.3	4	10	1	5	2	16.5	2	33	13
90 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	5	25	2	16.5	-	-	9
TOTAL	1	100.0	6	98.0	23	99.8	40	90.0	20	100	12	93.9	5	82.6	102

Note: Some percentages do not add to 100 due to respondents' error

Source: Survey.

Generally the relationship between age and income appears to show the young and elderly earn slightly higher wages while the intermediate age group earn the mean income.

### Income

Selecting the eleven largest Tongan populations, by statistical subdivision in the Central Auckland Urban Area 1971 from the Census data, revealed information on Tongan income. From a total of 377 persons, 169 were earning income and 208 had no source of income.

Women were earning about \$1700 less than men. The male medium annual income was \$3832.42 placing the female medium annual income about \$2132. The frequency of persons in various income groups as supplied by the Statistics Department are recorded in Table XXXV.

Table XXXV

#### Annual Income of Tongans

Income	Number	Percentage
0 - 2199	9	5.4
2200 - 2998	19	11.3
2999 - 3998	14	8.3
3999 - 4998	51	30.2
4999 - 5998	39	23.0
5999 and over	37	21.8
TOTAL	169	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics  
unpublished figures, 1971  
Census.

### Method of Securing Initial Employment

Only eight of the 110 Tongans interviewed knew where they were to work prior to leaving Tonga. Their first task was, therefore, to find employment.

From the pages of advertisements in the Auckland newspapers for unskilled labour, it would appear to be a simple task to find employment. Some problems faced by the migrant seeking work, however, are not related to the buoyancy of the employment market. In some cases the Tongan is not sufficiently versed in English to understand the situations vacant column. Travel to the factory where work may be available requires the use of public transport. Again the language problem and insecurity precipitated by a noisy, frightening urban environment, makes this a major task. Having reached the prospective employment situation, the applicant may be finally rejected because he lacks sufficient English.

In many cases the newly arrived migrant finds employment through a relative or friend. Often he is boarding with the person who helps arrange this initial employment. This method of finding employment can cause some embarrassment to both the Tongan and the employer. The Tongan already established in the factory, may be embarrassed if his friend is not employed. The employer conscious of industrial relations does not wish to offend an established employee, through not hiring the Tongan. It is not surprising to see, therefore, that a near equal proportion of Tongan migrants in the Central Auckland Urban Area found employment either through a relative or on their own. In the former case the relative was usually active in taking the new arrival with him to work and supplying introductions to the personnel manager. In the

latter, various firms would be suggested, and transport systems explained, so that the migrant could efficiently apply for employment alone. Table XXXVI outlines how 103 migrants found their initial employment.

Tongans who stayed with the person who arranged their initial accommodation were asked whether this person also arranged their first employment. Of the 92 persons in this category, 46 had received assistance in locating their initial employment from the person who also supplied their initial accommodation. The remaining 46 had found their own employment. Together this accounts for 83.6 per cent of the survey. This proportion compares favourably with Table XXXVI where an almost equal number of Tongans had found their initial employment through relatives, as through their own efforts.

Table XXXVI

Method of Finding Initial Employment

Form of Assistance	No.	Percentage
Family	9	8.2
Relative <sup>a</sup>	36	32.7
Friend	21	19.1
Church	2	1.8
Government <sup>b</sup>	1	0.9
Own	34	30.9
Other	7	6.4
TOTAL	110	100.0

a Other than those born to the migrant's parents.

b Tongan Government Scholarship.

Source: Survey.

The method of gaining initial employment through the assistance of other Tongan migrants is again highlighted when examining with whom the migrant works. Only seven of the migrants interviewed did not work with other Tongans. There are economic and psychological reasons why 83.6 per cent of Tongans choose to work with other Tongans. The sooner Tongans can find employment, especially when holding a three month permit, the sooner they can earn money. As initial contacts are made through fellow countrymen they are more likely to work in industries with other Tongans. This provides the security of language, knowing the time work commences, having persons around with whom you can converse in Tongan, especially when problems arise on the factory floor, and providing social opportunities. Having established himself in employment, the Tongan is likely to remain and to be a stable worker.

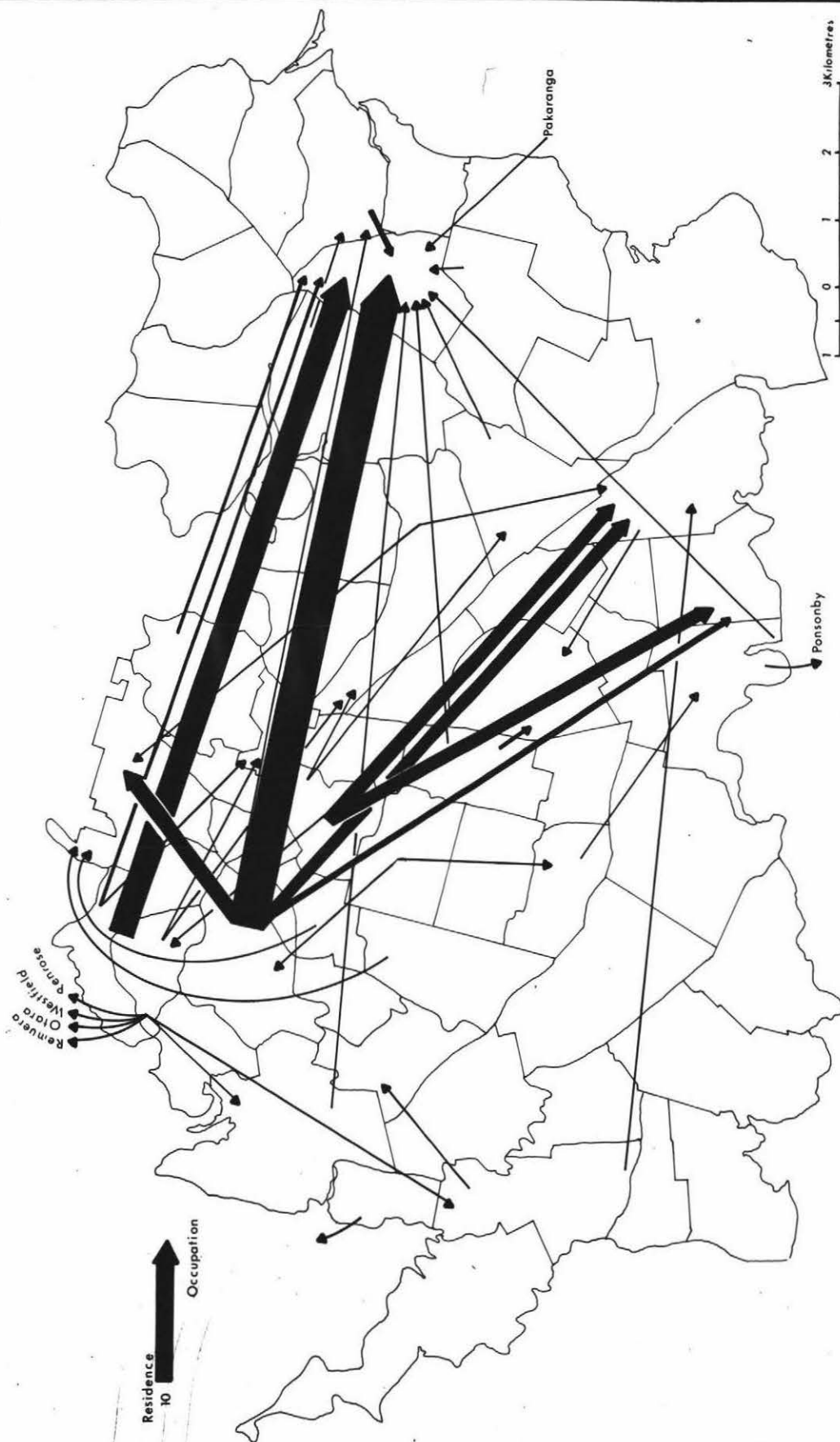
#### The Journey to Work

Tongans interviewed in the survey lived at some distance from their place of employment. Figure 11 indicates the volume and direction of flow for those interviewed. The majority of Tongans shown in this figure are male. It excludes 15 females who resided at their place of employment. The majority of these females lived and worked at the National Women's Hospital in Greenlane.

The arrows in Figure 11 show, therefore, a journey to work in the direction of industrial concerns outside the statistical subdivision in which the Tongan resided. The flow to Glenn Innes and St Johns, Penrose and Te Papapa are major while the movement to

# JOURNEY TO WORK TONGANS C.AUCKLAND 1973

Figure 11:



Auckland Central and in particular, the water front area is again significant.

The figure does not indicate the journey to work within a statistical boundary. Obviously the increasing number of Tongans living in Rosebank will be employed at the growing industrial complex in that area. It is probable that many Tongans not recorded in the survey are employed in the Ponsonby, Herne Bay and inner city zone, where they also reside.

Only one Tongan who had to traverse in excess of two statistical boundaries, did not travel by bus. Buses provide a cheap and efficient service from the Karangahape Road out to the industrial suburbs indicated above. The pattern which has emerged underlines the importance of available accommodation and association with other Tongans, rather than place of employment as the major determinant of residential location for the Tongans in the survey. With an increasing proportion of Tongans resident in the outer suburban zone this lengthy journey to work will become less significant in the relationship between residence and place of work.

### Occupational Mobility

Tongan migrants tend to remain at their initial employment for the duration of their permits. Of the 110 persons interviewed, only 17 had changed employment since their arrival in Auckland. Of those 17 persons only two had changed employment more than once. About half of these changing employment did so because remuneration at their initial firm was unsatisfactory. Three Tongans changed employment because they went back to Tonga

for a brief period. Two of these people returned to Tonga, successfully applied for a new permit, and returned to different firms. One was a permanent resident who went back to Tonga for a holiday. Other reasons for changing included 'found work too difficult', 'language problem', 'wanted a change', and an interesting reason 'I took a job there until I knew my way around'. These reasons provide some insight into the difficulties facing Tongan migrants entering New Zealand.

Tongans tend to have good industrial relations with management and remain in the one job. This is attractive to employers as a report on the Hutt Valley Tongan labour scheme indicates. Mr E.C.O. Watson, Chairman of the Hutt Valley Chamber of Commerce and Industry Immigration Committee commented that:

"The Tongans are extremely good workers and demand for them by companies in the Hutt Valley has increased so much that I wish we could bring more in. There was tremendous enthusiasm for the scheme in Tonga and the fact that we were unable to accommodate all the 100 selected caused concern there".<sup>37</sup>

Long hours of work, minimal labour unrest and negligible absenteeism, is a result of the Tongan wishing to earn the maximum possible income in the limited time available. Some Tongans are particularly careful not to offend employers and to keep within the law because they have overstayed their permit. Employers are aware of this situation which may lead to exploitation. Organisations such as the Citizens Association for Racial Equality, C.A.R.E. and the Federation of Labour were holding regular meetings in Auckland to discuss the rights of migrant labour.

Submissions from C.A.R.E. to Mr F. Colman, Minister of Immigration, on 12 February 1974 include:

"the present situation of Pacific Island workers in New Zealand should be legitimised, and a general amnesty declared for all those who have overstayed their permits".<sup>38</sup>

In perhaps emotive terms the submission describes the present situation as 'highly unsatisfactory', and 'akin to blackmail for Pacific Islanders who have overstayed their permits'.

Some reasons for labour stability among Tongan migrants are the security of working with fellow Tongans, the inconvenience and loss of pay through changing employment during a three month period, the care for labour relations promoted through expired permits and efforts of some employers to accommodate the special needs of Island labour.

One firm, L.J. Fisher and Company, has an excellent record of assisting Pacific Island workers. Provision during work time for English language classes and the services of a trained personnel officer, fluent in Maori and capable of close rapport with Tongans, has attracted many Island workers to this factory.

### Summary

The majority of Tongans working in Auckland have had little experience in factory employment. Their agrarian background means they have had to adapt rapidly to regular hours in unfamiliar industrial surroundings. The occupations of Tongans in Auckland reflect a striking similarity to those of other Polynesians. As part of this group their occupational and income characteristics show a marked dissimilarity from that of the total Auckland population.

Few persons interviewed held employment similar to that undertaken in Tonga. This applied equally to professional and other categories. Employment in New Zealand was not pre-arranged for the migrant. The new arrival was, however, assisted in rapidly acquiring employment by a relative or friend. Working with other Tongans was preferred as this provided some relief from the problems of language and loneliness. Employers generally regarded Tongans as stable workers willing to work long hours.

Females and males have a distinctive and narrow occupational pattern. The garment industry is a significant employer of women while the heavy industrial factories are major employers of men. The employment situation reflected the aspiration of a migrant population with only a short period available to meet their aims. Their 'gangs' in certain firms were of benefit to both the employer and the new migrant.

Those included in the survey tended to reside in the centre of Central Auckland Urban Area, while their employment was located on the periphery. This situation appeared to be changing as the growth of both industry and the proportion of Tongans living in the outer suburban zone develops.

The Tongans interviewed were earning a medium income of \$60 - 69. As the motive for migrating was 'economic' the majority of Tongans in the survey were found to be employed full-time and to work considerable periods of over-time.

## CHAPTER SIX

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICSThe Spatial Distribution of Tongans in New Zealand

In 1971, 94.3 per cent of Tongans lived in the North Island. This was an increase over the 1961 figure, when 89.79 per cent resided in the North Island. Thus, since at least 1961, there has been a trend toward a North Island concentration of Tongans. Not only has the population a continuing northerly concentration, but also an urban location. In 1966, the North Island urban areas alone accounted for 78.31<sup>39</sup> per cent of the Tongan population. By 1971 it had reached 95.12<sup>40</sup> per cent for the similar areas.<sup>41</sup> As with the statistical areas, the trend in urban divisions is towards a northerly concentration.

Areas of significant Tongan settlement during the intercensal period 1966-1971 were all in the North Island. These were Auckland, Rotorua, Upper Hutt, Lower Hutt and Porirua Basin.

Polynesians in Auckland

Since the end of World War II, Polynesian migration has assumed fairly major proportions. Cook Islanders, Samoans, Tokelau and Niue Islanders, through their political association with New Zealand, have had relatively easy entry into New Zealand.

Table XXXVII

Tongans by Each Statistical Area, 1966 and 1971

District	1966 <sup>a</sup>	1971				
	Sub-totals	European-Tongan	Tongan	Tongan-European	Tongan-N.Z. Maori	Sub-total
Northland	3	9	3	0	0	12
Central Auckland	292	779	495	133	21	1,428
S. Auckland Bay of Plenty	25	138	63	16	7	224
East Coast	1	0	1	0	0	1
Hawkes Bay	2	15	11	0	0	26
Taranaki	2	1	2	1	0	4
Wellington	53	126	107	4	3	240
Marlborough	0	4	1	0	0	5
Nelson	5	5	0	0	0	5
Westland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canterbury	30	30	25	4	0	59
Otago	7	15	14	1	1	31
Southland	1	7	7	1	2	17
TOTAL	421	1,129	729	160	34	2,052
Percentage of total	100	55.02	35.53	7.80	1.66	100.01

a Does not include Tongan-European.

Source: Department of Statistics unpublished figures, 1966 and 1971 Census.

Table XXXVIII

## Tongans by Urban Areas, 1966 and 1971

District	1966 <sup>a</sup>	1971				
	Sub-totals	08	48	56	63	Sub-total
Whangarei	2	3	2	0	0	5
Auckland	969	781	481	133	21	1,416
Hamilton	2	25	14	2	0	41
Tauranga	3	9	2	3	0	14
Rotorua	4	50	10	1	6	67
Gisborne	1	0	1	0	0	1
Napier	0	9	4	0	0	13
Hastings	1	3	2	0	0	5
New Plymouth	1	0	2	1	0	3
Palmerston North	0	0	2	1	0	3
Lower Hutt )		22	2	1	0	25
Upper Hutt )	20	7	8	2	0	17
Porirua Basin )		32	9	0	0	41
Wellington	25	37	67	0	3	107
Wanganui	2	2	11	0	0	13
Masterton <sup>b</sup>	-	3	1	0	0	4
Nelson	4	3	0	0	0	3
Christchurch	22	23	13	2	0	38
Timaru	7	0	9	2	0	11
Dunedin	7	13	13	1	1	28
Invercargill	1	7	1	1	2	11
TOTAL	1,071	1,029	654	150	33	1,866
Percentage of total	100	55.14	35.05	8.04	1.77	100

a Does not include Tongan Europeans.

b Masterton not included as Urban Area 1966.

Source: Department of Statistics unpublished figures,  
1966 and 1971 Census.

Table XXXIX

Racial Distribution of Tongans in Auckland  
Statistical Area, 1971

Racial Classification	Auckland N.	Auckland W.	Auckland C.	Auckland S.	Total
Tongan	22	46	327	86	481
European Tongan	86	100	440	155	781
Tongan European	3	6	94	30	133
Tongan N.Z. Maori	0	0	6	15	21
TOTAL	111	152	867	286	1,416

Source: Department of Statistics unpublished figures, 1971.

Other Islanders, including Fijians, Tongans and those from French Polynesia, have been faced with tighter immigration restrictions. Consequently the migration of these people to New Zealand has been curtailed.

Auckland was the main destination for Island immigrants basically because of its expanding employment opportunities and its importance as a port of entry. In 1956 the Pacific Island population of the Auckland Urban Area was 4,720. By 1966 it had grown to 16,057. Between 1956 and 1966, therefore, Pacific Islanders in Auckland increased their numbers by 240 per cent. By 1971 the Pacific Island population of the Central Auckland Urban Area, alone, was 16,168.

The flow of Island immigrants to Auckland has created a situation in which Pacific Islanders are the largest proportion of urban dwellers of the main racial groups in New Zealand. In 1966, 87 per cent of Islanders resident in New Zealand were in the then 18 urban areas. Tongans also resided mainly in urban areas with 90.5 per cent residing in urban areas in 1966. Auckland represented the main concentration of Tongans. In 1966, approximately 73.2 per cent of the total Tongan population of New Zealand lived in Auckland.

#### The Settlement of Pacific Islanders in Auckland

The destination of Pacific Islanders arriving in Auckland before the late 1950's tended to be the inner city, the oldest residential area surrounding the Central Business District.

Subsequently, the newer outer suburbs have received the flow of Pacific Islanders. The reason for this change in the destinations of migrants was related particularly to the settlement of their kinfolk in the city.

Variations in the choice of destinations do occur between the different ethnic groups because of dissimilarities in the relative distribution of the established members of each group. This distribution is in part related to the legal standing of various immigrant groups and the duration of their permits. Eligibility for State housing has been an attraction for Cook Islanders, Samoans, Niueans and Tokelauans to move to the outer suburbs. Pacific Islanders lag behind Maoris in their tendency to disperse to the newer housing estates, partly because of greater social cohesion and partly because they have received less housing assistance from the State. Although these factors continue to be important determinants of residential location for Pacific Islanders, the broad areas within which housing choices are made continue to be determined by the socio-economic status of Polynesians.

The inner city, with its steep narrow roads, closely-spaced houses and pre-1914 vintage, availability of temporary accommodation, social linkages with established residents, proximity to work-places, social entertainment centres and shops, has been shown to be an important place of residence for Polynesians. Curson has suggested that Cook Islanders concentrate in the city centre due to the:

"recency of their arrival on the Auckland scene, their desire to live with or close to other Islanders and the relative ease of obtaining some type of accommodation there, either with established Cook Islanders or in one

of the relatively large number of purchaseable or rentable houses vacated by Europeans".<sup>42</sup>

The inner city appears to act as a halting area<sup>43</sup> for Polynesians. McCreary notes that:

"there is a strong tendency for the inner area to be used as a halting point from which the people<sup>44</sup> redistribute themselves to the outer suburbs".

Tongans appear to follow patterns of residential distribution similar to those established by other Polynesians. There were, however, significant differences in their spatial organisation at the time of the 1971 Census.

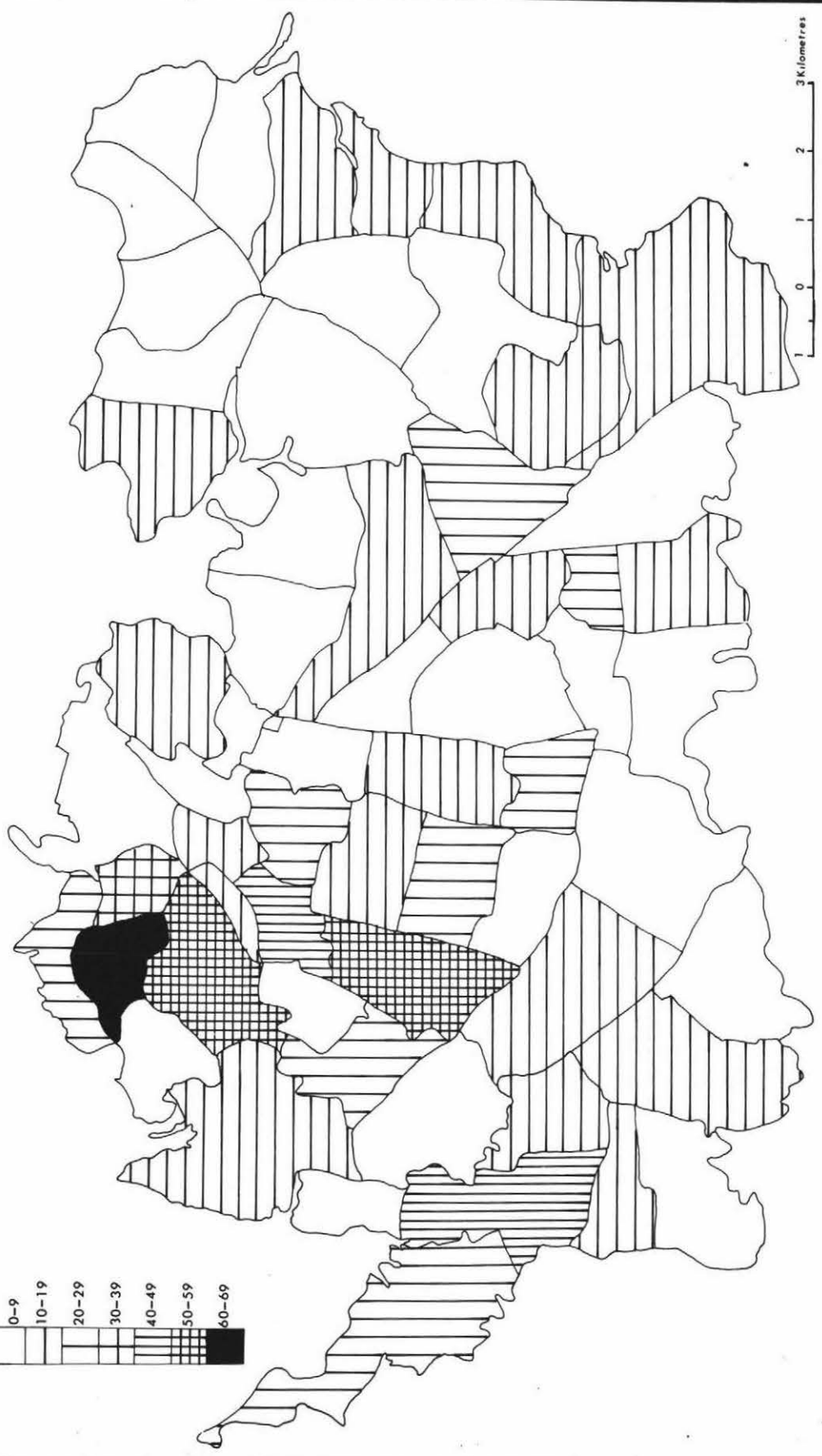
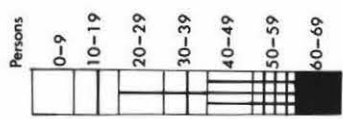
#### Tongans Resident in the Auckland Urban Area

Between 1956 and 1971 the Tongan population residing in the Auckland Urban Area increased from 583 to 1416. (See Table XXXX) This represented in 1971, 69 per cent of the total Tongan population of New Zealand. As Table XXXVIII shows, Auckland is the focus of Tongan population in New Zealand.

Within Auckland the spatial distribution of the Tongan population has changed since 1966. Unfortunately, due to the adjustments of statistical boundaries, and the unpublished form of census data for Tongans, no accurate intercensal comparison of populations was available for the 1966 to 1971 period.

The majority of Tongans resident in the Auckland Statistical Area 1971, were in Auckland Central.<sup>45</sup> This area includes all the densely settled suburbs of the inner city area, and is the traditional halting zone for Polynesians. Auckland South, a growing industrial area, contained 286 Tongans in 1971,

LOCATION OF TONGANS  
C.AUCKLAND 1971



Auckland West and Auckland North 152, and 111 Tongans respectively in 1971.

#### Racial Distribution of Tongans in New Zealand

The majority of Tongans are classified by the Census Department as European-Tongan. This group accounted for 55 per cent of the total Tongans in New Zealand in 1971. The urban areas of Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Upper Hutt and Porirua Basin, are all major urban concentrations, exhibiting a predominantly European-Tongan concentration. One notable concentration of pure Tongans, is Wellington.

Although this latter group is a minority, it accounted for slightly over a third of the Tongans in the Auckland Statistical Area in 1971.

#### The Tongan Population of the Central Auckland Urban Area

There are nine statistical subdivisions in the Central Urban Area that exhibited a 'significant'<sup>46</sup> increase in Tongan population over the intercensal period 1966-1971. Five of these nine growth areas were within the Mt Albert and Mt Eden Boroughs. The other four areas were peripheral to these Boroughs.

The central growth area comprised the statistical subdivisions of Kingsland, Mt Albert Central, Sandringham (Mt Albert), Mt Eden North and Mt Eden South. The peripheral

growth areas were Rosebank, Herne Bay, Ponsonby and Ellerslie Borough.

Between these central and peripheral growth areas were three statistical subdivisions which showed decreases in Tongan population over the same period. Grey Lynn, located between the peripheral growth areas of Ponsonby and Herne Bay in the north and Mt Eden/Mt Roskill Boroughs in the south, had a reduction in Tongan population from 87 to 52 in the 1966-1971 period. In the south, Sandringham (Mt Roskill) and Royal Oak had significant declines in Tongan population. (See Appendix A)

Other major areas of Tongan population were adjacent to the 'peripheral areas'. These include Avondale North, Freemans Bay and Oronga adjacent to the Ellerslie Borough.

The main concentration of Tongan population was therefore generally located in a band stretching south-east from Herne Bay, around One Tree Hill to include Oronga and Ellerslie Borough.

### Tongans in Three Urban Zones

For the purpose of this research the Tongan's population dynamics were examined within the framework of three zones.<sup>47</sup> These three zones divide the Central Auckland urban area into three unequal sectors. They are the inner city zone, the inner suburban zone and the outer suburban zone. The three zones were chosen as functional units both in terms of size and compatibility with previous research. Table XXXXII indicates the changes in

Table XXXX

Proportions of Polynesian Groups Resident in New Zealand  
and the Auckland Urban Area 1956-1971

Ethnic Group	Number Auckland			Number New Zealand			% in Auckland		
	1956	1966	1971	1956	1966	1971	1956	1966	1971
Samoans	2,288	7,538	13,641	3,740	11,842	22,198	61.18	63.5	61.4
Cook Islanders	1,088	4,391	7,271	2,320	8,883	13,772	46.9	50.7	52.8
Tongans	583	969	1,416	1,043	1,389	2,052	55.9	69.6	69.0

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Vol. 7, Race, 1956, and 1966.  
Department of Statistics, unpublished figures 1971 Census.

Table XXXXI

Growth of Tongan Population in Auckland

Year	Population	% Born in Tonga	Average all Polynesians born in the Islands
1956	553	86.6	83.9
1961	723	73.8	72.9
1966	969	55.1	39.7

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings.

the proportion of Tongans resident in the three zones in the 1956-1971 period. The inner city zone has accounted for a rapidly diminishing proportion of the Tongan population, Auckland, while the outer suburban zone in particular has assumed a major role as the Tongan residential area.

Table XXXXII

Changes in the Proportion of Tongans Resident  
in the Three Zones of Auckland, 1956-1971

Year	Inner City	Inner Suburban	Outer Suburban
1956	42.1	23.2	34.6
1966	27.1	25.8	47.3
1971	19.8	26.5	53.6

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, no date, 1966, Volume 1 and Department of Statistics unpublished figures, 1971 Census.

There has been a steady decline of approximately 7.4 per cent during every five year period, in the proportion of Tongans resident in the inner city. Conversely there has been an increase of approximately 6.3 per cent during every five year period in the proportion of Tongans resident in the outer suburban zone. The balance appeared to be residing in the inner suburban zone. Although the outer suburban zone contains the highest proportion of Tongans, as shown in Table XXXXII, the inner suburban zone shows the major growth points as outlined above.

### The Inner City Zone

This zone has traditionally been an area of Polynesian migrants. It is not, as shown, a major area of Tongan population. Only 19.8 per cent of Tongans resident in the Central Auckland Urban Area, 1971, lived in this zone. Two areas in this zone showed a decrease in the Tongan component of their population over the 1966-1971 period. They were Grey Lynn with a loss of 35 persons and Parnell with a loss of 7 persons.

One reason for this inner city zone housing fewer Tongans is associated with urban renewal and the subsequent step-wise migration of Tongans to the central growth area of Mt Albert/Mt Eden Boroughs. As Whitelaw states:

"To a certain extent it is necessary to acknowledge that land use changes in the first zone (inner city), have been partly instrumental in initiating the centrifugal movement identified. Demolition of old dwellings and their replacement by both city council and state financed flats has reduced the stock of older structures".<sup>48</sup>

Other factors reinforcing this centrifugal movement were the urban motorway with the consequent loss of housing.

A number of factors have been influential in the location of Tongans in the inner city zone. As recent arrivals without New Zealand citizenship the Tongan is not eligible for State assisted accommodation or welfare. As Curson states they are "at the back of the housing queue, and also at the back of the queue to move to a more desired suburban location".<sup>49</sup> Without the capital to enter the private housing ownership market, many Tongans locate in the transitional inner city zone.

The apparent lack of capital is not the only

determinant of their residential concentration. Although labouring may be regarded as a low income occupation, it has been illustrated that Tongan migrants earn high wages.

Economics as a residential determinant has a dual role. First as the migrant has limited capital on arrival it determines a low rent area. Secondly, to accumulate the maximum possible capital in a short period a low rent area is again desirable.

Economic factors alone do not account for the residential concentration of Tongans in the inner city zone. Curson has noted in regard to Polynesians "that their concentration is socially determined and socially perpetuated".<sup>50</sup> As most Tongans stay initially with friends or relatives and sometimes owe their air-fares to these people, such a pattern is sustained by the cumulative effect of migration.

Evidence of Tongan culture abounds in the city centre. The Tongan Club in Ponsonby Road is an important focus for men who have brought the drinking school institution from the Islands. Another club is located in Herne Bay, advertisements in Tongan and articles of Tongan clothing and artifacts for sale are found around the Ponsonby Road, Karangahape Road, Great North Road and West End Road area. These aspects plus the Methodist Churches at Herne Bay and Central Auckland, together with the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church, offer the Tongan migrant an attractive social environment. To the Tongan, ill-equipped in terms of skills, finance and experience to meet the new environment, these social institutions provide a psychological link with his home. Curson neatly summarizes the situation when he states:

"The emergence of Polynesian residential concentrations in Auckland is ... a function of the low status of immigrants, the recency of their arrival, the housing market, and the changing nature of the inner city area, as well as a concerted desire on the part of Islanders to retain some aspects of traditional life".<sup>51</sup>

Although most Tongans are bilingual and speak English in addition to their Island dialect, they have come from a socio-economic background markedly different from the highly differentiated industrial and urban society of New Zealand. Faced with this transition, many immigrants have initially tended to seek the company of people from their own islands.

#### The Inner Suburban Zone

The inner suburban zone contained 42 per cent of Tongans residing in the Central Auckland Urban Area at the time of the 1971 Census. It was the most dynamic growth zone of Tongan population in New Zealand. From 1966 to 1971 the Tongan population of this zone increased from 249 to 381. Major growth points within this zone were Herne Bay (+20), Mt Albert Central (+13), Sandringham (Mt Albert)(+20), Mt Eden South (+15), and Ellerslie Borough (+18). It would appear that this zone is assuming the role of initial halting zone for new migrants, the role played by the inner city zone through the 1950's and 1960's. The growth points within this zone contain houses of pre-1930 vintage long since vacated by their original owners. It is a zone of residential transition in the redevelopment of Auckland, providing ample accommodation as houses are converted into flats and readily tenanted by displaced and incoming Pacific Islanders.

From an examination of the three zones it is probable that a stepwise migration from the inner city zone and perhaps direct from the Islands, comprises some of the increase noted in the inner and outer suburban areas. Both these areas had absolute increases of over 100 persons in the 1966-1971 intercensal period.<sup>52</sup> The outer suburban zone also showed an increase in Tongan population. Growth points in this zone are Rosebank (+21), New Windsor (+19), East Tamaki (+18) and Mt Wellington Borough (+16).

It would seem that, given a situation of sustained city growth and redevelopment together with the arrival in the centre of further Polynesians, the pressure on the supply of residences in the inner city zone will generate centrifugal forces. These in turn will encourage the movement into the inner and outer suburban zones. It is doubtful if this centrifugal movement will match the concentric patterns propounded by the Chicago urban ecologists in the 1920's. Rather, subsets of areas within the metropolitan framework appear to be developing.

In the traditional transition areas of Ponsonby and Herne Bay, the location of employment opportunities does not appear to be the prime reason for the concentration of Tongans. Conversely the growth of the Tongan community in the outer suburbs is probably associated with employment opportunities.

The growth in the numbers of Tongans resident in the outer suburbs illustrates the sequential residential relocation pattern discussed by Whitelaw.<sup>53</sup> In a study of residential selection in Auckland, Whitelaw found that there was an initial build-up of Maoris in the inner city zone and then an infiltration

of the second and third zones over a period of time.<sup>54</sup> The Maori concentration in the first zone had reached its peak by 1951, and some 10 years later in the second zone.

The Tongan community would appear to have reached its peak in the inner zone about 1956 and to be increasing in both the inner and outer suburban zone since then.

The process of invasion and succession has not proceeded in geometric manner. As Whitelaw states:

"It is obvious, at least in the case of Auckland, that the process of invasion and succession by Maoris and Islanders is arrested at a critical distance from the C.B.D. A barrier of older, well preserved and relatively costly homes which have maintained over several decades the status of areas in which they are found - primarily to the south and east - creates an effective bulwark against further movement in that direction ...."<sup>55</sup>

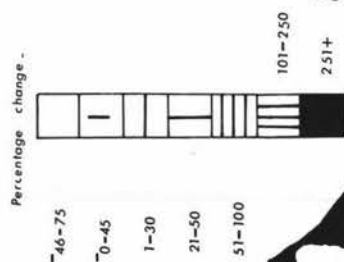
The southern suburbs of Mt Roskill Borough and the eastern suburbs of Remuera and Mt St John appear to act as this effective bulwark for Tongans. (See Figures 13 and 14)

The fact that 549 of the 1416 Tongans resident in the Auckland Statistical Area lived outside Auckland Central, suggests the leap-frogging of the intermediate and more expensive residential suburbs highlighted by Whitelaw.<sup>56</sup> This movement involves the minority of Tongans who come to New Zealand, that is, persons possessing extended permits and would imply that the tradition staging role of the Inner City is declining. It is also probable that short-stay Tongans will make use of relatives living outside Auckland Central. The advantages to the international migrant of this developing residential pattern is the availability of unskilled employment which is located in the outer suburban zone.

# RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY TONGANS

C.AUCKLAND 1966-1971

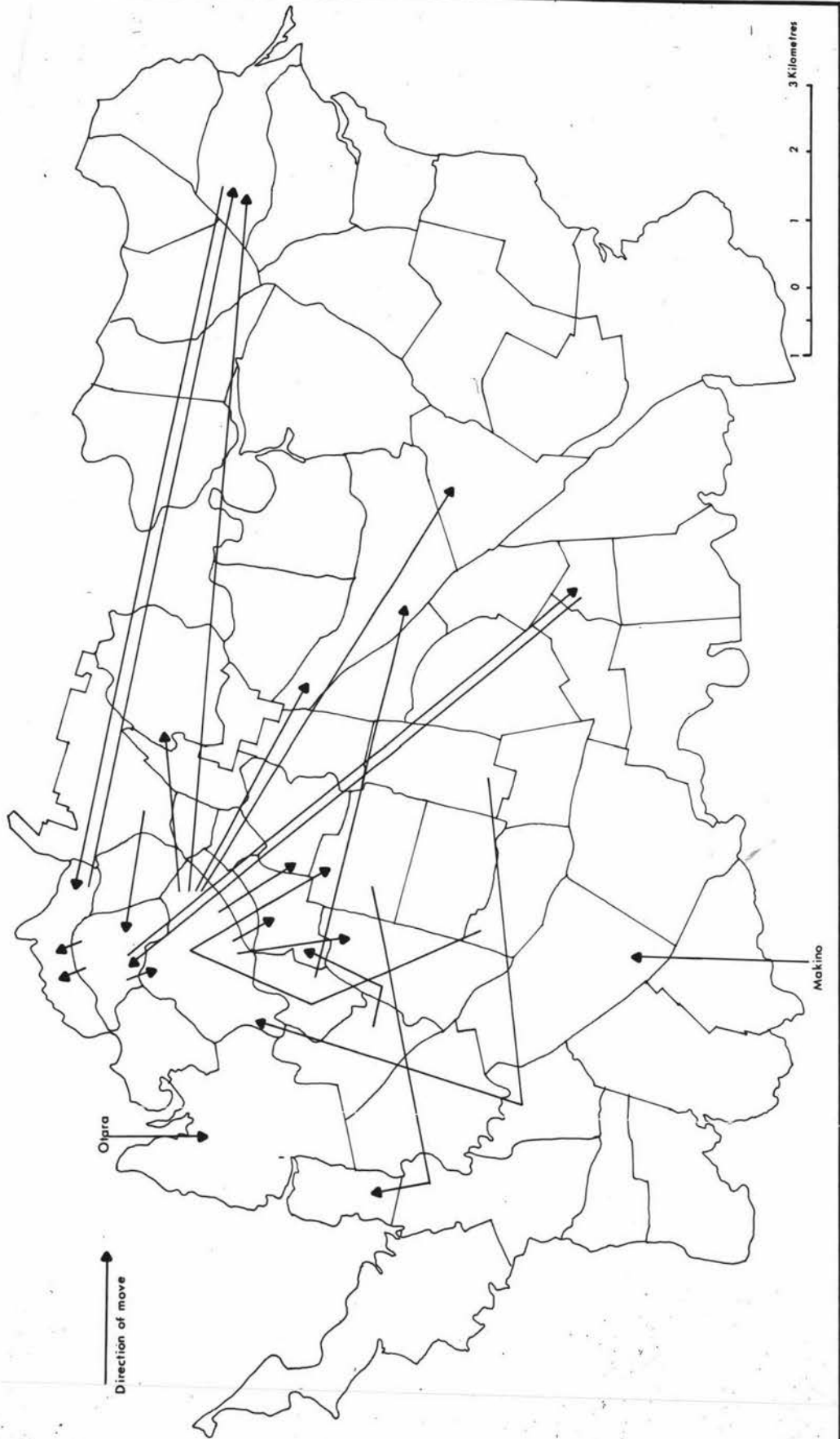
Figure 13:



Kilometres 0 1 2 3

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY  
TONGANS C.AUCKLAND 1973

Figure 14:



### The Indices of Dissimilarity and Segregation

A clearer picture of the residential distribution of Tongans in Auckland can be ascertained by employing various indices of dissimilarity and segregation. The use of these indices can highlight areas that are becoming concentrations of Tongan population either through the inflow of Tongans or the outflow of the white population. The indice therefore has a two dimensional function, providing a picture of the present spatial organisation and the changing organisation over time.

As such visible migrant groups as Polynesians appear to be concentrated in the Auckland City Area, some of the indices concern the residential distribution of Tongan compared with the total Auckland population, while others compare Tongans and the total Polynesian population. In this manner the degree of similarity or otherwise between both the host society and other migrant groups can be measured.

Polynesian groups recording high indices of dissimilarity, might not be residentially integrated. The reasons behind this situation developing are related to the income, permit and size of the immigrant population. As Tongans have a restricted access to New Zealand and unique demographic aspects, the indices of dissimilarity and segregation have been employed.

The index of dissimilarity indicates the percentage of one population that would have to redistribute itself in order to approximate the same percentage distribution by census division as another population. Thus complete dissimilarity (that is, complete segregation between two groups) would yield a maximum value of 100 while complete similarity would yield the minimum

value of 0. In a case where there were no residential concentration or segregation between two groups, there would be the same percentage of each group's total city population in each census tract.

There are problems associated with interpreting the indices. Spatial concentration within a subdistrict may not show. A tightly-packed street block of Polynesians may be a significant ethnic island in a sea of Europeans and yet not show in the indices.

The index of segregation indicates the degree of residential dissimilarity between any particular sub-group and the remainder of the population.

The formula for the index of dissimilarity is  $\frac{1}{2} (X_i - Y_i)$  where X is the percentage distribution of a particular group over tracts and Y the percentage distribution of another group over tracts. Negative values are ignored in the calculation. The index of segregation is the same except that Y relates to the total population less X.

#### Residential segregation of Polynesians in Auckland

In both 1956 and 1966, Tongans were the least segregated non-Maori Polynesian group in the Auckland Urban Area. The degree of separation was lowest with Maoris (index 31.2) and only marginally higher with Tongans in 1966. Curson states that:

"despite declining residential dissimilarity the degree of segregation (by Polynesians), from the rest of the population has remained high over the last decade (1956-1966)".<sup>57</sup>

This is certainly true for Polynesian ethnic groups with a high proportion of their population in the inner city zone. In 1966 Niueans recorded a residential dissimilarity index with the total population of Auckland, of 53.04.<sup>58</sup> Cook Islanders recorded slightly less. The 1971 Tongan index of segregation, however, has increased while the proportion living in the inner city zone has significantly decreased. The reason for this anomaly is the spatial organisation of population, due to a centrifugal movement within Auckland. Although fewer Tongans are living in the inner city zone specific areas within the inner suburban zone with a concentration of Tongans significantly raise the segregation index.

#### Residential Segregation of Tongans

The highest index of segregation between Tongans and the total population of Auckland was recorded in Kingsland for 1971. It had a value of 4.04 per cent. The highest value for a Borough was 6.73 per cent recorded for Mt Albert, of which Kingsland is a part. Kingsland also had the second greatest absolute increase in Tongan population over the intercensal period, second only, that is, to Ponsonby. The Borough with largest intercensal increase in population was also Mt Albert, recording an increase of 63 persons over the 1966 total.

The lowest index of segregation between Tongans and all others was recorded in Hillsborough 1971. It was an index of -2.3 per cent. The lowest index for any Borough was -3.93 per cent recorded for Mt Roskill, of which Hillsborough is a part. Mt Roskill also recorded the largest decrease in Tongan population

in the intercensal period. The decrease was 21 persons, mainly from Sandringham and Royal Oak, reducing the total from 99 to 68 in 1971.

### Zonal Segregation Indices

Of the three zones in the Central Auckland Urban Area, the inner city zone recorded the highest segregation index. Comprising part of the 18.92 per cent were Ponsonby (4.86), Grey Lynn (2.47), Freemans Bay (2.27) and Kingsland (4.04) per cent respectively.

The inner suburban zone recorded a segregation index of 12.27 per cent. Sandringham (Mt Albert) contributed 3.62 per cent of this total. Although this zone contained an increasing proportion of the Tongan population it had not yet reached the same degree of segregation evident in the older areas of the inner city zone.

The outer suburban zone, with an index of 4.72 per cent, shared with the inner suburban zone the most rapidly growing proportion of Tongan population. Areas such as Avondale North and Rosebank in this zone will probably show increased segregation indices in the 1976 census.

The indices discussed above indicate that the greatest degree of separation occurred between Tongans and the total population of Auckland in the inner city zone. There has always been a tendency for Polynesians to congregate in the central city areas and Tongans are no exception. But, as the initial invasion of this area by Tongans and other migrant groups is preceding

one must not forget the related outward movement of the original European population and the longer established Maori and Island population.

Concurrent with the absolute drop in the number of Tongans residing in the inner city zone, is the invasion of the inner suburban zone. While the segregation index for this zone is lower than the inner city zone, it contains cells of Tongan population with segregation indices higher than those found for many tracts in the inner city zone. These include Herne Bay (1.03), Mt Albert Central (1.54) and Royal Oak (1.92) per cent.

The zonation is too broad to state whether one or the other zone will show the most significant segregation in the next 10 years. It may be as Francis<sup>59</sup> suggests that "Samoans and Tongans have tended to move from the inner city to the outer suburbs". From this information we can assume, as Curson<sup>60</sup> has done, that "it is therefore likely that Samoan and Tongan immigrants more frequently went to destinations in the outer suburbs than did migrants from the Cook Islands and Niue Island". What is perhaps more important, as shown, is that Polynesian groups like the Tongans are preceding to selected statistical subdivision in the inner suburbs of the Central Auckland Urban Areas.

#### The Historical Trend in Dissimilarity Indices

Statistical subdivisions with significant populations of Tongans in 1971 or significant growth rates in the 1966-1971 intercensal period were selected and a historical residential dissimilarity index computed. From these results it can be

determined whether an area is becoming more or less dissimilar in its concentration of Tongans, compared to a hypothetical even distribution of the entire Tongan population throughout the Central Auckland Urban Area. By calculating the inflow or displacement of Europeans in the same area, it can be estimated whether the dissimilarity index change is a function of the loss of European population rather than the gaining of Tongan population or vica versa.

Calculations on 11 statistical subdivisions comprising 405 of the 887 Tongans resident in the Central Auckland Urban Area in 1971 substantiated the growth points discussed above.

Table XXXXVIII organises the statistical subdivisions and Boroughs into those with increasing and decreasing dissimilarity over the 1966-1971 period. Those statistical subdivisions with a decreasing dissimilarity index in respect of Tongans and Europeans, also recorded a reduced percentage of Europeans.

In Ponsonby the dissimilarity index dropped from 5.75 to 4.84. Thus, the distribution of Tongans in Ponsonby was attaining a distribution equivalent to that of the rest of the city's population. Only 4.84 per cent would have to change their present place of residence in Ponsonby to attain comparable distribution. The change of .91 per cent for Ponsonby in the 1966-1971 period has developed while the Tongan population has increased in this area over the same period by 13. The reason why the dissimilarity index has dropped is partly explained by the loss of European population in Ponsonby.

The largest decline in Tongan population and dissimi-

larity index for the areas examined, occurred in Grey Lynn. The fall in population of 35 was matched by a significant outflow of Europeans and a consequent fall in the dissimilarity index of 7.91 per cent. Other inner city zone statistical subdivisions with reduced dissimilarity indices and outflows of European population include Freemans Bay, Arch Hill, and Royal Oak.

Two areas in the inner city zone indicated increased dissimilarity indices, increases of more than ten Tongans in their population and outflows of European population. Kingsland with an increase in the dissimilarity index of 2.15 per cent recorded an increase of 17 Tongans in the 1966-1971 intercensal period. This area was a growth point of Tongan population, as noted, and with time this concentrating of Tongans was creating an area of greater dissimilarity. Both Kingsland and Mt Albert Central, are located in the central growth area of Mt Albert/Mt Eden Borough.

Mt Albert Borough recorded the largest intercensal change in dissimilarity of any Borough. The rise from an index of 1.97 in 1966 to 6.69 per cent in 1971 was accompanied by an increase of 90 Tongans and a decrease of 988 in the European component of the population.

In the outer suburban zone two areas examined revealed opposite trends. Sandringham (Mt Roskill) with an outflow of 24 Tongans, had a dissimilarity index of -1.23 per cent in 1971. The difference of -3.40 per cent in the 1966-1971 highlights the outflow of Tongan population in this area.

Conversely, the peripheral growth zone of Rosebank recorded an increase in both the Tongan and European population. Although the European percentage of population in this area was

Table XXXXIII  
Residential Dissimilarity and European Mobility in Selected Areas  
of the Central Auckland Urban Area, 1966-1971

Area Subdivisions	2	Dissimilarity Index		Difference	Percentage European		Difference
		1966	1971	1966-1971	1966	1971	1966-1971
Rosebank	OS	.22	1.49	1.27	1.00	1.41	.41
Kingsland	I	1.87	4.02	2.15	1.19	.82	- .37
Sandringham	OS	2.76	3.62	.86	2.75	2.28	- .47
Mt Albert Central	IS	.51	1.57	1.06	1.63	1.50	- .13
Grey Lynn	I	10.36	2.45	-7.91	2.96	1.98	- .98
Sandringham <sup>a</sup>	OS	2.17	-1.23	-3.40	3.34	2.52	- .82
Royal Oak	IS	4.56	1.91	-3.37	1.57	1.37	- .20
Freemans Bay	I	3.39	2.26	-1.13	1.20	.79	- .41
Ponsonby	I	5.75	4.84	- .91	1.9	1.42	- .48
Arch Hill	I	2.20	1.58	- .62	.40	.22	- .18
Avondale North	OS	2.57	2.40	- .17	4.01	2.11	-1.90
Mt Albert Borough	B	1.97	6.69	4.72	9.33	7.80	-1.53
Mt Eden Borough	B	-1.3	.03	+1.33	6.68	6.15	- .53
Onehunga Borough	B	-1.24	.97	2.21	5.65	4.58	-1.07
Mt Wellington Borough	B	-2.93	-2.42	.51	6.60	5.96	- .64

a Mt Roskill

2 OS - Outer suburban zone: I.S. - inner suburban zone: I - inner city zone:  
 B - Borough.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Vol. 1, 1966 and 1971.

increasing, so too was the dissimilarity index between Tongans and Europeans. By 1971 it required 1.49 per cent of the Tongans to be relocated in order to achieve the similar characteristics of the Urban Area as a whole.

It is apparent, therefore, that the inner and outer suburban zone as a whole, and certain subdivisions within them in particular are growth points of Tongan population.

### The Lorenz Curve

A Lorenz curve<sup>61</sup> was constructed to illustrate the degree of residential unevenness or concentration in the areal distribution between Tongans and other Polynesian Islanders in the Central Auckland Urban Area.

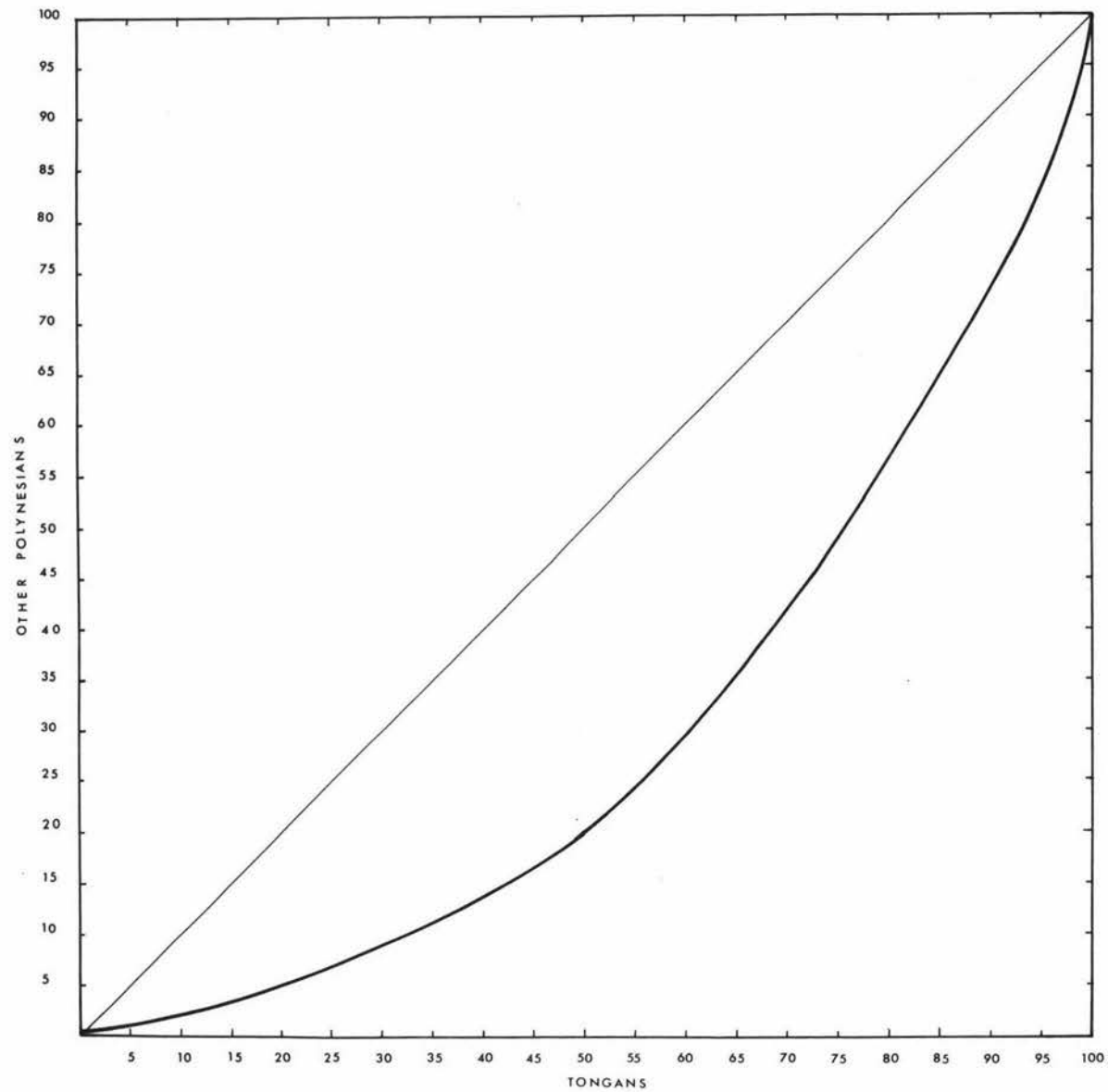
In the Lorenz curve, coincidence of the curve with the diagonal  $X = Y$ , would represent complete evenness; and coincidence with the X axis and the line  $X = 100$  would represent complete unevenness. If the distribution of other Polynesian Islanders and Tongans was completely uneven (each statistical subdivision is either 100 per cent Tongan or 100 per cent other Polynesian Islander), then reading down the X column, 100 per cent of the Tongans would be cumulated with 0 per cent of the other Polynesian Islanders. The segregation curve would follow the X axis to the point (100,0) and then rise along the line  $X = 100$ . For distributions intermediate between these two extremes, the greater the deviation of the segregation curve from the diagonal  $X = Y$ , the greater the segregation.

The Lorenz Curve shown in Figure 15 shows the incidence

Figure 15:

LORENZ CURVE

C.AUCKLAND 1971



of Tongans with other Polynesians is common, although the deviation of the segregation curve from the diagonal is significant. This is due to factors controlling the location of Tongans in Auckland rather than factors controlling the spread of other Polynesians to the outer suburbs.

### Summary

The Tongan is a predominantly North Island urban dweller. Auckland is the main centre of Tongan population. Within Auckland Central, certain subdivisions exhibit concentrations of Tongans. These concentrations can be arbitrarily divided into a central and peripheral growth zone with an intermediate area of decline. The proportion of Tongans resident in the inner city zone is declining while the inner and outer suburban zone continues to grow.

The indices of segregation highlighted areas of a developing Tongan concentration while the Lorenz curve indicated that the spatial distribution of Tongans within Central Auckland is somewhat dissimilar to that of other Polynesians.

### CONCLUSION

The investigation of demographic, residential and occupational characteristics of Tongans in the Central Auckland Urban Area required unique research strategies. The problems of locating and interviewing were compounded because the population universe was mobile and unknown and the population was often suspicious of questions from 'outsiders'. Once the major concentrations of Tongans were located using the 1971 Census results, initial contacts led to a cumulating list of migrants. A questionnaire was constructed and interviews undertaken in homes and factories, during the day and at night. The success or otherwise of this method hinges on the researcher's knowledge of Tongan and the availability of a translator or other person well-known by the Tongans. The confidence of respondents is a pre-requisite for this type of study, as the Tongan is sometimes not sure of the researcher's motives and still adjusting to the cultural shock of his new environment.

The migrants had generally come to New Zealand to avail themselves of economic advantages denied to them in Tonga. Whether their motive was to build a house or provide for their children's education, it is probable that other factors stimulated their desire to migrate. Tonga has a young and rapidly growing population with consequent shortages of land and housing. It is a poor country with limited wage employment to meet the growing demand for material goods.

To meet these aspirations the Tongan exchanges for a brief period his agrarian island environment for factory floor and urban flat. He works, like other Polynesians, in generally unskilled occupations, utilizing his brief stay to the full in the purpose of earning income. The Tongan overcomes major obstacles during this transition. The cost of a return air-fare alone requires perhaps several months of growing commercial crops, undertaking a loan or relying on the generosity of relations. Acquiring a permit and travelling alone to New Zealand where he faces an uncertain future are however, obstacles, readily tackled by an increasing number of Tongans. They are generally in the 25 - 34 age group and permitted to remain in New Zealand for three months. It would appear that many overstay their permits wishing to further reap the rewards of wage employment and compensate for the cost and concern associated with their trip to Auckland.

The composition of this migrant stream has changed in the last decade. From an initial female dominated flow it has changed to a more balanced but predominantly male flow. Since 1966 there has been a rapid and spectacular growth in both the Tongan population in Auckland and the number of arrivals and departures. In the survey an almost equal number of males were either married or never married while a greater proportion of females were married. Over half the married population had not yet established a family. The survey underlined the importance of the main island in the kingdom, Tongatapu, as a source of migrants, while the more distant island of Vava'u was a significant origin of male migrants. The Tongan was found to possess Methodist religious affiliations and to have spent a longer period in

formal education than his island contemporaries. It was disturbing to discover that the migration to New Zealand sometimes meant a change in occupation for the few relatively skilled migrants. As with other Polynesian groups the majority of Tongans are employed in unskilled production-line tasks. They exhibit occupational characteristics which delineate them from the employed population as a whole, because they have been forced to adapt to New Zealand employment conditions. Firms in the manufacturing sector have established 'gangs' of Tongans, for example women employed in garment manufacture and men in producing roof tiles. They work long hours and earn substantial remuneration during their short stay. Tongans included in the survey often resided some distance from their place of employ.

The location of these migrants in North Island urban areas tends to be similar to other Polynesians in some respects. Their location initially in the city centre has since succeeded to the Mt Albert and Mt Eden Boroughs of the Central Auckland Urban Area, and the outer suburbs, especially the South Auckland Urban Area. A complex pattern of invasion and succession has emerged, as the inner city zone of older flats and houses is reduced. The residential mobility of Tongans in the survey highlights this centrifugal move away from the traditional halting area of the inner city. Using indices of segregation the areas of invasion like Mt Albert Central and Rosebank become apparent. The spatial organisation of Tongan residential patterns is a dynamic process warranting further study.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 Personal communication, Mr E. Tui'nukuafe, January 1974.
- 2 See Glossary for all Tongan words.
- 3 See Glossary.
- 4 In Lindzey and Aronson, 1968, 2.
- 5 Sudman, 1965.
- 6 See questionnaire in Appendix B.
- 7 See Glossary.
- 8 See Glossary.
- 9 Mills, C.W., 1954, 657-671.
- 10 Peterson, W., 1969, Chapter 8.
- 11 Lee, E.S., 1966.
- 12 Ibid.cite.
- 13 Sevele, F.V., 1973, 64.
- 14 Lee, E.S., 1966.
- 15 Sevele, F.V., 1973, 63.
- 16 Sevele, F.V., 1973, 64.
- 17 Ravenstein, 1885, 1:199.
- 18 Fiefia, S.N., 1968, 30.
- 19 Lee, E.S., 1966.
- 20 Ravenstein, 1885, 1:198-199.
- 21 Ibid.cite, 199.
- 22 In 1971, the Central Auckland Statistical Area accounted for 42.25 per cent of the total Tongan population residing in New Zealand.
- 23 Tongan passport with entry permit issued Apia, 1974.
- 24 Ibid.cite.
- 25 Dominion, March 28, 1974, 2.

- 26 Ibid. cite April 2, 1974, 1.
- 27 Woolf, J., 1969, 5.
- 28 Peterson, W., 1969, 263.
- 29 Woolf, J., 1969, 16.
- 30 See Curson, P.H., 1970; Walsh, A.C., 1964; and McArther, N.M., 1961.
- 31 Woolf, J., 1969, 16.
- 32 Peterson, W., 1969, 260.
- 33 Wolpert, 1965, 399, in Demko et al.
- 34 Curson, P.H., 1970, 174.
- 35 Trlin, A., 1973, Chapter 15 in Johnstone, R.J. (ed.)
- 36 Ibid.cite, 302.
- 37 Personal communication, 1973.
- 38 C.A.R.E., 1974, 3.
- 39 This figure does not include a Tongan-European classification.
- 40 This figure does not include a Tongan-European classification.
- 41 In 1966 there were 18 urban areas, while in 1971 there were 24. Thus although the figures are not directly comparable they do show the urban nature of Tongan residence.
- 42 Curson, P.H., 1970, 175.
- 43 Halting point is defined as an area of temporary settlement which acts as a staging point for more permanent accommodation in the inner and outer suburban zone.
- 44 McCreary, J.R., 1965, 23.
- 45 Auckland Central is the major concentration of Tongans in New Zealand. In 1971 it accounted for over 42 per cent of Tongans residing in New Zealand.
- 46 Significant is defined as an increase of 10 or more persons in the intercensal period 1966 to 1971.
- 47 The inner city zone comprises the census divisions of Auckland Central, Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Arch Hill, Kingsland, Mt Eden North, Eden Terrace, Newton, Grafton, Newmarket and Parnell. The inner suburban zone is Herne Bay, Westmere, Pt Chevalier, Waterview, Mt Albert (minus Kingsland), Mt Eden (minus Mt Eden North), Three Kings, Royal Oak, Epsom North and South, Remuera North and South,

One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Onehunga, Meadowbank, Orakei, Mission Bay, Kohimarama and St Heliers. The outer suburban zone comprises all remaining census tracts within the 1971 Auckland Urban Area boundary.

- 48 Whitelaw, J.S., 1971, 68.
- 49 Curson, P.H., 1970, 170.
- 50 Ibid. cite.
- 51 Ibid. cite, 431.
- 52 Exact comparison is not available due to the reclassification of Remuera North, East Tamaki and Onehunga, 1966.
- 53 Whitelaw, J.S., 1971, 61-76.
- 54 Ibid. cite, 67.
- 55 Ibid. cite, 70.
- 56 Ibid. cite, 71.
- 57 Curson, P.H., 1970, 426.
- 58 Ibid. cite.
- 59 Francis, E.J., 1969, 46.
- 60 Curson, P.H., 1970, 426.
- 61 Taeuber, K.E. and Taeuber, A.F., 1965, 203.

GLOSSARY OF TONGAN WORDS

'Api: Allotment of land, hence 'api Kolo (town land),  
'api tukuha (agricultural land).

Fale: House.

Famili: Extended family.

Papatangi or palangi: European.

Tanga fie poto: A clever or educated man, sometimes used  
as a derogatory term.

APPENDIX A

Intercensal Population Changes for Each Urban Subdivision of the  
Central Auckland Urban Area.

<u>Division or Subdivision</u>					
<u>Auckland City</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Auckland City continued</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
Rosebank	8	29	Glenn Innes South	0	18
Avondale North	43	41	St Johns	0	4
Avondale South	19	16	Pt England	0	10
New Windsor	0	19	TOTAL FOR CITY	365	469
Blockhouse Bay	00	4			
Waterview	2	1	<u>Mt Albert Borough</u>		
Pt. Chevalier	3	13	Kingsland	20	47
Westmere	5	8	Morningside	2	4
Herne Bay	6	26	Mt Albert Central	14	27
Ponsonby	50	63	Springfield-Owairaka	3	2
Grey Lynn	87	52	Sandringham	36	56
Arch Hill	17	18	TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	75	136
Freemans Bay	30	31			
Auckland Central	10	5	<u>Mt Eden Borough</u>		
Newton	9	9	Mt Eden North	10	23
Grafton	3	4	Mt Eden Central	17	15
Eden Terrace	9	12	Mt Eden South	8	23
Parnell	17	10	TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	35	61
Epsom North	2	9			
Epsom South	6	11	<u>Mt Roskill Borough</u>		
Orakei	6	10	Sandringham	36	12
Mission Bay	4	1	Three Kings	4	6
Kohimarama	0	0	Royal Oak	40	29
St Heliers	2	9	Hillsborough	8	3
Glendowie	0	0	Lynfield	11	14
Meadowbank	5	7	Waikowhai	11	4
Remuera East	0	5	TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	99	68
Remuera South	8	13			
Remuera West	9	5			
Glenn Innes North	0	6			

cont./...

<u>Division or Subdivision - continued</u>		
<u>Onehunga Borough</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
Onehunga North	0	6
Onehunga South	0	8
Oronga	0	23
Te Papapa	0	18
TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	45	55
 <u>One Tree Hill Borough</u>		
Mt St John	0	5
One Tree Hill Central	0	7
One Tree Hill East	0	17
Penrose	0	0
TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	15	29
 <u>Mt Wellington Borough</u>		
Mt Wellington North	0	4
Mt Wellington West	0	11
Mt Wellington South	0	15
Panmure	0	10
TOTAL FOR BOROUGH	24	40
 <u>Ellerslie Borough</u>	 3	 21
 <u>Newmarket Borough</u>	 0	 7
 <u>TOTAL FOR URBAN AREA</u>	 <u>653</u>	 <u>887</u>

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire designed for the Survey of Tongans, Central Auckland Urban Area, January 1974.

NAME:	RESPONDENT NO.	
ADDRESS:	SEX: 1. Male 2. Female	1
RACE: 1. Tongan 2. European-Tongan 4. Tongan-New Zealand Maori	3. Tongan-European 5. German Tongan	2
MARITAL STATUS: 1. Never married 3. Divorced 5. Married	2. Separated 4. Widow	3
MARITAL STATUS: 1. Married when arrived 2. Married since arrived 3. N.A.		4
MARITAL STATUS: 1. Wife or husband in Tonga 2. Wife or husband in N.Z. 3. N.A. 4. Wife in another country		5
AGE: 1. 0-15 2. 16-19 3. 20-24 4. 25-34 5. 35-44 6. 45-54 7. 55-64 8. 65+		6
DEPENDENTS IN HOUSE: Boys 0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.		7
DEPENDENTS IN HOUSE: Girls 0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.		8
TOTAL OTHER DEPENDENTS IN TONGA OR OVERSEAS: 0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.		9
PRESENT RELATIONSHIP TO H. OF H. 2. Brother/sister 4. Cousin 6. Friend 7. Respondent is head of household 8. Brother-in-law	1. Spouse 3. Uncle/aunt 5. Son/daughter	10
BIRTHPLACE: 1. Tongatapu 3. Va'vau 5. Niuas 7. Fiji	2. Ha'apai 4. 'Eua 6. New Zealand 8. Other	11
LANDED AT: 1. Auckland 3. Christchurch 5. Other	2. Wellington 4. Dunedin 6. Born in New Zealand	12

YEAR ARRIVED:	1. 1974	2. 1973	
	3. 1972	4. 1971	
	5. 1970	6. 1969	
	7. 1968	8. 1967	
	9. 1966	0. Prior to 1966	
	A. N.A.		13
TIME IN AUCKLAND U.A.:	1. Less than a year	2. 1	
	3. 2	4. 3	
	5. 4	6. 5	
	7. 6	8. 7	
	9. 8	0. Less than 9	
	A. More than 10 years		14
TIME PERMITTED IN N.Z.:	1. 3 months		
	2. 6 months	3. 12 months	
	4. 2 years	5. Permanent	
	6. Naturalized	7. 5 years	15
TRAVEL ACCOMPLICES:	1. Own		
	2. Family	3. Other relative	
	4. Villager	5. Work-mate (not family)	16
FARE RAISED:	1. $\frac{1}{2}$ parents in Tonga	2. Own	
	3. $\frac{1}{2}$ from New Zealand	4. Husband	
	5. New Zealand Government		
	6. New Zealand employer		
	7. $\frac{1}{2}$ other relations in Tonga		
	8. Born in New Zealand		
	9. Church		17
DID YOU HAVE AN API IN TONGA:	1. Yes		
	2. No	3. N.Z.	18
WHAT WAS YOUR HIGHEST QUALIFICATION AT SCHOOL:	1. Primary	2. Secondary	
	3. L.L.	4. S.C.	
	5. H.L.	6. U.E.	19
RELIGION:	1. Free Westyan	2. Mormon	
	3. Catholic	4. 7th Day Adventist	
	5. Church of Tonga	6. Anglican	
	7. Free Church	8. Assembly of God	
	9. Methodist	A. None	
	B. Other		20
HOW MANY OTHERS IN THE HOUSE ARE OF THE SAME RELIGION:	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.		21
WHY DID YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND:	1. No job in Tonga		
	2. Education	3. To join spouse	
	4. Health	5. Dependent	22
	6. No land in Tonga	7. Family dispute	23
	8. To earn money for a house in Tonga		
	9. To be with kin	0. To pay school fees	24
	A. Job	B. Just wanted to come	

ACCOMMODATION FOUND INITIALLY:	1. Tongan friend	
2. Kin	3. Spouse	
4. Own	5. Government	
6. Employer	7. Bureau	
8. Own	9. Church	25

STAYED WITH PERSON WHO ARRANGED INITIAL ACCOMMODATION:		
1. Yes	2. No	
3. N.A.		26

WAS YOUR ACCOMMODATION IN THE SAME SUBURB AS THIS PERSON:		
1. Yes	2. No	
3. N.A.		27

DID THIS PERSON ALSO ARRANGE YOUR FIRST JOB:		
1. Yes	2. No	
3. N.A.		28

EXCLUDING WIFE/HUSBAND, DID THIS PERSON COME FROM THE SAME ISLAND AS YOU:	1. Yes	2. No	
	3. N.A.		29

DATE PERSON WHO ARRANGED INITIAL ACCOMMODATION ARRIVED IN N.Z.:			
1. 1974	2. 1973		
3. 1972	4. 1971		
5. 1970	6. 1969		
7. 1968	8. 1967		
9. 1966	0. Before 1966		30

DID PERSON WHO HELPED ARRANGE ACCOMMODATION OR JOB, ASSIST WITH YOUR FARE:	1. Yes	2. No	
	3. N.A.		31

TENURE OF DWELLING:	1. Mortgage	
2. Private rent	3. State	
4. Loaned without payment		
5. Hostel	6. Lease	
7. Free with job	8. Own	32

RENTAL:	1. 10-14	2. 15-19	
	3. 20-24	4. 25-29	
	5. 30-34	6. 35-39	
	7. 40-44	8. 45-49	
	9. None		33

IF RENTAL HOUSE IS OWNED BY:	1. Tongan	
2. Family	3. Other Polynesian	
4. Company	5. Pakeha	
6. Church	7. Unknown	
8. Chinese	9. Cook Islander	

Residential Change	Borough Code	Years	1-5	House Type	
a.					34 37
b.					35 38
c.					36 39

WHY DID YOU CHOOSE TO LIVE HERE:	1. Spouse	
2. Kin	3. Friends	
4. Close to work	5. Cheap	
6. Friends shifted		
7. The house became vacant		
8. Better environment for children		
9. Near bus to work		40
WHY DID YOU CHANGE RESIDENCE:	1. Overcrowding	
2. Found cheaper rent		41
3. Found place with friends from work		
4. Found place closer to work		
5. Place was condemned/pulled down/sold		42
6. Asked to leave		
7. Bought a house of our own		
8. Found a rented place in better condition		
9. Wanted a change	a.	43
0. Better area for family	b.	44
	c.	45
HAVE YOU ANY ACCOMMODATION PROBLEMS:		
1. Excess rent	2. Flats scarce	46
3. Deteriorating houses		
4. Discrimination	5. Overcrowding	47
6. Too far from work		48
7.	8.	49
IF YOU THINK THE RENT IS EXCESSIVE, HAVE YOU TRIED TO FIND OTHER ACCOMMODATION:	1. Yes	
2. No		50
HOW DID YOU TRY:	1. Asked other Tongans	2. Newspaper
3. Bureau	4. Church	
5. Employer	6.	51
WHAT EXAMPLE OF DETERIORATING HOUSES CAN YOU GIVE:		
1. Roof leaks	2. Floors breaking	
3. Wallpaper peeling	4. Faulty plumbing	52
5. Paint coming off	6.	53
Discrimination example:		54
WHY IS THERE OVERCROWDING IN THIS HOUSE:		
1. Relatives arrive without accommodation from Tonga		
2. Cheaper rent with more people		
3. We can't afford a bigger place		
4. There are no larger places here		
5.		55
WAS YOUR FIRST JOB PREARRANGED BEFORE COMING TO NEW ZEALAND:		
1. Yes	2. No	
3. N.A.		56
FIRST JOB FOUND THROUGH:	1. Family	
2. Relative	3. Friend	
4. Church	5. Government	
6. Agency	7. Own	
8. N.A.	9.	57

EMPLOYMENT STATUS: 1. Full time 2. Part time  
 3. Unemployed seeking work  
 4. Unemployed sick 5. Retired  
 6.

58

Employers Address Borough code Situation Residence  
 Borough Code

a. 59 62  
 b. 60 63  
 c. 61 64

WHY DID YOU CHANGE WORK:

1. Better money  
 2. To be with friends  
 3. Closer to accommodation  
 4. Found work difficult  
 5. Language problem 6. Went overseas trip  
 7. Wanted a change  
 8. Took job until knew my way around

a. 65  
 b. 66  
 c. 67

Specific reason for changing work:

WAGES PER WEEK: 1. Less than 20 2. 20-29  
 3. 30-39 4. 40-49  
 5. 50-59 6. 60-69  
 7. 70-79 8. 80-89  
 9. More than 90

68

DO OTHER TONGANS WORK AT THE SAME FIRM:

1. Yes 2. No

69

OCCUPATION TONGA: 1. Professional, technical and related workers  
 2. Administrative, executive and managerial  
 worker  
 3. Clerical workers 4. Sales workers  
 5. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and  
 related workers  
 6. Miners, quarrymen and related workers  
 7. Workers in transport and communications  
 8. Craftsmen, production process workers,  
 labourers  
 9. Service, sport and recreation workers  
 A. Not actively engaged  
 B. Housewife

70

OCCUPATION NEW ZEALAND: (1 - B for above)

71

# APPENDIX C

## Statistical Subdivisions, Auckland Urban Area, 1971

The statistical subdivisions listed below and shown on the accompanying map (Figure 16) are the official census subdivisions, 1971.

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Freemans Bay         | 32. Panmure                  |
| 2. Auckland Central     | 33. Ellerslie Borough        |
| 3. Newton               | 34. Mt Wellington West       |
| 4. Grafton              | 35. Penrose                  |
| 5. Avondale South       | 36. Newmarket Borough        |
| 6. Avondale North       | 37. Kingsland                |
| 7. Rosebank             | 38. Morningside              |
| 8. Waterview            | 39. Sandringham (Mt Albert)  |
| 9. Point Chevalier      | 40. Mt Albert Central        |
| 10. Westmere            | 41. Springfield-Owairaka     |
| 11. Herne Bay           | 42. Sandringham              |
| 12. Ponsonby            | 43. Mt Eden Central          |
| 13. Grey Lynn           | 44. Mt Eden South            |
| 14. Arch Hill           | 45. Three Kings              |
| 15. Eden Terrace        | 46. Royal Oak                |
| 16. Epsom North         | 47. Hillsborough             |
| 17. Epsom South         | 48. Sandringham (Mt Roskill) |
| 18. Parnell             | 49. Lynfield                 |
| 19. Remuera West        | 50. New Windsor              |
| 20. Remuera South       | 51. Blockhouse Bay           |
| 21. Meadowbank          | 52. Waikowhai                |
| 22. Orakei              | 53. Mt St John               |
| 23. Mission Bay         | 54. One Tree Hill Central    |
| 24. Kohimarama          | 55. Onehunga North           |
| 25. St Heliers          | 56. Onehunga South           |
| 26. Glendowie           | 57. One Tree Hill East       |
| 27. Glenn Innes North   | 58. Oranga                   |
| 28. Glen Innes South    | 59. Te Papapa                |
| 29. St Johns            | 60. Remuera East             |
| 30. Mt Wellington North | 61. Mt Wellington South.     |
| 31. Point England       |                              |

**NOTE:** Boundary for North Auckland Urban Area excludes Orewa County Town and North Waitemata County, north of Albany North, on this map.

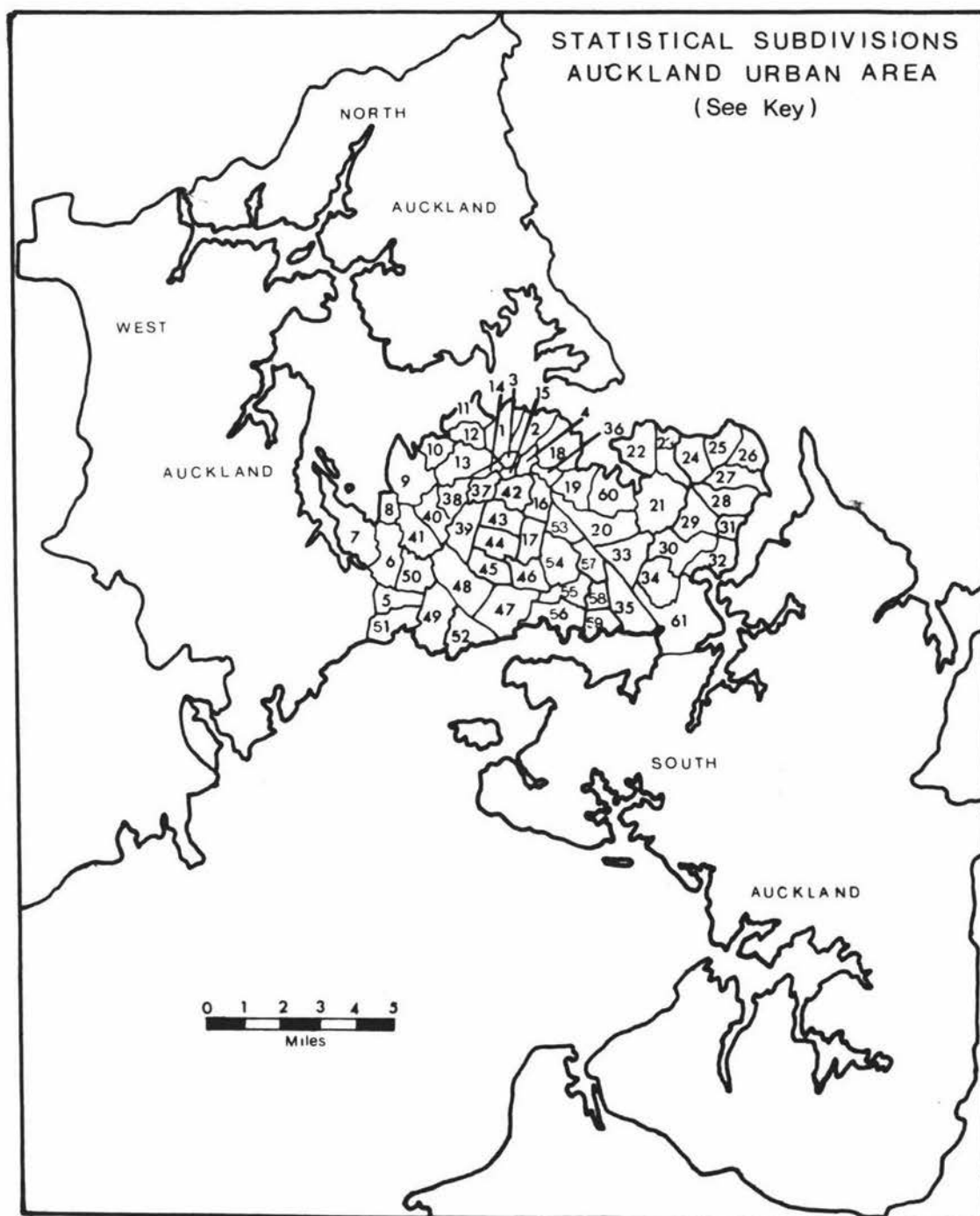


Figure 16:

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