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# **The Determinants of Tribal Population Growth in the New Zealand Census**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of

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in Demography**

at

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**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

## Abstract

By the early twentieth century the notion that ethnic populations would dissipate was a commonly held belief. However, after World War II, the modern world has seen an incredible resurgence in ethnic identities. Ethnic conflicts, mobilisations, and the political movements of the 1950s and 1960s served as a major catalyst in the diffusion of indigenous identities and rights. Consequently, indigenous groups in settler states, especially in North America, experienced population growth beyond the levels of natural demographic factors, that is, fertility, mortality and migration. Researchers attributed a significant proportion of this growth to changing patterns of ethnic identification, also referred to as *ethnic mobility*<sup>1</sup>. Although this phenomenon is well documented in North America, it is only just beginning to be understood in relation to the New Zealand context.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the indigenous Māori population of New Zealand gained substantial progress in political, social and economic spheres, following the same patterns of ethnic identity growth as in North America. Despite these gains, the average individual socio-economic outcomes for Māori remain poor, especially in comparison to New Zealand Europeans/Pākehā. Through key legislation, iwi (tribal) organisations became the core mechanism in which to address Māori socio-economic issues, achieve Māori aspirations and to manage *Treaty of Waitangi* settlement monies. Subsequently, the need for iwi statistics for policy and planning purposes saw the reinstatement of iwi data in the New Zealand census in 1991. Surprisingly, however, very little attention has been given to contemporary patterns of iwi demography.

Since the 1991 census, observations of total iwi population growth patterns indicate these patterns cannot solely be explained by natural demographic factors. Furthermore, the growth trajectories of individual iwi were markedly different, and in some cases erratic. These initial observations have raised the following key research questions: *What do patterns of iwi growth look like? What is the*

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<sup>1</sup> Also referred to as *inter-ethnic mobility* or *category-jumping*.

*role of ethnic mobility? What factors drive ethnic mobility? Who changes iwi identification? Why should we care?*

This thesis examines patterns of iwi identification in the *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings* from 1991 to 2006. It uses statistical methods to not only document iwi population changes but to also identify the key determinants driving these trajectories. In addition, this thesis considers ethnic mobility as an important driver of population growth but, situates this within the broader macro-political environment. Along with the analysis of aggregate iwi population changes, this thesis also provides an in-depth analysis of four iwi groups – Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe, in order to observe individual iwi dynamics that are not clearly visible at the aggregate level.

The findings of this thesis raise important implications for theories of ethnicity and the demographic study of ethnic populations. For example, this thesis argues that the category of ethnic mobility is mainly contextual, that is, decisions to change ethnic responses are influenced by the broader political, social and economic contexts. Furthermore this thesis contends that individual ethnic identification decisions are for the most part defined by ethnic categories imposed by the State. While traditional views suggest ethnicity is fixed, intrinsic and kinship based, this thesis finds significant support for contemporary views that argue ethnicity is fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed. Rather than reject traditional views of Maori identity, this study recognises that ethnic identities are complex, and that shifts in iwi identification is about connecting and reconnecting with whakapapa. Thus this thesis argues that in order to understand individual iwi dynamics both points of view need to be considered.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Setting the context

During late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was believed that ethnic populations would dissipate in the face of modernity (Connor, 1978; Nagel, 1996; Smith, 1981). Since the end of World War II, however, the contemporary world has seen an extraordinary resurgence in ethnic groups and identities. Pluralism, state policies of cultural integration, and the growing frequency and intensity of ethnic mobilisations testify to the growing prominence of ethnicity (Smith, 1981). Between the 1950s and 1980s, a wave of civil rights movements occurred across the globe, most notably in the United States (US). These political fronts aimed for legal equality and civil right improvements for oppressed peoples, particularly those of minority status. More importantly, for the purpose of this thesis, the civil rights era served as a major catalyst for the diffusion of indigenous identities and rights. In the so-called settler states of North America and Australasia, including Aotearoa New Zealand, the revival of indigeneity was characterised by an indigenous activism that has challenged longstanding models of marginalisation on the “grounds of historical continuity, cultural autonomy, original occupancy, and territorial grounding” (Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 11). The *Red Power* movement and the *American Indian Movement* were particularly instrumental in asserting the rights of the Native Americans (Nagel, 1996).

In more recent years, international organisations have played a core role in elevating the status of indigenous peoples by promoting and protecting their rights. For example, the United Nation’s *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* provides a standard for its members to strengthen indigenous peoples’ rights to culture, identity, language, employment, health, education and so forth (United Nations, n.d.). The fundamental principle of the *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)*<sup>2</sup> is that indigenous and tribal peoples be consulted and participate fully at all levels of decision-making processes that concern them (International Labour Organization, 2012). Furthermore, the global conscience of indigenous peoples has grown with the promotion of *International*

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<sup>2</sup> Also known as *Convention No. 169*

*Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples.*<sup>3</sup> These socio-political movements provided the momentum for the revival of native languages and the establishment of socio-cultural institutions, cementing the place of indigenes on national and international political agendas: "...establishing the foundations of what has since become a permanent formalized presence of Indigenous peoples' missions at the institutional core of mainstream international diplomacy" (Beier, 2007, p. 121).

In conjunction with the political resurgence of indigeneity, indigenous groups in settler states have experienced significant population growth beyond what can be explained by natural demographic factors alone. Most of the literature on the dynamics of indigenous population growth in the context of indigenous political revitalisation derives from the US. There, the American Indian population grew by an incredible 1.4 million between the 1960 and 1990 censuses, producing an annual growth rate of 4.3 percent (Passel, 1997). Of this 1.4 million, 762,000 (54.4 percent) came from natural increase (births less deaths) and the remaining 638,000 came from non-demographic factors (Passel, 1997). Researchers attribute this non-demographic growth to changes in racial self-identification by persons who were mixed, partial or distant American Indian (Eschbach, 1995; Passel, 1997), were more educated, and lived in highly urbanised areas (Eschbach, Supple, & Snipp, 1998). Likewise, the Aboriginal population in Canada grew from 712,000 in 1986 to an astounding 1.3 million in 2001 (Guimond, 2009). To put this into perspective, the intercensal growth between 1996 and 2001 was approximately 20 percent (Guimond, Kerr, & Beaujot, 2004). Academics argued that a significant portion of this growth was also attributed to changes in reporting of ethnic identity by persons of mixed ancestry (Robitaille, Guimond, & Boucher, 2010) and, who did not live on a reserve (Guimond, 2009). Together these studies have pointed to the significance of non-demographic factors, more specifically, *ethnic mobility*<sup>4</sup> in accounting for indigenous population growth.

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<sup>3</sup> *International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples* is observed each year on August the 9th to promote the protection of indigenous peoples rights. It also recognises the contributions made by indigenous groups in addressing world issues (Timeanddate.com, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Also referred to as *inter-ethnic mobility* or *category-jumping*.

The demographic recovery of indigenous populations is not unique to North America. After suffering a major population decline in the late 1800s, the indigenous New Zealand Māori population underwent an extraordinary demographic recovery during the twentieth century, firmly establishing the demographic future of Māori (Pool, 1991). More notably, the Māori population accelerated between the 1950s and mid-1960s, with the average annual growth rate peaking at 3.9 percent per annum in the five-year period 1956 to 1961 (Pool, 1991). This population growth was attributed to an epidemiological transition where there was a gradual decline in mortality rates over time. In addition, Māori had relatively high birth and fertility rates (Pool, 1991). However, the Māori population slowed in the 1970s due to a drop in fertility rates and an increasing trend of international emigration, particularly to Australia. Although Pool (1991) mainly discusses the impact of the macro-political context on natural demographic processes (i.e. fertility, mortality and migration), and hence, Māori population, he also notes the growth in the “mixed New Zealand Māori” group, brought about by changing patterns of identification (Pool, 1985).

Hence, in many ways New Zealand is an ideal context in which to examine indigeneity and indigenous population change. The 1960s and 1970s marked the beginnings of a Māori renaissance. Inspired by the civil rights movements overseas, this was a particular period in New Zealand’s history in which a new political consciousness gave birth to Māori protest movements against the Crown for claiming Māori land (Taonui, 2011). These protests included the infamous Māori land march in 1975, and the occupations of Raglan golf course in 1977 and Bastion Point in 1978. In response to these protests, successive governments have made momentous changes to accommodate Māori expectations (Taonui, 2011). The *Waitangi Tribunal* (hereafter ‘the Tribunal’)<sup>5</sup> was established in 1975. It is responsible for making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breached the assurances made in the

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<sup>5</sup> The Tribunal “is a permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown, which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011)

*Treaty of Waitangi* (hereafter ‘the Treaty’)<sup>6</sup>. It is also important to note here that Māori made claims prior to the establishment of the Tribunal and earlier governments attempted to settle these claims. However, only some of the claims were addressed but were deemed inadequate (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012e). If a government chooses to settle a claim, the *Office of Treaty Settlements* (OTS), on behalf of the Crown, negotiates with the claimants (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012e). Once both parties agree on the terms of a settlement, they sign a *Deed of Settlement*. The Crown then passes legislation to give effect to settlement and to remove the Tribunal’s ability to make further inquiries on the claim (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012e). Settlement redress, usually in the form of monies or assets, is then transferred to the claimants (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012e).

The Māori renaissance was also marked by a revitalisation of culture and identity. This entailed the revival of te reo Māori (Māori language) and the establishment of education facilities such as kōhanga reo (Māori language preschool) and kura kaupapa (Māori primary schools) to sustain this cultural renaissance. Although Māori made significant inroads in the political, social and economic spheres, their average individual socio-economic outcomes remained poor in comparison to non-Māori, and particularly New Zealand Europeans/Pākehā.

In 1984, Māori leaders attended the *Hui Taumata* (Māori economic summit), where it was proposed that Māori, through iwi (tribe/tribal) authorities, deal with their own social and economic issues (Barcham, 1998) rather than rely on the Government. The Crown agreed, and in preparation for any settlement of Treaty claims, required iwi authorities to fulfil certain obligations and criteria (Barcham, 1998). In 1990, the Government implemented the *Rūnanga Iwi Act*, which saw the rebuilding of iwi organisations into corporate-based entities (Barcham, 1998;

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<sup>6</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi is a written agreement that was signed at Waitangi, New Zealand in 1840 between Māori representatives and Crown representatives. The Treaty contained three articles that guaranteed Māori full rights of ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and other prized possessions, and promised Māori rights and privileges of British subjects, and protection by the Crown. There were at least two versions of the Treaty - English and Māori. The Māori version did not have the same meaning as the English version. The English version stipulated that Māori would cede sovereignty to the British Crown. On the other hand, the Māori version stipulated that Māori would cede kāwanatanga (governance). Only 39 rangatira (Māori chiefs) signed the English version. The remaining rangatira (over 400) signed the Māori version (Orange, 2011).

Rata, 2000). Although the Rūnanga Iwi Act was repealed in 1991, the legacy of iwi remained (Barcham, 1998). Iwi have been able to exercise a significant level of political power through iwi leader forums and Treaty claim processes, particularly for the return of land and financial compensation. Thus, iwi authorities became the core mechanism in which to manage settlement monies, address social and economic disparities, deliver key social services to its members, and to achieve Māori aspirations: "...iwi organisations have emerged as state-recognised actors to received and distribute settlement monies and assume internal governance and policy-making functions...both through internal capacity building and by influencing external policy formulation and service delivery" (Walling, Small-Rodriguez, & Kukutai, 2009). As a precursor to or a condition of settlements iwi authorities have established tribal registers (see Appendix F) of enrolled members (Walling et al., 2009). In most cases, tribal registration is also required in order for enrolled members to access resources and benefits offered by iwi organisations. Although the investigation of historical land claims began in the mid-1980s, the settlement of those claims did not occur until the early 1990s. Since the historical 1995 *Waikato-Tainui* settlement, many iwi groups have settled with the Crown, some of whom have received substantial amounts<sup>7</sup>. Subsequently, the need for iwi statistics for policy and planning purposes saw the reinstatement of the iwi question in the 1991 New Zealand census. Given the renaissance of Māori and iwi identities, it is somewhat surprising that scarce attention has been given to contemporary patterns of iwi demography.

Since the introduction of the iwi question in the *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings* in 1991, the number and percentage of Māori identifying with an iwi has increased significantly. For example, the iwi identified population grew by 39 percent between 1991 and 2006. In comparison, the Māori ethnic group (MEG) and Māori descent population grew by 30 percent and 26 percent respectively over the same period. Closer examination of the data suggests that the growth patterns of the iwi identified population, and of individual iwi, cannot be explained by natural increase alone, that is, an excess of births over deaths. Rather, changing patterns of identification, what

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<sup>7</sup> See *Office of Treaty Settlements* website for latest settlement progress information [www.ots.govt.nz](http://www.ots.govt.nz)

demographers call ethnic mobility, appears to be important. This has prompted the following research questions: *What do patterns of iwi growth look like? What is the role of ethnic mobility? What factors drive ethnic mobility? Who changes iwi identification? Why should we care?*

## **1.2 Thesis purpose**

With these questions in mind, the purpose of this thesis is to develop a robust understanding of iwi population growth patterns. Using the most recent iwi data from the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings between 1991 and 2006, this thesis uses statistical methods firstly, to describe the growth trajectories of the iwi identified population, and secondly, to identify the determinants driving these population changes. This is accomplished by studying the intercensal changes of the total iwi identified population along with an in-depth analysis of four iwi groups – Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. This permits an understanding of individual iwi dynamics that may not be readily visible at the aggregate level. For example, in 2001 there were 14,661 respondents who identified as Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, but by the 2006 census, the number had increased to 20,982, an increase of 43.1 percent. The largest iwi group in New Zealand, Ngā Puhī, reported an 18.7 percent increase for the same period, while Waikato declined by 6.6 percent. These dynamics at the individual iwi level cannot be fully explained by natural increase or net migration.

These four iwi case studies have been selected for two key reasons. First, all of the iwi are relatively large and well-known and each experienced quite different population growth patterns over the focal period. Second, changes in the terms of engagement meant that some iwi could opt to bypass the Tribunal and negotiate directly with the Crown over Treaty claims (New Zealand Parliament, 2006). Waikato and Ngāi Tahu were pioneers in terms of direct negotiations, settling in 1995 and 1997 respectively for \$170 million worth of assets each. On the other hand, Ngāti Awa went through the Tribunal process and settled in 2003 for compensation of \$43.4 million. Tūhoe opted to bypass the Tribunal and are

currently in negotiations with the Crown<sup>8</sup>. Given that this thesis examines the broader macro-political context, within which individual identification decisions are made, the analysis of individual iwi data allows us to see the impacts that the overall settlement environment, process and the timing has had on its population growth.

Such an analysis is long overdue. To date there has only been one published study of tribal demography that is similar in nature to the aims of this thesis. In his 1989 report, demographer Jeremy Lowe provided an extensive analysis of iwi population trends from 1874 to 1951 (Lowe, 1989). The study was important in that it was the first of its kind and as such contributed to the knowledge base of iwi and Māori history. His information sources included tribal data obtained from the censuses between 1874 and 1901, statistical projections based on historical census data, and tribal data information obtained from the 1950s electoral enrolment and census reports from the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*<sup>9</sup>. A key purpose of his report was to provide a historical database of iwi population patterns that could be useful to inform decision-making by Government agencies and iwi authorities. The main issue, however, is that his analysis focuses on Māori population data and information which is now seriously outdated.

With respect to contemporary research, there has been little empirical study of iwi growth patterns. Using the 1991 census tribal data, Gould (1996) explored the socio-economic differences of 16 major iwi groups using standard indicators in areas related to income level, education level and employment status. Gould's study highlighted substantial socio-economic differences between iwi groups, with Ngāi Tahu having the most favourable outcomes and Waikato the least. While his study is useful for understanding the socio-demographic profile of individual iwi groups, it has paid little attention to demographic growth patterns.

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<sup>8</sup> At the time of writing this paper, Tūhoe reached an agreement with the Crown in September 2012 for \$170 million settlement (Young, 2012). Given the timing of this announcement, this does not have an impact on the data analysis of this thesis.

<sup>9</sup> Also known as A to J's or AJHR's, it is a collection of New Zealand Government-related reports that have been published every year since 1858. The reports cover a range of subjects that document the work and activities of Government departments or interests of the Government of the day (National Library, 2010).

More recently, Walling, Small-Rodriguez and Kukutai (2009) used data from the census and the Waikato-Tainui tribal registers, to identify potential gaps between the statistical needs of iwi authorities and official data. Although they looked at intercensal growth and cohort patterns, their study was limited to a single iwi to illustrate their case.

Given that the study of iwi population is severely outdated and limited in its scope, this thesis provides a timely and comprehensive empirical study of iwi population growth patterns. In so doing it also considers the role of ethnic mobility in explaining these growth patterns.

### **1.3 Ethnic mobility: Explaining indigenous population growth**

Current theoretical understandings in demography emphasise demographic processes, that is, births, deaths and migration as the direct determinants of population change. This understanding is central to demography. As Poston and Bouvier note: “When populations change in size, composition, or distribution, the changes depend solely on one or more of the three demographic processes” (2010, p. 5). Though the demographic model is a powerful and well-used model, it is limited when it comes to explaining change in socially defined populations, such as those based on ethnicity or indigeneity. This is because ethnicity is a socially complex and fluid concept (Nagel, 1994). Although empirical literature situated in North America acknowledges that a proportion of indigenous population growth has been due to natural increase, a significant portion of growth could only be ascribed to non-demographic factors, in particular, changes in individual-level racial identification or, more specifically, ethnic mobility.

Ethnic mobility is the broad term used to describe the process of individuals changing the way they identify themselves over time or in different contexts (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). For example, changes in identification can occur when individuals return different ethnic responses in different data collection instruments such as an employment application versus passport application. Another way is when individuals alter their ethnic responses at different points in time (e.g. 1991 and 1996 census). This thesis specifically focuses on the way in



which persons change their ethnic responses between censuses administered within the same country.

Before proceeding, three important points need to be highlighted about this concept of ethnic mobility. First, some of the literature gives the impression that individuals change their ethnic *identification* and therefore, change their *identity* arbitrarily. However, we cannot assume this idea from census data. Ethnic identity is a much more complex concept that refers to the *subjective* sense of belonging to an ethnic group or culture (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). In other words ethnic identity refers to people's psychological, emotional and familial ties to an ethnic group, whereas ethnic identification refers to what a person *says* about their identity in the census (Callister, Didham, & Kivi, 2009). Hence, an individual may have a stable sense of ethnic identity (e.g. networks, cultural practices, attitudes and so forth) but, for various reasons, may express their ethnic affiliation differently in the census. In focusing solely on individual identification, this thesis argues that ethnic mobility is mainly contextual, that is, the decision to change ethnic responses are influenced by the broader political, social and economic contexts, including the way in which ethnic questions are constructed in the census and how these questions are interpreted.

Second, although respondents have the final say on their ethnic affiliation, it can be inferred that the individual is ultimately and solely responsible for ethnic mobility. However, an in-depth examination of identification patterns reveals that an individual's decision can be influenced by how ethnic questions or categories are constructed in the census: "...identification decisions in [the census] may be influenced by a range of contextual factors including how, where and why the question is asked" (Callister et al., 2009). For example, the Māori ethnic population experienced significant growth between the 1991 and 1996 censuses as a result of the wording of the ethnicity question encouraging multiple responses (Kukutai, 2001; Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-a). In addition, State authorities can categorise or classify ethnic responses according to a classification standard. However, classification standards can change between censuses, and thus affect how ethnic responses are classified. For example, in the 2006 iwi classification standard, new iwi categories were introduced (see Appendix D). One of these

new categories was Ngāti Pāhauwera, but in 2001 responses were previously coded to the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa iwi category (Errington, Cotterell, von Randow, & Milligan, 2008).

Third, the concept of ethnic mobility assumes that individuals have unlimited choices. However, individuals can be limited by the options that are available in the census:

Despite...a strong element of choice in ethnic identification, ethnic options are not infinite. All societies set limits on the ethnicities available for members to choose among, providing vocabularies of ethnicity derived from myths of origin and beliefs about the purity or composition of populations (Nagel, 1996, p. 22).

Moreover, individual's decisions can also be constrained by how *others* may perceive them. With the development of the modern state, authorities decided to impose a "classification grid" on its populations using ethnic criteria in the census (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). Thus, the census not only reflected social realities, but it also created a particular vision of that social reality (Kertzer & Arel, 2002):

the use of identity categories in censuses – as in other mechanisms of state administration – creates a particular vision of social reality. All people are assigned to a single category, and hence are conceptualized as sharing, with a certain number of others, a common collective identity. This, in turn, encourages people to view the world as composed of distinct groups of people...Rather than view social links as complex and social groupings situational, the view promoted by the census is one in which populations are divided into neat categories. (p. 5)

New Zealand is an exemplary case in which the State imposed its own views of Māori identities. This is discussed in more detail in chapter three but, in summary, early Māori identified themselves according to a kinship network of *iwi* (*tribe*), *hapū* (*sub-tribe*) and *whānau* (*family*) (Broughton, 1993). However, in enumerating the Māori population between 1974 and 1901, the State used a different concept of *principal tribe* to categorise Māori.

Ethnic identification choices are not always affected by instrumental changes (i.e. changes to the census). For example, although the introduction of racial self-

reporting in the 1960 US census was a key factor in explaining the significant growth in the American Indian population growth between 1950 and 1960, it was not a determining factor of substantial growth after 1960 (Nagel, 1995). This implied that for some *reason*, other than instrumental changes, individuals were increasingly identifying as American Indian. Nagel (1995) provides a clue, arguing that broader political dynamics can influence ethnic identification decisions. Using the US as an example, she theorises that federal Indian policies, American ethnic politics and American Indian political activism were three major political forces that she believed brought about what she terms an *ethnic renewal* amongst the American Indian population. Ethnic renewal in refers to both individual and collective processes. For individuals, this involved acquiring or asserting a new ethnic identity by either “reclaiming a discarded identity, replacing or amending an identity in an existing ethnic repertoire, or filling a personal ethnic void” (Nagel, 1995, p. 948). For a collective, ethnic renewal involves “the reconstruction of an ethnic community by current or new community members who build or rebuild institutions, culture, history and traditions” (Nagel, 1995, p. 948). Thus, the macro-political factors pertaining to the situation in the US, stimulated the revival of American Indian identities, thus encouraging persons, particularly of mixed descent, to identify with an American Indian identity.

Hence, the study of ethnic mobility as a factor of indigenous population growth does not just focus on identifying the magnitude of change in ethnic identification but requires a deeper understanding of the context underlying individual’s ethnic decisions. In other words, there is a need to understand the broader factors that can influence ethnic identification decisions, including the State’s role in constructing ethnic questions and categories, and managing ethnic responses.

#### **1.4 Changing patterns of iwi identification**

In New Zealand, relatively little research has been undertaken on ethnic mobility, let alone, patterns of iwi identification. That said, the research that has been published to date, indicated that ethnic mobility is as much a feature of population change in New Zealand as it is for other indigenous populations.

There are three key studies that are worth briefly considering here. The first is an intercensal consistency study that used a one percent probabilistically linked individual census recorder. The study found that an increased number of respondents had ticked multiple ethnic groups in 1996 compared to 1991. This meant that between 1991 and 1996, the Māori ethnicity group made a net gain of 17.7 percent (Coope & Piesse, 1997). Carter, Hayward, Blakely and Shaw (2009) pointed out a mixture of reasons for the observed increase in the number identified as Māori in 1996, such as changes in the ethnicity question between censuses, changes in the socio-political environment, the establishment of new ethnic categories, intermarriage and changes in the political structure. A more recent study on ethnic mobility in the New Zealand census focused on the significant growth in the *New Zealander* ethnic group. Responses between 2001 and 2006 grew from 91,578 to 429,429, a phenomenal increase of over 368 percent (Brown & Gray, 2009). Again, using probability matching methods, the authors found that most of this growth was due to persons who identified *New Zealander European* in 2001, subsequently identifying as *New Zealander* in 2006 (Kukutai & Didham, 2009). Using data obtained from the *Survey of Family, Income and Employment* (SoFIE), Carter et al (2009) found a small but significant change in self-identified ethnicity, particularly amongst Māori, Pacific Islanders, and Asian ethnic groups.

In studying iwi population change, this thesis considers ethnic mobility as an important determinant. As mentioned earlier, observations of iwi data at the aggregate and individual iwi levels indicated growth trajectories that cannot solely be explained by natural increase. However, in establishing the significance of ethnic mobility, this thesis not only quantifies population growth but also attempts to explain these changes by situating them within a broader context. The concept of ethnic mobility implies that individuals change ethnic responses because of instrumental changes and the broader macro-political context. Therefore, this requires an examination of the changes that have occurred in the New Zealand census, that are likely to impact iwi identification and the classification of those responses. Between 1991 and 2006, the iwi question and classification standards changed, but were more pronounced between 1991 and 1996. Furthermore, the

concept of ethnic mobility suggests that the macro-political environment had a significant impact on views of ethnic identity, and thus saw a significant increase in indigenous populations since the 1970s. The resurgence of ethnic identities is just as relevant to the demographic study of iwi. Inspired by the socio-political movements at the international level, similar movements occurred in 1970s New Zealand, thus paving the way for the renaissance of Māori culture and identity. The rise in iwi identities came as a result of Māori desires to address their own social and economic issues. These political movements saw significant changes in legislation that raised the profile of iwi authorities as the core political and economic mechanism for Māori development in general, particularly surrounding Treaty and raupatu settlements. The growing presence of iwi saw the return of iwi data in the census. Consequently, the salience of iwi and tribal registers has seen a significant growth in iwi identification. Thus, the study of changing iwi population is essentially an acknowledgement of the impact of the socio-political and economic context on iwi identification responses.

## **1.5 Rationale**

There are two broad reasons for undertaking this thesis topic. The first is to address a major gap in the empirical studies of Māori and iwi demography specifically. As already noted, very little literature has been produced in relation to iwi identification patterns in contemporary New Zealand. Studying the iwi growth patterns between 1991 and 2006 are important because of the growing political and economic significance of iwi and Māori during this period. Today, iwi authorities Government agencies and other key stakeholders rely on iwi statistics for policy and planning purposes, particularly for purposes pertaining to the Treaty of Waitangi settlements. It is important that these iwi statistics are *accurate* and *relevant* statistics on iwi populations (Lowe, 1989; Walling et al., 2009). As such it is envisaged that this thesis will assist users of iwi, and Māori data in general, to understand the broader dynamics underlying population change. In particular, it intends to advance a greater understanding of the factors that have influenced the growth of iwi populations and how this might play out in future years. Therefore, this entails an in-depth look at the role of ethnic mobility and the factors that drive this phenomenon. However, this research also

acknowledges some of the criticisms of ethnic mobility, particularly the sensitivities surrounding *ethnic identity*. As discussed earlier, some of the literature on ethnic mobility suggests that individuals change their ethnic identities capriciously. In response, this thesis argues that for the most part, individuals who change their ethnic identification make these decisions in relation to the broader context. Furthermore, this thesis contends that individual ethnic identification decisions are for the most part defined by ethnic categories imposed by the State. This research, therefore, focuses on iwi identification changes and situates these decisions within the broader macro-political context, that is, it does not delve into the individual meanings of associated with identity.

The second reason for undertaking this thesis is to consider the implications of iwi population growth patterns on theories of ethnicity. Traditional perspectives frequently view ethnic identities as fixed, inherent and kinship based (Barth, 1969; van den Berghe, 1978). In terms of ethnic identification, individuals would consistently identify an ethnic group, via ethnic categories in the census, consistently. However, in recent years, there is growing evidence to suggest that ethnic identities are fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed (Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Nagel, 1996; Nobles, 2000; Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976). This thesis study observes three key patterns that challenge traditional views of ethnicity. First, the iwi identified population has constantly increased over time and the growth patterns for specific five year periods have been significantly greater in comparison to the MEG. Second, there is considerable variation in growth trajectories between individual iwi and intercensal periods. Third, cohort analyses indicate higher than expected numbers at younger ages and middle-ages, suggesting that there is a need to take account of age and sex in studying iwi population growth. Together, these findings provide significant support for contemporary perspectives that highlight the fluid and contingent nature of ethnic identification in forums such as the census. However, rather than reject traditional views of Māori identity, this study acknowledges that ethnic identities are highly complex and that shifting identification is about connecting and reconnecting with whakapapa (genealogy).

## 1.6 Thesis structure

In order to achieve the purposes and objectives of this thesis, it is structured into eight chapters. The first three chapters (including this chapter) provide a contextual and theoretical background for understanding ethnic identities and changing patterns of ethnic identification in New Zealand. Chapter two specifically focuses on theories of ethnicity, its relevance to Māori and iwi identities and the role of the census in constructing ethnic identities. It begins with a brief discussion of the evolution of ethnicity as a concept and as a subject of sociological inquiry; only to find that it is a concept that is highly complex with little consensus on its meaning. The chapter then presents how the concept is best understood as a debate between two major perspectives – *primordialism* and *social constructionism*. Although primordial views align more closely to traditional conceptions of Māori identity, it is a paradigm that is insufficient for explaining contemporary patterns of ethnic identifications. In response, the chapter proposes social constructionism as a more useful paradigm in which to understand iwi identification. This is presented in a theoretical model that shows that iwi identification is ultimately determined by broader social, political and economic factors.

Chapter three provides a historical account of how Māori identities have been portrayed in the New Zealand census, relative to the wider social and political context over time. This chapter illustrates the idea that ethnic questions and categories are socially constructed.

The following chapter serves as a bridge between the contextual and data analysis. Chapter four outlines the methodology pertaining to the data analysis. This paper uses New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings as the main data source, and explains the relevant details about how it is administered, who administers it and how it collects iwi population data. Furthermore, the chapter highlights some of the issues are in the collection of iwi data and the impact this has on the data analyses. The chapter finally specifies the statistical methods that are used to conduct the data analyses.

The next four chapters specifically focus on the analysing tribal population growth patterns. This is conducted in two parts. Chapter five analyses the population growth patterns of the total iwi population in comparison to other population groups - Māori ethnic group, Māori ancestry, and the New Zealand total population. The purpose of this exercise is to compare the impacts of the demographic determinants on each population group, but to also highlight that different population groups have different factors driving growth. The chapter also highlights that the iwi population growth is a summation of the growth patterns of many individual iwi, which implies that the total iwi population growth is determined by the experiences of single iwi. This requires an analysis of individual iwi. For this purpose, the second part of the data analysis section focuses on case studies of four selected iwi – Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe.

Chapter six begins with the first set of case studies of Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. These two iwi have been selected for the purposes of illustrating the impact of the Treaty settlements environment on tribal growth patterns. Both iwi received landmark Treaty and raupatu (land confiscation) settlements from the crown in 1995 and 1997 respectively. These settlements were particularly significant because of the large financial reparation involved and the media attention surrounding their settlements at the time. This media attention, size of the settlement reparation, and size of the iwi population and geographic region provides further context to the iwi growth patterns that both iwi experienced.

The next chapter switches its focus to study the growth patterns of two relatively smaller iwi located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty –Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. Like the previous two iwi, Ngāti Awa also settled with the Crown but in 2003. However, Ngāti Awa received much less financial reparation than Ngāi Tahu and Waikato, and had to a smaller degree, public media attention. However, analysing Ngāti Awa population patterns helps us to determine whether similar changes occur at the timing of their settlement like that the larger iwi. The final case study considers the patterns of Tūhoe. Tūhoe have an interesting historical context. Firstly, Tūhoe representatives are currently in negotiations with the Crown, and therefore have not settled yet. Secondly, Tūhoe have had a history of tense



relationships with the Crown, and in recent years, has drawn a mixture of media attention that has in some respects, shown the resilience of Tūhoe. Thirdly, Tūhoe directly negotiated with the Crown as opposed to going through the Waitangi Tribunal. And, fourthly, Tūhoe have constantly asserted that they never signed the Treaty. However, most of the media attention has occurred after the census focal period and, has not yet settled. Therefore, we would expect significantly different patterns compared to the other three iwi, which gives further impetus to Lowe's 1989, that the context surrounding iwi are unique but, also that the broader environment does have an impact on growth patterns. The final chapter concludes with a general overview of the main themes of the thesis. It particularly focuses on the key findings from the data analyses and relates this back to theories of ethnic identities.

## Chapter Two: Theorising ethnicity, Māori/iwi identity and the census

### 2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter set out the overall context and purpose of this thesis. The resurgence of ethnicities since World War II has been accompanied by a remarkable increase in the size of indigenous populations in the wealthy, pluralistic settler states of North America and Australasia. This has led demographers and other social scientists to examine the basis of indigenous population growth with a focus on ethnic mobility. This thesis draws on the ethnic mobility literature, much of which has its genesis in North America, to undertake a detailed empirical study of recent iwi population growth patterns in the census. In order to complete this task, this chapter first develops and provides a theoretical framework, drawing on literature from the fields of sociology and demography. In so doing I use the term *ethnicity* in a broad sense to refer to a collective of people who are either defined by race, ancestry, indigene, aboriginal, nationality or tribe. Where appropriate, I use more specific terms when referring to a particular type of ethnic identity (e.g. racial, tribal) or ethnic identity process (e.g. ethnic attachment versus ethnic boundaries).

Given the theoretical complexity of ethnicity, I begin with a brief discussion of its evolution as a concept and as a subject of sociological inquiry. I then focus on two dominant theoretical paradigms of ethnicity – *primordialism* and *social constructionism*, and discuss their relevance for this thesis topic. To briefly foreshadow my argument, I propose that while a primordial view may align more closely to traditional conceptions of Māori identity, it is insufficient for explaining ethnic mobility – that is, changing patterns of ethnic identification in the census, of which iwi identification may be seen as a specific example. Instead, I argue that social constructionist theories of ethnicity, which emphasise the influence of context on identification patterns, are more useful. I discuss these paradigms with respect to Māori identity generally and iwi identity specifically. I conclude with a theoretical framework for understanding changing iwi identification patterns in the contemporary context.

## **2.2 Theorising Ethnicity**

*Ethnicity* is a relatively modern term, although the concept is ancient. Ethnicity is a derivative of the Greek word *ethnos* meaning *nation*. Nation, in this sense, referred to a collective of people who shared a common blood tie or descent as opposed to a political unit (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Over time, the concept expanded to define groups based on religious criteria, but was generally applied to “the others” who were not of the common Christian or Jewish faiths (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). For example, *ethnos* was synonymous with *Gentiles* (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). The concept emerged in the English language around the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but came to assume a derogatory meaning, referring principally to those who were pagans or heathens (Fenton, 2003). By the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *ethnos* reverted to its original Greek concept of blood ties, without any reference to religious differences (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Although the concept has been long-standing, the term ethnicity first appeared in the English language in the 1950s. Since then multiple definitions and understandings of ethnicity have evolved with little indication of a consensus amongst theorists (Hale, 2004; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Given the diversity of views, social analysts have tended to emphasise two dominant but opposing theoretical perspectives of ethnicity - *primordialism* and *social constructionism*. These are described in more detail below.

### **2.2.1 Primordialist theories of ethnicity**

Initially primordialism was not exclusively connected to the problem of ethnicity (Fenton, 2003) but came to be understood as an ethnic paradigm through the work of Shils (1957) and Geertz (1973). The term primordial means “existing at or from the beginning, primeval” (Oxford University Press, n.d.). A primordialist view of ethnicity emphasises the fixed, natural and innate nature of ethnic group membership and attachments. One assumption is that the criteria that define a group, such as culture, physical traits and so forth, are evenly distributed amongst members within a group (Hale, 2004). Another assumption is that ethnic groups do not change over time. This is consistent with the idea that ethnicities are enduring but also suggests that ethnic groups maintain their identity markers over generations.

In addition, Geertz (1973) infers that primordial attachments are a natural given, that is, by simply being born into an ethnic community one is not only bound to their fellow kinfolk, but there is a “given-ness” that stems from the congruities of blood, speech and customs that have an ineffable and overpowering compulsion about them. In this regard, kinship refers to biological factors of blood or descent, with the implication that individuals can only become a member of an ethnic group by birth. For Geertz (1973) it was not only descent and blood ties that formed the basis of ethnicity, but also language, customs and religious beliefs. Ties to territory, recognisable membership and a common mentality have also been identified as important elements of primordial ethnicity.

The main shortcoming of primordialism is that it does not consider the broader context in which ethnic identities, attachments and formations exist. Although ethnicities have existed since the beginning of time (Harris, Blue, & Griffith, 1995; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Smith, 1981), some ethnicities have reformed or dissolved in response to political, social, geographical or economic changes. For example, the former Yugoslavia was a single nation composed of over 20 ethnic groups but civil warring in the 1990s lead to its dissolution and fragmentation into seven independent states.

Primordialism also neglects the reality that people migrate and, in some cases, have been forcibly dispersed from their traditional homelands. This is important because migrants and their descendants may not have the same allegiance to their ethnic origins or homelands (Gans, 1979). These wider factors are important to consider because of the implications for ethnic stability and change.

In terms of ethnic identification, a primordial perspective suggests that individuals consistently identify their ethnicity, regardless of contextual or individual-level changes. However, the literature shows that ethnic groups do not exist in isolation, and that changes in the macro-political, social and economic environment do matter. In this regard, social constructionism is one paradigm that can assist in our understanding and directly challenges primordialism. If primordialism assumes that ethnic attachments are fixed, intrinsic and kinship

based then social constructionism holds that they are fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed.

### **2.2.2 Social constructionist theories of ethnicity**

Social constructionism is a sociological theory that focuses on how phenomena, ideas or objects are constructed by individuals, groups or organisations in relation to the social context (Marshall, 1998). Social constructionism has become extremely widespread, well beyond sociology. It challenges at once the ideas that identity is given naturally and the idea that it is produced purely by acts of individual will (Calhoun, 1994, p. 13). For example, the term *family* can be considered a social construct because individuals or groups can set the criteria that define family. Some define the family in terms of the nuclear family whereas Government agencies, such as the *Families Commission*<sup>10</sup> adopt a broader definition (Families Commission, 2012b). In terms of understanding ethnicity, social constructionism suggests that ethnic identities and ethnic groups are created by people or organisations relative to the wider context.

A key aspect of social constructionism is that individuals, groups and organisations are seen to play an active role in the construction of ethnic group identities. One way in which agency is exercised is through the identification of ethnic criteria that are used to define membership and belonging. Petersen (1997) provides a comprehensive framework of criteria that have been used to define ethnic identities or groups in different times and places. These include:

- Common geographic origin;
- Migratory status;
- Race;
- Language or dialect;
- Religious faith(s);
- Ties that transcend kinship, neighbourhood, and community boundaries;
- Shared traditions, values and symbols;
- Share literature, folklore and music;
- Food preferences;
- Settlement and employment patterns;
- Special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and current residence;

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<sup>10</sup> The *Families Commission* is an autonomous Crown entity in New Zealand. Its primary function is to advocate on behalf of families in general, and to research, evaluate and build a knowledge base of information about families and whanau (Families Commission, 2012a).

- Participation in institutions that specifically maintain the group;
- An internal sense of distinctiveness;
- An external perception of distinctiveness.

Rather than focus on the cultural elements that defined ethnic groups, Fredrik Barth (1969) theorised the processes by which ethnic boundaries were created and sustained. He argued that boundaries persisted despite interethnic contact, interdependence and changing individual participation or membership.

Also in the social constructivist vein, instrumentalist conceptions of ethnicity highlight the advantages to be gained (whether material, emotional etc.) by claiming a particular ethnic identity. Instrumentalism suggests that ethnic groups are socially fabricated as a *means* of achieving a particular goal or furthering a particular cause. Hutchinson and Smith (1996) stated that instrumentalists treat ethnicity as “a social, political, and cultural resource” for different interest- and status- groups” (p. 8). Instrumentalism is particularly useful in the study of the role of *elites* in the formation of ethnic groups and identities. Firstly, elites can manipulate or construct ethnic symbols that are essential for gaining the support of the masses and achieving political goals (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). For example, *blood quantum* laws were enacted by the State to define American Indian identities, and thus determine eligibility for federal benefits. For decades, tribal authorities have set their own criteria for membership but, since the introduction of the *Indian Reorganisation Act 1934*, blood quantum were used but, have varied by tribes. However, revenues realised from profitable economic developments such as gambling casinos, or from land claim settlements, have seen tribal authorities set more restrictive rules to limit membership. Secondly, the instrumental view examines elitists’ strategies for maximising individual preferences by joining a particular ethnic group as a means of achieving personal goals (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Rata (2000)

Despite the origins of retribalisation in the pan-Māori ethnification movement, a movement supported by Pākehā bi-culturalists in order to provide benefits for all Māori, only those Māori who can demonstrate genealogical links to the tribe are eligible to benefit from the new economic developments. (p. 20)

For example, in most, if not all, cases individuals are required register in order to access iwi educational grants, scholarships or savings schemes (e.g. Ngāi Tahu website). This typically requires individuals to know their whakapapa connection to the iwi or an associated hapū (see Appendix D). One issue with instrumentalism is that it neglects to take into account the social costs involved in obtaining material *rewards* (Kukutai, 2010). Another short-coming is that instrumentalism assumes that ethnic groups or individuals are primarily motivated by material rewards in the form of monies or assets, and in effect ignores the affective dimensions of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

Another key tenet of social constructionist theories of ethnicity is that ethnic identities are formed and reformed in response to changes in the broader social context. As Nagel (1994) has argued, the ethnic identity that a person or group claims depends on the context it is employed. Thus, the “chosen ethnic identity is determined by the individual’s perception of its meaning to different audiences, its salience in different social contexts, and its utility in different settings” (Nagel, 1994, p. 155). In her analysis of the ethnic renewal of American Indian identity from the 1970s onwards, Nagel observed that four different levels of identity were available to individuals: *sub-tribal*, *tribal*, *regional*, and *pan-tribal* (Nagel, 1994). The identity which was seen as salient depended very much on the context. Tribal identity was most important when engaging with people from another tribe, but in other settings a pan-tribal Native American or American Indian identity prevailed. The idea of American Indian was, of course, a colonial invention that had assumed new meanings. Similar observations have been made with respect to Māori (Broughton, 1993).

Some theorists have argued that ethnic identities have become largely symbolic with little effort or cost involved (see for example, Gans (1979)). In this way individuals identify with an ethnic group by developing a nostalgic allegiance to the culture or homeland, without having to incorporate the culture or traditions into everyday living. It has been argued, for example, while Irish immigrants once suffered heavy discrimination in the US, their descendants can express their *Irish-ness* at public events such as *Saint Patrick’s Day* without having to be a part

of any ethnic organisation or community. Their attachment is for all intents and purposes symbolic in the sense of involving little time, effort or cost. The implications of Gan's theory are that ethnic attachments do not have the same level of meaning for members of a group. What is lacking, however, is the acknowledgement of the ways in which ethnic identities are shaped by forces external to the group.

Ethnic categories enforce a particular world view that societies are comprised of very distinct and *neat* categories (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). Collecting ethnic statistics is not only a statistical exercise, but a political endeavour. The political basis of ethnic counting and classification is evident in the way Māori identities have been articulated in the census since 1857, which is described in more detail in the following chapter. Suffice to note that the conceptualisation of Māori has been ever changing and complex:

The definition of indigenous identity for official purposes is especially contentious, given the intrinsic link between indigeneity, and claims to territory and self-determination...the matter of who qualifies as indigenous for state recognition and reward is largely determined by bureaucratic rules and classifications (Kukutai, 2011, p. 33)

The political nature of ethnic data are evident in the way in which they are used to monitor the economic and social well-being of ethnic minorities relative to the dominant group, and are tied to political policies, programmes and initiatives (Kukutai, 2004; Nagel, 1994; Nobles, 2000; Rallu, Piche, & Simon, 2006). In recent years, dominant ideological constructions of ethnic categories have been challenged by ethnic minorities and those advocating anti-racist agendas ideologies (Rallu et al., 2006). As a result, settler States in particular, have used ethnic categories in the census as a tool for positive or affirmative policies (Morning & Sabbagh, 2005; Rallu et al., 2006). As Nagel (1994) argues, "Political policies and designations have enormous power to shape patterns of ethnic identification when politically controlled resources are distributed along ethnic lines"(p. 158). Finally, ethnic statistics are a means of controlling populations by way of informing political decisions, particularly in regards to the allocation of resources. This is particularly important in the New Zealand context,



particularly when it involves remedying injustices relating to the colonisation period (Pool, 1991).

What do social constructionist conceptions of ethnicity imply for the study of iwi identification patterns in the census? One is that individuals' identification with an iwi is likely to change over time. As chapter one noted, studies in North America have documented ethnic mobility as a significant driver of American Indian population growth (Eschbach et al., 1998; Nagel, 1995; Robitaille et al., 2010). In New Zealand, several studies have identified the occurrence of ethnic mobility in the census and in surveys (Brown & Gray, 2009; Callister et al., 2009; Carter et al., 2009; Coope & Piesse, 1997), but have not quantified the potential impact on Māori demographic trajectories, let alone for iwi.

Ethnic mobility occurs when individuals change their ethnic identification between censuses or in different settings. Drawing on the social constructionist literature, I argue that these shifts ought to be understood within a broader macro-political context. This context, moreover, also influences the ways in which the State engages in ethnic counting and classification. Thus, the decisions that individuals and the State make with regards to ethnic identity and identification are not made in isolation but are made in the context of the broader socio-political factors.

Internationally, indigenous peoples have banded from the margins of society to become major players in the global order (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). This indigenous movement was a major catalyst in progressing the politics of self-determination, autonomy and cultural identity (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). However, defining indigenous peoples has somewhat been challenging because of the diversity of indigenous people's experiences, ranging from isolated communities in developing countries, to urbanised communities fully involved in contemporary societies (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Despite this complexity, indigenous peoples view themselves as distinct from other ethnic groups because they have a unique standing within international laws and there is some acknowledgement that they have special status as indigenous peoples (Kymlicka, 2007). In New Zealand, Māori are the tangata whenua (people of the land) or indigenous peoples of New

Zealand by reason of first occupation, non-domination, cultural distinctiveness and self-identification (Kukutai & Pool, 2008). However, Māori perspectives of Māori and iwi identity are just as diverse, as illustrated in the next section.

### 2.3 Māori and iwi identity

Prior to the arrival and settlement of Pākehā, Māori did not identify themselves as a whole collective or nation (Broughton, 1993; Durie, 1998). Durie (1998) indicates that the evolution of Māori as a collective national identity began around the time of the signing of the 1835 *Declaration of Independence*<sup>11</sup> though Broughton (1993) suggests that its popular usage began somewhat later, in the 1850s. The term *Māori* meant *normal, usual, natural or common*, and therefore, Māori as an all-encompassing ethnic group did not exist. Māori only used this term to refer to themselves in relation to Pākehā, the *foreigners* (Broughton, 1993; Webber, 2008). Instead, Māori society was structured in terms of *iwi (tribe)*, *hapū (sub-tribe)* and *whānau (family)* (Broughton, 1993).

Iwi refers to an extended kinship group of people who descend from a common ancestor. Hapū is generally understood to be a smaller kinship group of the iwi, but, the main point is that both are kinship groups with whom the members shared descent from an ancestor. A core feature of indigenous or tribal identity was whakapapa (genealogy): “...the whakapapa of a tribe is a comprehensible paradigm of reality...” (Walker, 1989). There are two key concepts of the term whakapapa. Firstly, whakapapa literally means to “lie flat” (Moorfield, 2012) or “place in layers, lay one upon another” (Williams, 2001, p. 259). Secondly, whakapapa means to recite one’s genealogy in proper order (Moorfield, 2012; Williams, 2001). Therefore, whakapapa is a narrative of genealogy, layer upon layer, ancestor upon ancestor, to oneself (Te Rito, 2007). However, whakapapa is not only a recital of one’s biological links to persons but also to the natural environment:

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<sup>11</sup> The *Declaration of Independence* is a handwritten declaration consisting of four articles that assert the independence of (New Zealand) under the rule of the *United Tribes of New Zealand* represented by Māori chiefs (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012a).

It is to do with that sense of being essentially at one with nature and our environment, rather than at odds with it. As tangata whenua we are people of the land – who have grown out of the land, Papatūānuku, our Earth mother. Having knowledge of whakapapa helps ground us to the earth. We have a sense of belonging here, a sense of purpose, a *raison d'être* which extends beyond the sense of merely existing on this planet (Te Rito, 2007, p. 4).

Royal (1992) implies that whakapapa is a natural part of human existence, and therefore reflecting primordial view that Māori identity is natural – “whakapapa is an inescapable fact of human existence. Whether you know your parents or not, as a human you are the product of a group of people brought together in a number of antecedental events”(p. 21). Tribal groups were distinguished by whakapapa, which typically bore the name of their eponymous ancestor, and natural environment: “...identity reflected historical, social and geographic characteristics” (Durie, 1998, p. 53). These sentiments of tribal identity and whakapapa at the pinnacle of Māori identity are still echoed today.

A range of perspectives on Māori identity exist reflecting the tension between primordialism and social constructionism. There are a number of key elements that bear testimony to traditional views of indigenous identity. For some commentators *tribal* identity overrides *Māori* identity. Thus, for Tūhoe leader John Rangihau (1992, p. 190) being Māori is “...absolutely dependent on [his] history as a Tūhoe person as against being a Māori person”. He goes on to say:

It seems to me there is no such thing as Māoritanga because Māoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Māori. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tūhoe person and all I can share in is Tūhoe history (Rangihau, 1992, p. 190).

The idea of tribal identity as the fundamental building block of Māori identity was reiterated at the Hui Taumata held in Ngaruawahia in 1984. Representatives of Māori felt that Māori should address their own social and economic needs through iwi organisations as opposed to Government agencies. As a result, the *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985* legitimised *traditional* iwi society that existed in 1840, into modern-day New Zealand (Barcham, 1998). Hekia Parata, Sir Tipene

O'Regan and Charles Croft are a few of the commentators who “see the role of iwi as paramount in any definition of Māori identity” (Barcham, 1998, p. 308). Reflecting on pre-European society, tribal identity in modern times predominantly means kinship ties through whakapapa. However, in pre-modern times, Māori predominantly lived within their tribal rohe (customary area) (Maaka, 1994) or lived within their tribal communities (Ballara, 1998), suggesting that tribal identity in the modern context, includes living within one’s tribal rohe.

Other commentators have stressed other key elements of Māori identity that go beyond whakapapa and tribal affiliation. McIntosh (2005) observes that while whakapapa predominantly determines one’s Māori identity, it comes with responsibilities and obligations: “It comes with a set of expectations that someone will not only ‘be’ Māori, as indicated by knowledge of one’s whakapapa lines, but will also ‘know’ what being Māori is and will ‘act’ Māori” (p. 44). These aspects of Māori identity include: matauranga Māori (Māori knowledge/education), proficiency in te reo (language), observance of tikanga (customs) and participation on marae (McIntosh, 2005; Stevenson, 2004; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002). In addition, Durie (2001) classifies these elements into two distinct categories - “external” and “internal” ethnic identity:

**External**

- Language
- Participation in ethnic functions
- Observance of ethnic traditions

**Internal**

- Knowledge of values and history
- Moral sense of obligation
- Affective attachment to group

Sir Āpirana Ngata (1874-1950) and Sir James Hēnare (1911-1989) particularly stressed the importance of te reo Māori as a core component of identity. Ngata stated: “Ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te korero Māori ehara koe i te Māori – if you do not speak Māori you are not Māori” (cited in Kāretu, 1993). Similarly, Hēnare saw te reo was fundamental to Māori cultural identity: “The language is the core of our Māori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori. If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then I ask our own people who are we?” (cited in Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012f).

It is clear from the literature, that descent or kinship ties are fundamental to Māori identity from a traditional perspective. Although there are many elements that constitute Māori identity, especially language, a common thread has been whakapapa, which predominantly reflects primordial views of ethnicity:

Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and a gift of birth. It is the social component of the ira, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations. Every individual is a beneficiary of two whakapapa lines, the mother's and the father's. Sometimes a child can claim the whakapapa of only one parent. This single whakapapa line is sufficient to define a place within the hapū of that one parent. Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, 'I am Māori' (Mead, 2003, p. 42).

This primordial view is further enforced at the organisational level. As part of their Treaty of Waitangi obligations, iwi authorities must obtain a mandate from their tribal members through registration. As part of registering with their iwi, members must legitimise their affiliation by specifying their whakapapa (see Appendix F). However, not all Māori share the same traditional views. For contemporary commentators, Māori society does not exist in a vacuum, and therefore, Māori identity is not static.

Some Māori commentators have challenged this view, asserting that policy decisions with regards to need to adapt to the current social context. Tamihere (2004) suggests that for some Māori, identity connections go beyond whakapapa such as living in a community for a long time, and in some cases, for generations:

For many Māori their strongest sense of identity might be with their traditional iwi. For many others, like myself, dislocated from their traditional homeland and tribal structure by the huge upheaval of urbanisation last century, their identity might be as a member of an urban Māori community. (para. 12)

According to contemporary views Māori do not currently live according to traditional Māori society - "Māori are no longer a purely tribal people. In modern day New Zealand, the tribe as a social group no longer provides the degree of meaning and interaction that it once did to many Māori individuals" (Barcham,

1998, p. 303). The most recent census data shows that 84.4 percent of Māori live in statistically defined urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b) and most live outside their tribal rohe (customary boundaries), although the share varies considerably by iwi (Maaka, 1994). The implication of this is that the logistics of participating in tribal activities or responsibilities is limited (Barcham, 1998). Furthermore, only 24.5 percent of Māori<sup>12</sup> speak te reo and 15.9 percent<sup>13</sup> do not know their iwi affiliation. These statistics indicate that not all who identify as Māori in the census live in accordance with the traditional views of Māori and/or Māori identity. Using census data Kukutai (2011) highlights the diversity that exists within the Māori population: "...different criteria yield Māori groups of different sizes and socio-demographic characteristics, with the potential to generate substantively different conclusions about Māori demographic, socio-economic and cultural characteristics" (p. 34).

This social reality has attracted a significant commentary about the nature of Māori identity in the contemporary context. Durie (1998) states that this reality is a product of historical forces - colonisation, Christian conversion, Māori nationalism, and immigration. Specifically referring to her own iwi identity, O'Regan (2001) suggests that although whakapapa is integral, Ngāi/Kāi Tahu identity is predominantly a product of its circumstance. She also asserts that current models and theories about Māori identity are inappropriate and inadequate for Ngāi Tahu and within the Ngāi Tahu context. McIntosh (2005) suggests that contemporary views of Māori identity are developed in response to the "social/material world as well as an accommodation, manipulation and gentle rebuff of the traditional identity" (p. 46).

One main theme that contemporary perspectives suggest is that Māori identity is highly complex because the term can mean different things in different contexts and to different peoples, including persons within the Māori population (Broughton, 1993). Webber (2008) suggests that in order to include persons of both Māori and Pākehā descent, theories about Māori identity needs to not only acknowledge differences but also connection: "This conception of hybridity is

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<sup>12</sup> Of the Māori ethnic group (MEG).

<sup>13</sup> Of the Māori descent population.

capable of explaining the unique social construction and position of hybrid Māori/Pākehā in New Zealand. The existence of multiple realities of human experiences because of ethnic diversity cannot be disregarded” (p. 31). The group that Webber refers to are not insignificant – in 2006, 42.2 percent of the Māori ethnic group also identified with as European ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2006c). Using 2001 and 2006 census data Kukutai and Pool (2008) also found significant differences in terms of Māori identification, material circumstances and demographic status, and therefore, caution against analyses that treat Māori as a homogeneous population with respect to socio-economic position and culture, and therefore, identity. Cultural heterogeneity exists within the Māori population (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). For example, the *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* framework reflects the social reality of Māori as a diverse people (Durie, 1995; Stevenson, 2004). Durie (1998) concluded that:

...it is now evident that there is no single Māori cultural stereotype, and being Māori may have quite different connotations for various groups. Māori are as diverse as any other people – not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity. Nor can a Māori identity any longer be entirely dismissed in favour of a tribal identity. The reality is that some Māori also choose to identify with a particular tribe, others might wish to but have lost access, and others still might be content simply as Māori, with no desire to add a tribal identity. (p. 59)

The literature indicates a diversity of views of Māori identity and reflects the tension that exists between primordialism and social constructionism. At one end of the spectrum, traditionalists assert that *iwi* supersedes *Māori* identity, of which whakapapa is at the core. However, constructionists suggest that the social and demographic reality does not reflect traditional views.

Iwi data was reinstated in the New Zealand census in 1991, primarily in response to the demands by iwi representatives for growing political and social representation, and to meet the requirements by the State to deal primarily with iwi agencies in relation to Māori aspirations (Walling et al., 2009). Iwi statistics remain an important source of information for planning and policy purposes. However, initial observations strongly suggest that the growth of iwi populations since 1991 cannot be explained by natural increase alone. Rather, non-

demographic factors – more specifically, ethnic mobility – appears to be far more significant. In this regard, this thesis uses social constructionism as a more useful framework in which to understand changing iwi identification patterns in the New Zealand census.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

Having identified key theories relating to ethnic identity and identification this section presents a theoretical framework used to investigate patterns of iwi identification in the census. Figure 2.1 contains a diagrammatical representation of a theoretical framework used for the analysis of iwi identification patterns.

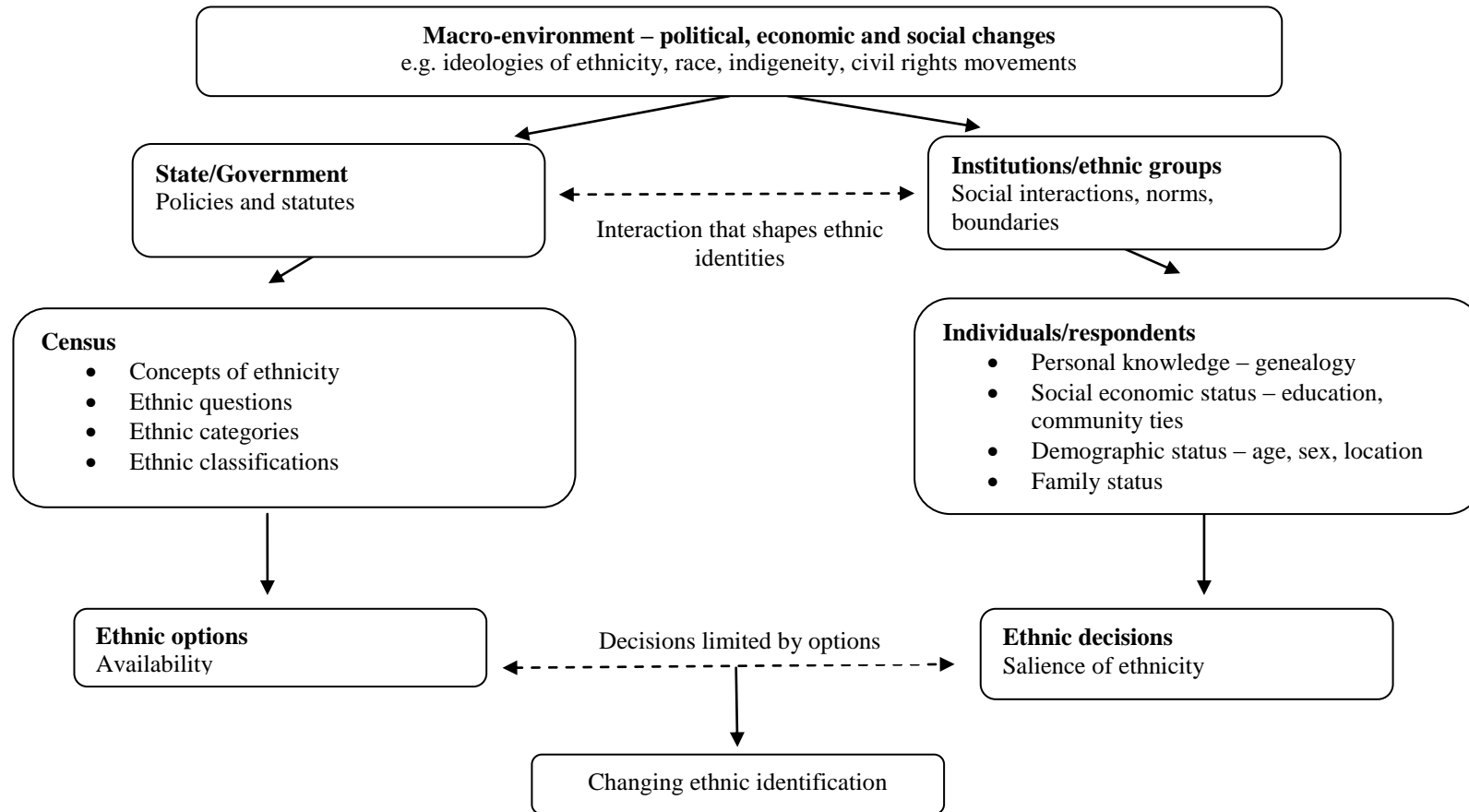
From the bottom up, iwi identification is directly influenced by individuals identifying an iwi in the census. However, it also shows how individual's decisions are confined by the ethnic options that are available in the census. This means that the role of the State needs to be considered in the study of iwi identification growth patterns. The State constructs ethnic questions and categories based on a set of parameters or concepts that define ethnic groups or identities. From a social constructionist perspective, these questions and categories can change in response to the macro-political environment and State policies and statutes, as shown from the top down.

The broader macro-political environment also has an impact on individuals and groups. For example, the socio-political movements of the 1960s era saw a revival in ethnic groups, culture and identities. It was also instrumental in the diffusion of indigenous rights and identities. With this in mind, individuals may feel a sense of pride in identity and therefore, reclaim, replace or amend an identity through the census (Nagel, 1995). However, the framework also takes into consideration the impact of the immediate environment on individuals' ethnic identification choices. This includes their whakapapa/genealogy knowledge, socio-economic status (e.g. education, ethnicity, language etc.), demographic characteristics (e.g. age and sex) and family status (e.g. children, parent etc.).



Overall, the framework suggests that studying iwi population patterns is essentially a study of the broader factors. These factors encompass political, social and economic factors, and for the purposes of this thesis, specifically refers to impact that ideologies of ethnicity, indigeneity and socio-political movements have on the revival of ethnic identities and identification.

**Figure 2.1 Theoretical framework for understanding iwi identification patterns**



## 2.5 Summary

Given its theoretical complexity, this chapter began with a brief discussion of the evolution of ethnicity as a concept and as a subject of sociological inquiry. It then focused on two dominant theoretical paradigms of ethnicity – *primordialism* and *social constructionism*, and discussed the relevance of these to Māori and iwi identities. While primordial views align more closely to traditional conceptions of Māori identity, it is a paradigm that is insufficient for explaining ethnic mobility. Instead, this thesis argues that social constructionist theories of ethnicity, which emphasise the influence of context on identification patterns, are a more useful framework. On this notion, this chapter concluded with an outline of the theoretical framework for understanding changing iwi identification patterns in the contemporary context. This framework pointed out that understanding iwi identification patterns, is essentially a matter of understanding the wider context. A significant factor in iwi identification patterns is the role of the State in constructing ethnic identities in the census. The next chapter particularly focuses on this aspect by discussing the historical factors surrounding the construction of Māori identities in the New Zealand census. It will show how the census has changed over time in relation to ideologies of ethnicity and indigenous movements.

## Chapter Three: The historical context of Māori identities in the census

### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter identified two dominant paradigms of ethnicity, and related them to Māori-specific conceptions of identity. It argued that primordialism was insufficient to explain divergent tribal identification patterns in the New Zealand census since 1991 and identified a social constructionist approach as more appropriate. A constructionist model of ethnic identification views tribal identities, tribal categories and tribal identification choices in the census as being socially constructed in relation to the social, political and economic contexts. These processes affect the tribal identification options that are made available to individuals, how they respond, and how tribal data are subsequently reported on. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the key contextual factors surrounding the construction of tribal categories, and more broadly, Māori identities in the New Zealand census, in order to better understand contemporary patterns of iwi identification.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section begins with the construction of Māori identities in the early censuses between 1874 and 1901. The first official Māori census was in 1874, the first general census in 1851 and the Fenton<sup>14</sup> census of 1857/58 highlight the colonial ideologies of race at the time. Tribal data were collected during this period, but the concepts used were somewhat different from those employed nowadays, and were discontinued after the 1901 census. The next section discusses how the concept of *blood quantum* was employed to count and classify Māori from 1906 through to the 1981 census, with a great deal of attention given to the changing composition of the Māori population brought about through intermarriage with Pākehā. During this time, an array of blood quantities were presented in the census, indicating the instability of constructing ethnic categories, but also the unreliability of blood quantum measurements. The discussion then shifts to how the concept underpinning ethnic categories changed significantly in the 1986 census to one of *cultural affiliation*.

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<sup>14</sup> Named after Francis Fenton who was a Government advisor responsible for carrying out the first census of the Māori people.

This allowed individuals to identify multiple ethnic categories based on the principle of *self-identification*. Although the census provided individuals with options, the categories were foremost imposed by the State. The following section focuses on the census period that is especially relevant for this thesis, beginning with the reinstatement of iwi data in 1991, some 90 years after it was discontinued. This discussion traces the resurrection of iwi enumeration to political events of the 1970s and 1980s, namely the Māori Renaissance, and the political and economic resurgence of tribal authorities from the 1980s onwards.

### **3.2 Constructions of Māori and tribal identity: 1874-1901**

The concepts used classify Māori in early censuses predominantly reflected the emergent colonial government's views and interests. Evidence of State control began with the first census in 1851, from which Māori were excluded. Between September 1857 and 1858 the first Māori census was conducted by official Francis Fenton who would later become the Chief Judge of the *Native Land Court*. It was administered separately from the general census using data obtained by respected local enumerators. Fenton's (1860) report was concerned about the decrease in Māori population numbers with the view of identifying the causes of the decline and suitable remedies. In reference to Māori identities, his report used the reference terms *Māori*, *Aboriginal* and *Native* interchangeably (Fenton, 1860; Kukutai, 2012). The first official Māori census was not undertaken until 1874, when the first set of tribal data was collected until the 1901 census. Because there were so many hapū it was administratively easier to aggregate the Māori population according to a three-tiered typology of *principal tribes*, *sub-tribes* and *residence* (Kukutai, 2012). The concept of *principal tribe* had a much narrower meaning than current understandings of tribe (Kukutai, 2012). According to Lowe (1989), a principal tribe encompassed two or more groups that are today recognised as autonomous iwi. Thus, the list of tribes was relatively small compared to the current statistical standard. To put this into perspective, there were 20 principal tribes listed in the 1874 census compared to 102<sup>15</sup> iwi in the 1991 statistical standard (see Appendix D). Some of these principal tribes correspond directly to recognised iwi in the contemporary statistical standard. For

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<sup>15</sup> Includes the number of iwi with unspecified location.

example, in the 1881 census, *Waikato* was listed as a principal tribe, with 13 sub-tribes, in the *Upper Waikato District*. One of these sub-tribes was *Ngātihaua*. In the current statistical standard, there are no sub-tribe levels. *Waikato* is recognised as an *iwi*, but so too is *Ngāti Haua* (see Appendix D).

A clear disconnect existed between official categorisations of Māori and Māori cultural understandings of social organisation. Tribal members were counted according to the tribe in which they resided (Kukutai, 2011). This method did not take into account the dynamism of *iwi/hapū* society nor the way in which tribal members identified themselves. Ballara (1998) argues that tribes were not static entities but were always dynamic, adapting to environmental and population change - “A people responds, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unconsciously, to the situation in which it finds itself, and in the changing circumstances of the 19th century Māori adapted their lifestyle and self-conceptualisation as the need arose” (1998, p. 21). In pre-settlement times, *iwi* and *hapū* units varied in size, dispersion and development stage, which was characteristic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, inter-tribal wars required some tribes to amalgamate or dissolve. On the other hand, as a natural progression, tribal society multiplied and divided over time in response to population expansion –

...their people lived in *hapū* and/or communities of several *hapū* which were often interspersed and intermarried with people of other *iwi*. Typically there was only tenuous, spasmodic and voluntary contact between the various descent groups which had ramified or branched off from the original founding ancestor of the *iwi* (Ballara, 1998, p. 125).

Tribal society also included inter-tribal unions/marriages which meant that progeny could identify themselves to more than one tribe. However, this core feature of tribal society was not reflected in the census because individuals’ could only be assigned to one tribe, based on their place of residence.

Tribal data was eventually dropped after 1901 and while the reasons for this is sketchy. Rallu et al (2006) offer a theoretical understanding for why of tribal counting was abandoned. In their general typology of ethnic enumeration practices they propose four key strategies that summarise state motivations regarding the decision to collect or not to collect ethnic statistics:

- Counting to dominate and exclude;
- Not counting to unify and assimilate;
- Counting or not counting in the name of multi-culturalism; and/or
- Counting for positive action.

The decision to count Māori could be viewed as a way of exercising dominion over Aotearoa and its indigenous population, given that the key intent of enumeration was to monitor their population size, distribution, and material circumstances and, in some cases, to determine the future viability of the Māori race (Kukutai, 2012). Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was expected that the Māori population would die out (Pool, 1991). The reason for this related mainly to colonisation. Between 1840 and 1900, Aotearoa New Zealand underwent major political and social transformation. It was a period of dramatic depopulation for Māori primarily brought about by warfare, land alienation, and infectious diseases. In the late 1850s, the number of European settlers grew rapidly (Pool, 1991). This in effect stimulated the demand for land but there was growing resistance from Māori to sell land (Sorrenson, 1955). Furthermore, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi<sup>16</sup> in 1840, there were contested issues over sovereignty. These issues lay at the heart of the *New Zealand Land Wars* (hereafter ‘the Land Wars’) (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010). Between 1840s to the 1870s British and colonial forces fought to open up the rest of the North Island for settlement. In response to the growing concerns about colonial Government pressures and land issues, the Kīngitanga (Māori King movement) was initiated at inter-tribal hui (meetings) held around the late 1840s (Mahuta, 1995). The movement primarily involved the main iwi of the central North Island, especially around the Waikato region. The Kīngitanga was to mirror the Crown monarchy, and control the flow of land from Māori. Early census reports

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<sup>16</sup> The Treaty is a written agreement that was signed at Waitangi, New Zealand in 1840 between Māori representatives and the Crown. The Treaty contained three articles that guaranteed Māori full rights of ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and other prized possessions, and promised Māori rights and privileges of British subjects, and protection from the Crown. There were at least two versions of the Treaty - English and Māori. The Māori version did not have the same meaning as the English version. The English version stipulated that Māori would cede sovereignty to the British Crown. On the other hand, the Māori version stipulated that Māori would cede kāwanatanga (governance). Only 39 rangatira (Māori chiefs) signed the English version. The remaining rangatira, over 400, signed the Māori version (Orange, 2011). The Treaty continues to be a major issue in Māori and Crown relationships.

between 1874 and 1901 frequently noted the resistance of Māori to have their numbers enumerated, especially in Kingitanga regions (Lowe, 1989). The crown viewed the Kīngitanga as a threat to British authority and settlement (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008a). In response, the Crown pursued an agenda of destroying the Kīngitanga through war. As a result, a considerable number of Māori died defending their land while others allied themselves with the colonists for various reasons (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010). The Land Wars were only the start of the dramatic depopulation of Māori. A system of *raupatu* (land confiscation) by the State proved to be a major fate for Māori. The *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863* allowed for the confiscation of land, without compensation, from North Island tribes who rebelled against the Crown's authority (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009d). Under the provisions of this Act, many tribes suffered land confiscations. The alienation of Māori from their most precious resources created a chain reaction of issues such as disease and impoverishment. Māori were also considerably vulnerable to disease – "...Māori were an immunologically inexperienced population. Their increasing exposure to new pathogens introduced by Pākehā settlers reinforced the virulence of the malnutrition-infection cycle..." (Pool, 1991, p. 63). By the end of the nineteenth century, the Māori population had decreased dramatically from 56,000-62,000 in 1858, to 45,549 in 1901 (Pool, 1991). In contrast, the European Pākehā population grew from approximately 59,000 to 770,313 over the same period (cited in Pool, 1991). This demographic shift had major impacts on Māori society –

Thus rapid Pākehā population growth had been the genesis of both the New Zealand Wars and the land purchases which followed. Both had a very significant impact on Māori socio-cultural and economic life, resulting in massive dislocations, and being associated with mortality and negative growth, as well as widespread local mobility (Pool, 1991, p. 62)

The loss of land had also cut at the very heart tribal identity. Tribal identity was based on whakapapa or kinship ties, including links to the natural environment (Royal, 1992; Te Rito, 2007). Thus, because tribes lost their lands, they no longer posed a threat to the State, and therefore, there was little need to collect tribal data.



The State however, continued to count Māori from 1906. This is possibly because in the early part of the 1900s there were signs that the demographic future of Māori was optimistic and dispelled any notion of “the passing of the Māori” (cited in Pool, 1991). Māori population growth from the early to mid-1900s was predominantly driven by high birth rates, fertility and a gradual decline in mortality rates (Pool, 1991). However, the continuation to count Māori was motivated by a political agenda of assimilation: “While the surveillance of tribes was integral to the colonising endeavour, policies of racial amalgamation also demanded the de-tribalization of Māori identities to facilitate their incorporation into a racially idealized ‘better Briton’” (Kukutai, 2012). This ideology was reflected in the census through the concept of *blood quantum*. Although blood quantum was visible in the earliest censuses, it took on a new meaning from 1926 and this lasted right up to 1981.

### **3.3 Blood quantum: 1926 to 1981**

Blood quantum is a system of describing the degree or quantities of ancestry or descent of an individual of a specific ethnic group (Snipp, 1997, 2002). The aim of this practice was to determine eligibility or classification in an ethnic group, and thus, restrict certain rights. In the US, for example, federal laws were passed that regulated who could be classified as Native American or a specific tribe to be eligible to receive federal benefits. The criteria of blood quantum varied between Native American tribal authorities and could range between  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{32}$  blood quantum. In New Zealand, the system of blood quantum was in use in the early censuses through the label of *half-caste*, but, was not necessarily a State invention. The term was in popular use but, the appropriation of the term in legislation and the census provided “scientific and ideological” legitimacy (Kukutai, 2012).

Half-caste was adopted in the 1874 census to describe the progeny of Māori and European unions (Kukutai, 2012). Early contact between European and Māori communities led to marital arrangements, predominantly between European men and Māori women, for cementing economic-based alliances (Walker, 2004). However, it was also seen as socially and culturally beneficial (Wanhalla, 2009).

It is understood that seamen were the first Europeans that settled and eventually integrated into Māori communities, by marrying Māori women and having Māori children (King, 2003). This was particularly evident amongst the South Island tribes, such as Ngāi Tahu (Wanhalla, 2009). Men came from various European backgrounds to work at the whaling stations, many of whom married Ngāi Tahu women (Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996; Wanhalla, 2009). Intermarriage introduced European genes into the Māori population pool and, hence the union of two cultures.

The use of blood quantum was a reflection of not only the social composition at the time but, also the political ideology of cultural assimilation and absorption (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008b). Rallu et al (2006) suggest that these types of views pertaining to colonial censuses echoed the power of the coloniser over the colonised - "...impregnated with racist ideologies and the issue of superiority/inferiority" (p. 534). Blood quantum was also deemed to be an accurate measure of success of assimilation and integration policies, particularly in the early part of the 1900s (Wanhalla, 2011). For example, Donald McLean, a politician and police inspector in Taranaki in the late 1800s, believed that "European dominance was inevitable and desirable, and that the best chance for Māori was complete assimilation" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b, p. para. 2). Maui Pomare, prominent Māori leader in the early 1900s, also believed assimilation into Pākehā society would be beneficial for Māori, although this view was not looked upon favourably by many traditional Māori leaders (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012c).

Up until the 1926 census the Māori population consisted of persons, who were half or more Māori but, later distinguished half-castes by *lifestyle*. Hence, half-castes *living as Māori* were included in the Māori census but, half-castes *living as European* were not. From the 1936 to 1981 censuses half-castes were categorised as Māori regardless of lifestyle but, an array of blood quantum designations were adopted, which ranged from "full blood" to 1/8th Māori (Kukutai, 2011). It was also during this time that the statistical definition of the *Māori population* changed significantly. The Māori population was defined as "all persons recorded as half or more Māori" (Lowe, 1989, p. 9). This population was also referred to as the

*Māori census population* in order to distinguish it from the *Māori descent population*, which included less than half Māori. The 1986 census signalled the end of blood quantum by defining the *Māori descent population* as all persons of any degree of Māori descent.

### **3.4 Ethnic options: 1986 onwards**

Blood quantum and race concepts were eventually abandoned. The reasons for this were that blood measures lacked scientific validity and were by then, outdated (Kukutai, 2012; Pool, 1991). Furthermore, throughout the era of blood quantum, classifications appeared ad-hoc and arbitrary. The 1986 census marked a new chapter in Māori enumeration, replacing blood quantum and race concepts with *ethnicity* and *self-identification*. The shift reflected:

- changing public and user attitudes to the race-based measure,
- demographic change (including trends of ethnic intermarriage), and
- an acknowledgement that respondents found it increasingly difficult to answer the question and were instead effectively self-identifying (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

The statistical definition of *ethnic group* or *ethnicity* in this context consisted of persons who have some or all of the following characteristics:

- a common proper name,
- one or more elements of common culture, such as religion, customs or language,
- a unique community of interests, feelings and actions,
- a shared sense of common origins or ancestry, and/or
- a common geographic origin (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

However, in this context ethnic group identification was based mainly on the concept of *cultural affiliation* that individuals *choose* to identify. This measure is in stark contrast to previous ethnic identity measures based on blood, race or ancestral concepts. Thus, individuals may identify as Māori by descent, but may not necessarily identify as Māori by cultural affiliation. Another important feature was that self-identification allowed persons to answer the census, and choose their

response to an ethnic question from a repertoire of “personal memory” (Snipp, 1986), regardless of others’ perceptions. In this regard, self-identification is a key component in inter-ethnic mobility because the census allowed individuals to change their ethnic options over time in response to social, political, economic conditions, or in response to instrumental changes (Passel, 1997). However, individual ethnic choices depends on what the census provided at the time. This is evident by the way the question, classifications and reports changed, particularly between the 1986 and 1996 censuses (see Appendix B and chapter four). In 1986, the ethnicity question asked: *What is your ethnic origin?* In 1991 this changed to: *Which ethnic group do you belong to?* In the following census, respondents were required to: *Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.* At each census, respondents were provided with a list of categories with tick boxes to choose from or were able to write-in a response. Respondents were also able to return multiple responses, creating a range of categories for statistical reporting.

The shift to self-identification and cultural identity was clearly a reflection of the changing nature of society. It also provided the opportunity for multiple responses and increased the options for ethnic mobility. The paradigm shift was also a reflection of an emergent ideology of biculturalism (Kukutai, 2001). Until the 1980s, government policies, ideologies and discourses predominantly reflected Euro-centric views. An emphasis on biculturalism meant that positive cultural distinctions were desirable (Kukutai, 2001). This was recognised by the state sector through the official adoption of Pākehā *and* Māori languages, cultures and traditions in State symbols, practices and documentation (Hayward, 2012). An emphasis on biculturalism also formed the basis of partnership between Māori and the Crown through the Treaty of Waitangi. This emphasis provided the platform for the return of iwi enumeration in the 1991 census, after a gap of 90 years which is discussed in more detail below.

### **3.5 Renaissance of iwi identity: 1991-2006**

The reason for the reinstatement of iwi data in the census is directly linked to the political events of the 1980s. The *Māori renaissance* is the common term used to

describe the era, particularly between the 1970s and 1980s, in which Māori became politically, culturally and artistically influential at various levels of society. This period was characterised by a number of social movements and changes that saw the revival of Māoritanga (Māori identity and culture) and te reo Māori (language). The establishment of kohanga reo (early childhood education facilities) and kura kaupapa (Māori immersion schools) are two concrete examples of the renaissance period.

The renaissance began as early as the 1960s, where there was a growing awareness of the impact of colonisation on Māori, leading to major social movements and protests. The Land March in 1975 and the occupation of Bastion Point in 1977, were two key movements that signalled Māori displeasure with Crown actions over breaches of the Treaty such as land loss and cultural disintegration (Keane, 2012). As one response, the State established the Tribunal through the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 to investigate possible breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to claims made by Māori groups. Initially, the Tribunal could only investigate claims dating from 1975, but after various amendments to the legislation, the Tribunal's jurisdiction had extended to as early as 1840, the year that the Treaty was signed.

Since the establishment of the Tribunal, a number of breaches of the Treaty have been discovered and a significant number of claims have been settled in the form of financial reparations. The Hui Taumata was held in 1984 to discuss concerns about the socio-economic well-being of Māori. During this conference, an appeal was made by Māori leaders/attendants for iwi organisations to address these issues. However, the Crown was concerned about how monies would be distributed and accounted. The Government agreed on the condition that tribes fulfil criteria set by legislation. The *Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990* was established to facilitate the re-organisation of Māori society into tribal structures that would be responsible for managing programmes and initiatives for Māori social and economic development. Although the 1991 Act was later repealed, the legacy of iwi continued (Barcham, 1998).

Essentially, the State determined most of the parameters surrounding the restructuring of iwi society: “The fulfilment of the specific criteria outlined in [the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990] meant that iwi structures became strongly centralised in order to pass the stringent government accountability standards” Barcham, 1998, p. 306). This included the ultimatum to only negotiate Treaty and historical claims of smaller hapū or iwi, with larger iwi or groupings of iwi (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012d). Moreover, contemporary iwi society was continually referred to as a replica of 1840 Māori society, thus failing to take into account the evolution of Māori society (Barcham, 1998; Maaka, 1994). Maaka (1994) reinforces this idea of the State’s role reframing Māori identities and society: “The freezing of the tribes at the signing of the treaty with a European power is concomitant with the colonisation process and influence of state legislation on Māori society” (Maaka, 1994, p. 314). However, Barcham (Barcham, 1998) points out that “indigenous elites” were also responsible for “freezing” Māori organisational structures so as to halt further assimilation and culture loss from the colonisation process.

Tribal society was commonly viewed as static in nature but, Ballara (1998) argued that the Māori political and social system was significantly modified and is still developing. Furthermore, in earlier days, the hapū was the main political, economic and social unit while the primary function of iwi, was to defend their people as a common policy towards other iwi groups (Ballara, 1998). The reification of traditional iwi as the main political, social and economic unit by the Crown caused friction within the ranks of Māori. The tensions inherent within this process of social and institutional change have come to a head with legal battles over the allocation of the Fisheries assets in the early 1990s (Webster, 2002). The issue is much deeper and concerns the struggle for recognition by urban-Māori authorities as being legitimate Māori institutions (Barcham, 1998; Maaka, 1994). The path for urban-Māori recognition has been challenging, particularly in the settlements environment. Urban Māori representatives have challenged the traditional iwi models on the basis that the tribal approach is inadequate to serve the interests of Māori who have no real relationship with iwi (Meredith, 2009).

It has been widely documented that the urbanisation of Māori in the wake of World War II had a major impact on the structure of iwi, on the form of Māori communities and ultimately on generations of Māori identity, and this is worth describing in some detail because it continues to bear upon contemporary patterns of iwi identification. In the 1930s, approximately 80 percent of Māori were living in rural areas and tribal homelands (Pool, 1991). However, after World War II, Māori experienced a massive and rapid shift away from their tribal homelands to urban areas. In 1945, three quarters of the population lived in rural areas, but by 1966, more than three fifths were living in urban areas (Pool, 1991).

A number of political and economic forces stimulated the Māori rural-urban shift. Māori predominantly relied on agricultural ventures for their economic wellbeing but the international economy had a major effect on New Zealand. Historically, New Zealand was a primary producer of agricultural products, such as meat, dairy and wool. However, New Zealand was always vulnerable in the international market, particularly when the United Kingdom joined the *European Economic Community (EEC)* in 1973, which effectively saw the loss of a major export market. A drop in export prices of wool and the devaluation of the New Zealand dollar in the late 1960s led to high levels of unemployment and inflation. Māori communities were also experiencing overpopulation relative to their land resources. To provide further context, the average annual growth rates of the Māori population between 1945 and 1966 were relatively high, peaking at 3.9 between 1956 and 1961 (Pool, 1991). The rural economy could no longer provide sufficient income for Māori (Durie, 2000). Hence, urban life became an attractive alternative: “these factors – combined with the generally slow rate of regional development in those parts of New Zealand most heavily populated by Māori – all acted to ensure that by the middle of the twentieth century Māori were moving to urban areas at an unprecedented rate” (Barcham, 2004, p. 165). This led to a large exodus of young and older Māori to the urban areas to find suitable employment and to fill in major labour shortages in the manufacturing and service industries. This process of urbanisation continued for another fifty years or so, and today, approximately 84.4 percent of the Māori ethnic population live in urban areas.

Urbanisation generally weakened traditional iwi identities because it meant that Māori could not fully participate in traditional tribal life. In 1964, Joan Metge (Metge, 1964) observed that tribe was largely an abstract concept where membership carried little or no material advantages or specific obligations. Some 30 years later Maaka (1997) asserted that “the tribe is no longer the sole focal point of their Māori identity” (cited in Barcham, 1998, p. 304). In fact, even within urban centres, linkage with kin was logistically difficult and whānau, hapū or iwi hui (meetings) became the exception rather than the rule (Barcham, 1998). New forms of social networks were developed, particularly in the 1980s. Urban marae were built along with the establishment of urban Māori authorities such as *Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust* in West Auckland. The spread of Māori organisations in urban areas created a new of community life for Māori and foremost, stimulated an increasing sense of Māori identity within a pan-tribal and urban context (Meredith, 2009). Urban marae, such as *Nga Hau e Wha* in Christchurch, have played an important role in the cultural maintenance of Māori (Pool, 1985). The possible impact that urbanisation has on iwi identification is that some Māori, particularly those of the younger generation who grew up in an urban context, may not identify with traditional tribal identities presented in the census or do not know their tribal connections or whakapapa. Nevertheless, the percentage of Māori who do not know their iwi has steadily declined since 1991, due in part to changes in the macro-political context including on-going settlements and the greater awareness of iwi identities, as well changes to the census instrument in terms of the question wording, classification and so forth (see chapter five).

Notwithstanding the impacts of urbanisation on traditional iwi structures, in the last two decades iwi organisations have come to play a significant role in New Zealand, both in terms of their political profile and in terms of providing for the needs of their members. Part of the obligations surrounding settlements reparations also included the demand for iwi population statistics for the following purposes:

- to allow the crown and iwi to monitor the performances of Treaty of Waitangi obligations;
- to assist in allocating funds and resources to iwi;



- to assist in iwi planning and social and economic development;
- to assist Waitangi Tribunal decisions on land ownership, fishing rights, et cetera;
- to assist central, regional, and local Government agencies in the planning and provision of services to iwi in areas such as housing, health services, social welfare, special assistance programmes, and compensation for illegal or unjust transfers;
- to assist local Government in the administration of the Resource Management Act (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-d).

Since 1991 the census has provided for the enumeration of three indicators of Māori identity based on ethnicity, ancestry and iwi (see Appendix B). The concept of iwi in the modern context, however, is much different to that employed in 19<sup>th</sup> century censuses. As Lowe (1989) pointed out, earlier censuses adopted the concepts of principal tribe, sub-tribe and residence. In today's context, Statistics New Zealand recognises iwi through the following criteria:

- whether the group has been separately categorised in earlier iwi or tribal classifications;
- whether the group has been identified by respondents in previous surveys or censuses;
- whether there is a history of the group operating as a separate iwi in a business or resource management capacity, with legal and/or administrative recognition as such;
- whether historical and genealogical tradition identify the group as distinctive;
- whether the group (as hapū of a larger iwi) is moving to acquire or petition for iwi status (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-f)

In developing a classification list of iwi, Statistics New Zealand acknowledge that the concept of iwi has “undergone some changes in the way it has been used since first European contact with the Māori of New Zealand” (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-f). Yet, Statistics New Zealand still defines iwi and sets the parameters in which iwi are officially recognised in the census. Because of the fluid nature of

iwi categories in the census, these impact the way individuals respond to the census.

Although the social context and political context has affected how individuals and/or groups form their identities, which in effect affects the way they identify themselves in the census, it is ultimately the census that has an effect on iwi identification because it dictates what ethnic categories and questions are available, how data is categorised and classified.

### **3.6 Summary**

This chapter has endeavoured to illustrate a key point: that census constructions of Māori identities have been largely controlled through the prism of the State but these constructions have also changed over time in response to the macro-political and social environment. At the same time, the fabric of Māori society has changed and evolved, and with it the nature and importance of iwi. Both of these processes are important for understanding contemporary patterns of iwi identification in the census.

As this chapter has shown, early censuses did not fully reflect Māori views of identity. Māori were excluded in the very first formal census and when the State eventually decided to count, Māori were referred to as one homogeneous groups. Furthermore, the Māori census was separate from the general census. When the State began tribal data in 1874, it was administratively easier to categorise in terms of *principal tribes* and *sub-tribes*, which did not fully represent Māori views of tribal identities. Eventually, tribal data was dropped after the 1901 census, signalling that it was unimportant given that tribal Māori did not pose a significant threat to the State. However, the State still continued to collect data on Māori. The system of blood quantum was the dominating feature of Māori identities, up until the 1981 census. This system was adopted since the beginning to reflect the intermarriage between mainly Māori and Pākehā than began in the early contact periods and has continued throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Blood quantum was also assumed to be a measure of success of assimilation policies, particularly in the

early part of the 1900s. But, the system was dropped in the 1980s because it was deemed to be an unreliable and out-dated measure.

The 1980s was a significant period of political and social change, which was reflected in the construction of ethnic categories in the census. The concept of ethnicity was introduced, which meant that Māori identity was based on cultural affiliation as well as ancestral ties. This opened the way for individuals to self-identify and choose multiple ethnic identities in the census. This was essentially mirrored in the social composition of New Zealand because of intermarriage, but also because of the increasing number of international identities migrating to New Zealand. Self-identification is an important factor in studying ethnic identification patterns, because it essentially meant that persons could change their identification from one period to the next. Tribal data was eventually reinstated in the 1991 census, after significant political events that saw the recognition of iwi authorities to manage and distribute Treaty settlement funds.

An historical view of the census shows that Māori identities were socially constructed by the State, but most importantly, modified over time. On the other hand, individuals and groups can socially construct ethnic identities. For Māori, rapid urbanisation since the 1960s has meant that Māori in urban areas have had to develop new forms of identity. This may mean some do not identify with traditional iwi. However, statistical evidence shows that numbers have increased over time, suggesting that more people are increasingly identifying with an iwi. This is happening within a context of Treaty and raupatu settlements, and the reinstatement of iwi in the political environment, has increased the salience of iwi identity. In terms of iwi identification however, it is ultimately the census that determines iwi population patterns because it dictates what categories are available, and how the data is administered for statistical purposes.

On this note, the next chapter discusses the methodology for the study of iwi identification patterns. It discusses the details of the New Zealand census as the main data source, the concept underpinning iwi categories, how iwi data is collected and what some of the issues arise in analysing the data.

## Chapter Four: Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The last chapter illustrated the impact that the macro-political and social context had on the construction of Māori and iwi identities in the census. This chapter functions as a bridge between the contextual and theoretical discussions presented in the first three chapters, and the chapters containing the data analyses. Its purpose is to specify the methodological approach to analysing iwi population patterns. It begins with a brief discussion of the census which forms the sole source for the empirical analysis, followed by some of the methodological issues pertaining to the census and the impact this would have on analysing population patterns. Finally, this chapter ends with details of the statistical methods used to compute and analyse the iwi data.

### 4.2 Data source: The New Zealand census

With a few exceptions a census has been conducted every five years in New Zealand, the most recent in 2006<sup>17</sup>. The census is administered by the national statistical office, *Statistics New Zealand*, which has statutory obligations under the *Statistics Act 1975*, and provides leadership in the collection of official statistics (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). As the only official data source that collects high quality iwi data, the census is the most appropriate source for exploring patterns of iwi identification. Though some government agencies, such as the Ministry of Education, have begun to include a question on iwi affiliation in their administrative data collections, such data have only achieved a degree of reliability in recent years, and are focused on particular age groups. The census collects a broad range of time series data on economic and demographic variables such as age, sex, location, education level, ethnicity and language, and allows comparisons with other sub-population groups.

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<sup>17</sup> There have only been three occasions in New Zealand's history when the census was cancelled. The 1931 census was abandoned because the country was going through the Depression and the government had reduced its number of public servants (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-c). The 1941 census was postponed because of significant involvement of New Zealanders in World War II, and the 1946 census was moved to September 1945 (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-c). The census scheduled for Tuesday, 8 March 2011 was not held because of the impact of the 22 February Christchurch earthquake. It has since been rescheduled to take place in March 2013.

Compared to surveys and administrative data collections, census data is also reasonably accessible. Although the census is administered by and predominantly serves the interest of the Government, there is also an onus on Statistics New Zealand to produce data and statistics for the benefit of the public. The Statistics Act 1975 specifies that:

Official statistics shall be collected to provide information required by the Executive Government of New Zealand, Government Departments, local authorities, and businesses for the purpose of making policy decisions, and to facilitate the appreciation of economic, social, demographic, and other matters of interest to the said Government, Government Departments, local authorities, businesses, and to the general public (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2012).

The agency's online *Table Builder* tool (soon to be replaced by the *NZ.Stat* tool) enables the public to extract and download data from a set of preconfigured variables. Although users are able to select and arrange variables into tables to meet their needs, the breadth and depth of information is limited. For example, for some census years it is possible to obtain iwi population numbers by age groups, but not by sex. Some census years are available for download and variables between years may change. For those who want more comprehensive data, it is possible to purchase customised data at a cost determined by Statistics New Zealand. Some iwi data was available through Table Builder but, further data sets were purchased so as to conduct more detailed analyses.

Confidentiality is a key concern and section 37 of the Statistics Act 1975 requires that all statistical information is arranged in a manner that prevents any particulars published from being identifiable by any person. Data are randomly rounded by base three so as to ensure confidentiality (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). This is likely to have very little impact on the overall accuracy of data because the total is usually the sum of the original count, even though there may be a slight variance with the sum total of the individual values. A problem arises when more variables, and therefore categories, are required for a single matrix, which can result in quite a number *empty* cells or small values. The parameters specified for different datasets depends on the variable type and number of categories for that variable. For example, in analysing location of the iwi population by territorial

authority, only two variables could be specified because the *territorial authority* variable has too many and very specific geographic categories.

Given that the census is comprehensive, reliable and accessible, there is little justification to obtain the same information in the form of a self-produced survey. A survey would not provide the breadth and depth of information that the census can provide for a comparative analysis that addresses this thesis' objectives. Some surveys, such as *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* (Durie, 1995) collect data on iwi, but the sample size is typically small and/or not generalizable to Māori in general (Kukutai, 2010). In saying this, however, the New Zealand census comes with its limitations. These include miscounts, non-responses, non-sampling errors and, changes in variable constructions, definitions and classification standards over time (Errington et al., 2008). Despite these weaknesses, the census can be considered as a relatively reliable source of quality data because it achieves universal coverage, provides information on a variety of small groups within the population, has no sampling errors, can provide a wide variety of topics, and provides considerable consistency in information (Errington et al., 2008). In general, the census also replicates the same question over time, ensuring consistency as much as possible. However, in the case of collecting iwi data, the iwi question and response options altered between 1991 and 2006, with the most significant change occurring between 1991 and 1996. However, the principle of the iwi question remained the same, that is, it essentially asked respondents to identify or write-in their iwi. For these reasons, it would be too costly and time consuming to conduct a survey relative to the cost and time in using census data.

Finally, some discussion of tribal registers is warranted. The majority of tribal authorities have established registers of enrolled members either as a precursor or condition of Treaty of Waitangi settlements or as a requirement of the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 (Walling et al., 2009). Although registers might be considered as an alternative data source, there are many associated issues that make it unsuitable for this thesis. One key reason is confidentiality. For sound reasons iwi face tight restrictions around the sharing of register information. Even if it was possible to access register information for the purpose of analysing changes in the size and composition of membership over time, the fact that each tribal authority

has their own unique registration process means there is unlikely to be consistency in the method of data collection. While there are plausible and extensive reasons for using the census for this thesis, there are a number of data collection issues to be considered. These issues impact on applying the statistical methods and hence, affect the interpretation of the results. The official iwi classification, and its shortcomings and inconsistencies, are thus next discussed.

#### **4.2.1 Iwi classification and statistical standard**

A statistical classification is a set of related categories that are grouped into a meaningful, systematic and standard format (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-b). Its function is to provide a simplified and useful framework for collecting and analysing data. It is typically exhaustive, has mutually exclusive and defined categories, has a hierarchical structure or a flat structure (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-b). More specifically, a statistical standard provides guidelines for the administration and collection of data on a topic, which includes:

- definition(s);
- statistical units;
- classification(s);
- coding process(es);
- questionnaire module(s);
- output categories (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-b).

The statistical standards serves two key purposes. First, it allows a consistent collection of statistics. Second, it enables the integration of data over time and across different data sources.

The Statistics New Zealand definition of iwi was initially provided in the 1989 discussion paper *Towards a Standard Classification of Iwi (Māori Tribes)*: “The iwi today is the focal economic and political unit of the traditional Māori descent and kinship based hierarchy of waka (founding canoe), iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe), whānau (family)” (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-f). This definition has remained the same in the census since the 1989 discussion paper but is significantly different to the traditional concepts of tribal societies as discussed by

Ballara (1998). The main difference is that in early Māori society, hapū were considered to be the main social, economic and political alliance.

Appendix D contains the complete set of the iwi classification standards between 1991 and 2006. The standard started out as a one-level classification but in 1996 was expanded to two. Level one represents iwi region or rohe and is only used for summary purposes. Level two lists the individual iwi categories along with residual, unspecified iwi and waka categories. The residual categories include: *not further defined, don't know, refused to answer, response unidentifiable, response outside scope, and not stated* (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-d). These residual categories allow for non-standard responses such as:

- Stating an iwi, the name of which is common to more than one region, but do not specify the region;
- Giving a geographic area without specifying an iwi;
- Responding with a hapū that is affiliated to more than one iwi;
- Responding with a waka or iwi confederation;
- Not knowing the name of their iwi;
- Refusing to answer;
- Giving a response that cannot be identified as a specific iwi or region;
- Giving a response that does not meet the definition of an iwi;
- Do not answer the question (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-d) .

The classification standard has changed over time with the addition of new categories (see Appendix C). Table 4.1 shows the number of categories by category type for each census year. In the 1991 census, there was only one level of categories because respondents were not required to specify the rohe area of their iwi. There was a total of 107 categories which was comprised of 92 iwi categories, nine iwi categories with location unspecified (i.e. iwi with the same name but located in different areas) and six residual categories. By the 1996 census, the classification standard had expanded to 100 iwi categories, indicating that there were eight new iwi recognised. In 2001 the number of iwi categories saw an additional 7 new iwi categories but, it was also the first year in which waka categories were added, suggesting that in the previous census there must



have been some respondents writing in a waka affiliation (e.g. Tainui) instead of a recognised iwi name. By 2006, another 3 new iwi categories were added.

**Table 4.1 Number of categories in iwi classification standard by category type, 1991-2006**

Category type	1991	1996	2001	2006
Iwi	92	100	107	110
Iwi (no rohe)	9	9	10	10
Waka	n/a	n/a	17	17
Residual	6	5	6	6

While the classification standard is non-exhaustive, the decision to create new categories is based on the following criteria:

- whether the group has been separately categorised in earlier iwi or tribal classifications;
- whether the group has been identified by respondents in previous surveys or censuses;
- whether there is a history of the group operating as a separate iwi in a business or resource management capacity, with legal and/or administrative recognition as such;
- whether historical and genealogical tradition identify the group as distinctive;
- whether the group (as hapū of a larger iwi) is moving to acquire or petition for iwi status (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-e).

#### **4.2.2 The iwi question**

It is important to be aware of how a question is worded because it can have a major impact on how people respond, and therefore, on population patterns. The iwi question in the census follows directly from the question on Māori descent and asks respondents to write-in their rohe<sup>18</sup> and iwi. Only Māori descendants are eligible to answer the iwi question.

Figure 4.1 shows the iwi question in the 1991 census. The question is divided into two parts labelled (a) and (b). Part (a) asked respondents to state their main

<sup>18</sup> The 1991 census did not ask for rohe.

iwi. If they did state a main iwi, they were able to choose one of two options – *don't know* or *don't belong to any iwi (tribe)*. Respondents that stated their main iwi could further indicate up to two other iwi which they had strong ties.

**Figure 4.1** Iwi question in the New Zealand census, 1991

The image shows a section of a census form with the following text:

**9** (a) What is the main iwi (tribe) you belong to?  
(Please state one iwi only)

[Empty text box]

27  Don't know

28  Don't belong to any iwi (tribe)

(b) What other iwi (tribes) do you have strong ties with?  
(Please state no more than two iwi)

[Empty text box]

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

Based on experiences gained from the 1991 census, the iwi question indicated that respondents found the question restrictive by limiting the number of responses to three (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). Furthermore, the requirement to give a main iwi also attracted criticism as respondents had difficulty in nominating their main iwi, arguing that it was inappropriate and incorrect to rank iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). In response, the 1996 iwi question was reframed and simplified as shown in Figure 4.2. The main iwi prompt was dropped and the question simply asked if respondents knew the names of their iwi. Those who answered *Yes* were able to write in the names and regions of up to six iwi.

**Figure 4.2** Iwi question in the New Zealand census, 1996

**14** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

yes → Print the  
 • name and  
 no      • region  
                                  of your iwi

Iwi (tribe)	Region

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

The 2001 census asked the same iwi question as in 1996 (see Figure 4.3) but with a slight change in the instructions for those who answered *Yes* and a reduction in the number of write-in spaces had reduced from six to five. In Figure 4.3 the same iwi question was asked in 2006 but, minor changes were made in the instruction of how to write-in answers. The number of write-in spaces was the same as in the 2001 census.

**Figure 4.3** Iwi question in the New Zealand census, 2001

**17** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

yes. Print the name and home area, rohe or region of your iwi below.

no, go to **18** A list of iwi can be found in the Help Notes.

Iwi

Rohe (w/ home area)

Iwi

Rohe (w/ home area)

Iwi

Rohe (w/ home area)

Iwi

Rohe (w/ home area)

Iwi

Rohe (w/ home area)

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 4.4** Iwi question in the New Zealand census, 2006

**15** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

A list of iwi can be found on the back of the Guide Notes.

yes. Mark your answer and print the name and home area, rohe or region of your iwi below: ↓

no → go to **16**

Iwi																				
Rohe (Mā area)																				
Iwi																				
Rohe (Mā area)																				
Iwi																				
Rohe (Mā area)																				
Iwi																				
Rohe (Mā area)																				
Iwi																				
Rohe (Mā area)																				

Source: Statistics New Zealand

### *Supplementary iwi list*

Apart from changes in the question wording, respondents were provided with a supplementary iwi list in the *Help Notes* section of the 2001 and 2006 censuses (see Appendix C). The list was designed to assist to assist respondents to write-in specific iwi and rohe as listed in the official classification standard.

To summarise, while the principle of iwi identification generally remained the same in the census, changes occurred in the wording of the question, the instructions, response formats, and number of responses. These inconsistencies may have affected individual responses (inputs) and the way in which they were aggregated (outputs). These issues are addressed below.

## **4.3 Key analytical issues**

### **4.3.1 Impact of changes to the classification standard and question**

Changes in the iwi classification standard, question wording, supplementary census material and response format raises important implications for the analyses of iwi population growth: “The wording of the question, the method of data collection, and a host of other factors can impact upon the way in which ethnicity (broadly defined) is reported and counted” (Kukutai, 2001, p. 3). Thus, it is important to be aware of the instrumental factors on iwi population changes.

The first major impact is that expansion of the classification list in 1996 to include level one rohe categories means that, for some iwi, data from 1991 are not comparable with subsequent years. For example, *Te Ātiawa* is an iwi that relates to at least three rohe in the classification - *Manawatu/Horowhenua/Wellington*, *Taranaki* and *South Island/Chatham Islands*. In 1991, individuals who would have specified *Te Ātiawa* would have been coded to a single *Te Ātiawa* iwi category. However, in subsequent censuses, individuals who specified *Te Ātiawa* and the relevant rohe would have been classified to the appropriate *Te Ātiawa* iwi category based on the rohe they specified. According to the 2006 classification list, this change could affect the intercensal analyses of at least 15 iwi<sup>19</sup> but, it is not relevant for the four iwi case studies selected for this thesis. This means that one needs to be aware of this issue when analysing population growth patterns of these 15 iwi, especially when studying the intercensal growth patterns between 1991 and 1996. The potential impact is that the 1991 numbers for an individual iwi case study would be overstated in comparison to 1996 because the 1991 population would be a total sum of the individual iwi, regardless of rohe whereas the 1996 figures would only be a total of the iwi for that particular rohe.

The second important impact is that the timing of the 1991 iwi question has the potential to create a very pronounced intercensal growth pattern between 1991 and 1996 in two ways. First, 1991 was the first year in which the iwi question was reinstated. It was also the year just prior to the first lot of settlements, especially the Fisheries (Sealord) settlement in 1992 for \$170 million, which attracted much attention at the time (Webster, 2002). I propose that this first year of iwi data would have been more of a *trial period* for State administrators and especially census respondents, in the sense that, there was a 90 year gap of no collection of iwi data. The implications of this is that iwi identity would have been of little meaning to some or perhaps a significant proportion of the Māori descent population (Barcham, 1998; Tamihere, 2004). Thus, many may not know their whakapapa connection to an iwi, particularly if they have lived away from tribal homelands for a long time and, especially for those generations who have never

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<sup>19</sup> Iwi includes: Ngāi Tai, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Pūkenga, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Toarangatira, Rangitāne, Te Ātiawa, and Waitaha.

lived in their tribal homelands. Thus, the first census may have elicited a higher proportion of residual type responses such as *don't know* or *don't belong* to an iwi. In fact, of the 511,278 who identified as Māori descent, 22.1 percent or 113,193 persons did not know their iwi (see Table 4.2 below).

**Table 4.2 Number and proportion of Māori descent population by iwi affiliation**

	1991	1996	2001	2006
Iwi	368,655	425,745	454,479	512,325
NEI <sup>1</sup>	33,798	42,231	37,824	29,331
DK	113,193	112,563	111,810	102,363
Descent	511,278	579,714	604,110	643,977
		%		
Iwi	72.1	73.4	75.2	79.6
NEI	6.6	7.3	6.3	4.6
DK	22.1	19.4	18.5	15.9
Descent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

NEI = not elsewhere included

DK = don't know

<sup>1</sup>Includes *Refused to Answer*, *Response Unidentifiable*, *Response Outside Scope*, and *Not Stated*.

Furthermore, the settlements environment would have been relatively new and unfamiliar in 1991, and therefore, I would not expect to see much responsiveness in the first year of iwi data. This brings me to my second point. I would expect to see more sensitivity to the iwi question in 1996 as individuals become more familiar with iwi, particularly in light of the propaganda surrounding settlements, particularly after the 1992 Fisheries settlement. Thus, an increase in iwi responses in 1996, brought about by familiarity with iwi and the requirement for iwi authorities to set up tribal registers, would thus create an even greater magnitude of growth over this period. In addition, there was a notable change in the Māori descent composition by iwi identity in 1996 as shown in Table 4.2. There was a drop in the *don't know* category (19.4 percent) and slight increase in the iwi identified population (73.4 percent). However, the effect was somewhat tempered by the slight increase in *not elsewhere included* category (7.3 percent).

The third major impact is that the change in the iwi question in 1996 would have an even greater effect on the intercensal trajectory between 1991 and 1996 because the question in 1996 would encourage more people to identify an iwi. As mentioned in the previous section, the 1991 iwi question appeared restrictive by

limiting the number of responses to three (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). However, there is evidence, as shown in Table 4.3, to suggest that increasing the number of available responses has little effect on increasing iwi numbers because the majority of those identifying an iwi mainly identified only one iwi. The requirement to give a main iwi in the 1991 census attracted criticism as respondents had difficulty in nominating their main iwi, arguing that it was inappropriate and incorrect to rank iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). In response, the 1996 iwi question was reframed and simplified (see Figure 4.2). This change would have encouraged a greater number of responses in 1996 because it gave respondents greater freedom to list any iwi without having to rank.

**Table 4.3 Number of iwi reported for the Māori descent population, 1991-2006**

Number reported	1991	1996	2001	2006
One	nd	310,002	292,614	316,866
Two	nd	85,560	107,274	127,080
> Three	nd	30,669	54,591	68,376
NEI <sup>1</sup>	146,911	153,483	149,631	131,652
Total responses	511,278	579,714	604,110	643,977
		%		
One	nd	53.5	48.4	49.2
Two	nd	14.8	17.8	19.7
> Three	nd	5.3	9.0	10.6
NEI	28.8	26.5	24.8	20.4
Total responses	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

NEI = not elsewhere included

<sup>1</sup>Includes *response unidentifiable*, *response outside scope*, *not stated*, and *don't know*

nd = no data available

A fourth impact is that the introduction of the supplementary iwi list in 2001 (see Appendix C) would likely stimulate greater number of iwi responses through a shift in the numbers who *did not know* their iwi in the 1996 census to a *specified* iwi category in 2001. However, this is only likely to occur if a person actually knows or has a vague idea of their iwi affiliation but is unsure. I argue instead that the iwi list would have a more visible effect at the individual-iwi level in the sense that more people would shift from an *unspecified* iwi category (i.e. waka confederation, not further defined (NFD) categories, and unspecified rohe categories) to a *specified* iwi category as per the classification standard

constructed by Statistics New Zealand. The effect of the iwi list is particularly useful in the study of Waikato iwi, which is discussed further in chapter six. Briefly, where there was a significant shift in numbers from Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (King Country) region, not further defined category in 1996 to the defined categories within the Waikato/King Country rohe, especially to the Waikato iwi category in 2001.

The fifth and final effect is the addition of new iwi categories in the classification standard, which was briefly mentioned in the opening chapter of this thesis. To recap, Errington et al (2008) note that the expansion of the classification list occurred through the creation of *new* as well as the disaggregation of existing categories. For example, in the 2001 census, any Ngāti Pahauwera responses were coded under Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa but, in 2006, identified as a separate iwi category. The impact that this has is on comparative studies, particularly at the individual-iwi level.

### **4.3.2 Dealing with multiple-iwi responses**

One of the issues in dealing with ethnic questions is that most times respondents are able to provide more than one response (multiple-responses). While multiple-responses is desirable for reflecting the ethnic make-up of a nation, it can present measurement, analyses and dissemination issues (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). A key challenge is deciding on where to count persons who report more than one ethnic group (Kukutai & Callister, 2009).

Iwi identification is one variable that allows multiple-responses. The maximum number of iwi responses captured in the census has varied in the following ways:

- 1991 – 3 (based on instructions provided);
- 1996 – 6 (based on the number of write-in spaces);
- 2001 – 5 (based on the number of write-in spaces);
- 2006 – 5 (based on the number of write-in spaces);

In the census, an individual who reports more than one iwi, is counted into each iwi category. Hence, the total number of responses will always be greater than the total number of respondents. For the analysis of the total iwi identified population



in particular, I use the *total stated* figures as opposed to the *total responses* figures.

#### **4.4 Statistical methods**

The data analysis for this thesis is conducted in two parts. The first part analyses the population trajectories of the total iwi population in comparison to three benchmark population groups – Māori descent population, Māori ethnic group (MEG) and the usual resident total New Zealand population (including Māori). The purpose of this comparative analysis is to illustrate the drivers of population change, including ethnic mobility, affects each population group differently. The analysis also exposes how instrumental changes and the timing of those changes, if any, can affect the trajectory of either group. The second part of the analyses focuses on the four iwi case studies: Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. In each case study their specific growth trajectories are examined between 1991 and 2006 as well as their changing population composition with respect to key socio-demographic variables important to Māori identity and social well-being, which are: rohe (location), education level, Māori ethnicity indicator and Te reo Māori (Māori language) indicator.

##### **4.4.1 Intercensal population change**

Two methods are used to calculate population change. The first most basic method calculates the absolute change between two periods. Where  $P_n$  = population at the end period and  $P_0$  = population at the starting period, the formula is:  $\Delta = P_n - P_0$ . The second method is the percentage change, which is more useful because one can compare intercensal changes across two or more periods. The formula is:  $\Delta = (P_n - P_0) / P_0 \times 100$ . The first part of the method calculates the difference between the population at the beginning period and population at the end period. The difference is then divided by the population at the end period and multiplied by 100.

##### **4.4.2 Annual average rates of growth**

Annual average growth rates are an even more useful statistic for comparative analyses because it distributes the population change between two periods, and

therefore, allows comparisons of intercensal periods with unequal lengths of time (e.g. 2001, 2006, 2013 etc.). Furthermore, because the method produces an annual figure, one can compare this with other annual growth rates such as fertility or natural increase. There are three types of methods commonly used to calculate average annual growth rates: *arithmetic approximation*, *geometric* and *exponential*.

#### *Arithmetic method*

The arithmetic approximation method is the most basic method of the three and is calculated as follows:  $r = [(P_t - P_0)/t] / [(P_0 + P_t)/2] * 100$ , where  $P_0$  = population at the beginning of the period,  $P_t$  = population at the end of the period and  $t$  = number of years between the beginning and the end of the period. The first part of the equation calculates the *average annual change* by dividing the difference between the population at the end period and the population at the initial period ( $P_t - P_0$ ) by the number of years between the initial period and the end period ( $t$ ). The average annual change figure is then divided by the average population ( $(P_t + P_0) / 2$ ) and then converted into a per annum percentage by multiplying this by 100. Using a basic scenario, if  $P_0 = 100,000$  and  $P_t = 150,000$ , and  $t = 5$ , then using the arithmetic method, the annual rate of growth is  $r = [(150,000 - 100,000)/5] / [(100,000 + 150,000) / 2] * 100$ ,  $r = 8.0$  percent per annum. The main weakness with this method is that it does not take into consideration population changes that can occur within a period (i.e. a year).

#### *Geometric method*

The geometric growth method is a little more sophisticated than the arithmetic method because the rate is compounded. The model incorporates the assumption that population change occurs at a single point in time of the year (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). The formula for the geometric rate is:  $r = (P_t/P_0)^{(1/t)} - 1$ , where  $P_0$  = population at the initial period,  $P_t$  = population at the end period, and  $t$  = the number of years of growth. Thus, if  $P_0 = 100,000$  and  $P_t = 150,000$ , and  $t = 5$  years, then the annual growth rate using the geometric method is 8.4 percent per annum. The main weakness with this method is that it assumes that population change only occurs at a single point in time, that is, it does not allow for population changes that can occur constantly and at any time of the year.

### *Exponential method*

The exponential method compensates for the weaknesses of the previous methods by assuming that population change is continuous, that is, it can happen at any time of the year. The geometric method compounded annually, but the using the exponential method, the rate of change is compounded continuously. Thus, the formula for the exponential method is:  $r = [L_n (P_t / P_0)] / t$ , where  $L_n$  = natural logarithm. Using the previous examples, the annual growth rate using the exponential method is  $r = [L_n (150,000/100,000)]/5$ ,  $r = 8.1$  percent per annum.

The geometric method typically calculates the highest annual growth rate out of the three methods (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). The exponential method is the more sophisticated method out of the two because it takes into consideration that growth or change is continuous and can occur at any point in time. In saying this however, we calculate the annual average growth rates using all three methods to ensure some level of confidence because all three should calculate similar rates. The annual average growth rates method is also more useful than the basic intercensal method because it puts intercensal growth changes into perspective, particularly when the intervals are unequal in length of time, and the growth rates method is more comparable, particularly with annual rates of natural increase.

### **4.4.3 Cohort analyses**

Cohort analyses are a powerful tool for examining population changes because it allows us to obtain a more detailed picture of the growth dynamics happening at a sub-group level. In this case, the population patterns of age and birth cohorts are examined. A cohort is defined as: “a group of people who experience the same demographic event during a particular period” (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). This thesis uses two types of analyses: *cohort component method* and *birth cohort analysis*.

#### *Cohort component method*

The cohort component method has a longstanding tradition in demography (Smith, Tayman, & Swanson, 2001). The method is essentially a population projection tool that calculates the expected population at a future time based on a

number of demographic assumptions. A key strength of this method is that it offers a very flexible approach to understanding population change. Although it is a tool primarily designed to compute *future* population numbers, the *expected* population numbers for past periods can be computed. Thus, this method is used to compare the observed (actual) iwi population data against the expected iwi population data for the purpose of presenting and identifying the key variances, and to contemplate the underlying reasons for those variances.

In this thesis, observed and expected population numbers of five-year age cohorts (0-4, 5-9, 10-14 etc.) are compared, using a spread sheet tool that has been formulated to calculate the expected population for various periods<sup>20</sup>. There are two components in using the cohort component method for analysing iwi population dynamics. The first is to calculate the *expected* population and the second is to compare the *observed* population. Four steps are involved in calculating the expected population.

First, the expected population of the age cohorts at each census period are calculated using a baseline population. The baseline population is the population at the beginning of the projection period. Our only available baseline is the iwi population numbers of each age cohort by sex in 1991, thus, we can only compute the expected population numbers for 1996, 2001 and 2006.

The second step is to *survive* this 1991 population by applying *survival rates*<sup>21</sup>, meaning that the number of persons expected to survive at the end of the period is computed. In other words, the mortality effects of a population are considered. To do this, age-sex specific survival rates are applied to each age-sex cohort.

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<sup>20</sup> The statistical model was prepared by Professor Natalie Jackson, Director of the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis (NIDEA), Waikato University, Hamilton, New Zealand.

<sup>21</sup> Survival rate is a rate that expresses “the probability of survival of a population group, usually an age group, from one date to another and from one age to another. A survival rate can be based on life tables or two censuses. When based on two censuses, the rate includes not only the effects of mortality, but also the effects of net migration and relative census enumeration error” (Siegel & Swanson, 2004, p. 776). For this thesis, I use life table data obtained from Statistics New Zealand.

Third, the expected migration is calculated during the period using age-sex net migration data<sup>22</sup>. The net migration data is then added (or subtracted) to the survival population numbers. For this thesis, however, I make the assumption that the Māori population (and therefore iwi) is a *closed population*. A closed population is one in which inward migration and outward migration is very minimal, if at all. This is discussed further in chapter five. Furthermore, no net-migration data is available or collected for the Māori or iwi populations. Because I have made this assumption and due to the lack of migration data, I have not applied this step in the process.

The fourth and final step in the process is to project the number of births in the interval between the baseline and end period. This is accomplished by applying age-specific birth rates<sup>23</sup> to the corresponding *at-risk population*. The at-risk population are those whom an event (i.e. births) can potentially occur. In this regard, I apply age-specific birth rates to females aged 15 to 49 to cover the child-bearing years. Once the age-specific birth rates are applied, these births are then added to the *survived* and *migration-adjusted* population numbers of the age cohort 0-4, and distinguished between males and females. On this note, the statistical tool that is in this thesis distinguishes between males and females based on gender probabilities. For example, if there were 1000 births in a particular interval and the probability of males is 0.52 then the birth numbers would be distributed as 520 males and 480 females.

By the end of the process, the expected population by age cohort (and/or sex) at the end of the period (i.e. 1996) has been calculated. This population now serves as the base population to calculate the expected population of the following period (i.e. 2001) and so forth (Smith et al., 2001). A comparison can now be made between the expected population and the actual population for the same census period.

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<sup>22</sup> Net migration is the difference between the number of inward migrants and outward migrants for a particular area over a period of time (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). Migration data is obtained from Statistics New Zealand.

<sup>23</sup> Age-specific birth rate is the rate of births for a specific age or age group of the corresponding at-risk group (i.e. females aged 15-49) (Siegel & Swanson, 2004; Smith et al., 2001). For this thesis, I use age-specific fertility data obtained from Statistics New Zealand.

The cohort component method is a very useful for this thesis analysis. It allows one to calculate the expected population for past periods so comparisons can be made between what was *anticipated* with what *actually* happened. Because the method computes the expected population by applying mortality, migration and birth effects, to a certain extent one can confidently assume that differences between the expected population and actual population are due to non-demographic factors, that is, ethnic mobility. In saying this, however, one cannot overlook that the cohort component method and the statistical tools used in this thesis is constructed on a set of assumptions, rates and probabilities about a population. These assumptions can be overestimated or underestimated, and therefore, undermine data analyses. To overcome this issue, the data is analysed and interpreted in the context of a variety of statistical models and theoretical framework.

#### *Birth cohort analysis*

The birth cohort method monitors the intercensal population patterns of birth cohorts. A birth cohort is defined as members of a population born in a given period (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). In this thesis, we track five-year birth cohorts (e.g. 1992-1996, 1997-2001, 2002-2006 etc.) for the purpose of identifying mainly any intercensal increases in the size of the cohort. For this analysis, we use the same statistical models for analysing intercensal population changes (i.e. absolute and percentage change formulas).

Theoretically, we know that as a birth cohort ages through time, their population numbers are suppose to decrease because of mortality effects. The size of a birth cohort can only increase through migration. However, in this analysis, we have assumed that Māori and iwi are a closed population. Based on historical trends however, we know that the Māori population has experienced greater out-migration than in-migration, and therefore, anticipate decreases in the cohort size of the at-risk population. In light of this, we theorise that any increases in the size of the population, is likely to be the effect of ethnic mobility.

#### **4.4.4 Iwi compositional changes**

The data analyses include an examination of the changing socio-demographic profile of an iwi population. In particular, it focuses on four key indicators important to Māori identity and well-being: rohe (location), education level, Māori ethnicity indicator and te reo Māori (spoken language) indicator.

There are two components to this analysis. The first component examines the compositional changes of the iwi population over the focal period. The purpose of this is to view changes in the socio-demographic profile of the iwi population and to isolate which sector of the population is changing the fastest. This requires just a very basic computation of percentages of the specified category groups relative to the total specified population. The second component examines the intercensal changes of the specified category groups using the basic intercensal formulas discussed in section 4.4.1. This part of the analysis allows us to see which members of the iwi population are driving iwi population changes over time.

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter discussed the methodological approach to analysing iwi identification growth patterns at the macro-level and the micro-level. Two motivations justify the use of *The Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, as the main data source. Firstly, it is the most appropriate tool to address this thesis question because it is comprehensive, reliable and highly accessible. Secondly, the census is central to the construction of ethnic-based identities in a colonised setting. While there are valid reasons for the census, the data on iwi identification presents a number of issues. The main concerns surrounds question design, the number of response options and the expansion of the classification lists, which all affect intercensal comparisons. However, this chapter outlined the extent the impact these would have and how they would be managed. The second half of the chapter then specified the parameters of the analysis, including the hypotheses. Finally, the chapter outlined the statistical methods used to calculate useful results. The next chapter begins the analysis of the total iwi population growth patterns using the methods described above.

## **Chapter 5: Total iwi identified growth patterns**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter identified a number of key issues that might account for changing patterns of identification in response to the census question on iwi affiliation. These included changes to the wording of the iwi question, changes to response formats, and inconsistencies in the iwi classification standard. With these issues in mind, this chapter begins the analysis with a basic overview of aggregate iwi identification patterns in the census between 1991 and 2006.

Published reports clearly show a steady increase in the number and proportion of Māori reporting an iwi affiliation in the census over the focal period (Walling et al., 2009). The magnitude of change cannot be accounted for by standard demographic theories of population change (e.g. natural increase or migration). The goal of this chapter is to provide an empirical analysis of the demographic drivers of iwi population growth and to situate the findings within the relevant theories and contextual analyses presented in earlier chapters.

I begin with an intercensal analysis of the aggregate iwi identified population between 1991 and 2006. These patterns are contrasted with the trajectories for Māori, defined by ethnic group (MEG) and descent, as well as the total New Zealand population. The following section employs more sophisticated measures of growth, the average annual growth rate, in order to obtain a more detailed distribution of change within an intercensal period (Siegel & Swanson, 2004). Following this, the analysis employs a powerful approach to population projections, the cohort component method. This method projects the age-specific iwi identification population by applying natural increase based on a set of assumptions relevant to the Māori population. The aim of this method is to identify key factors that could explain important variances between the projected and actual iwi identified population numbers for various age-groups. The analysis includes a birth cohort analysis of the iwi identified population to track the cumulative experiences of a cohort as they pass into and out of an age group (Jackson, 2011). The purpose of using this method is to monitor any significant changes in the population numbers of the cohorts as they age. The next section



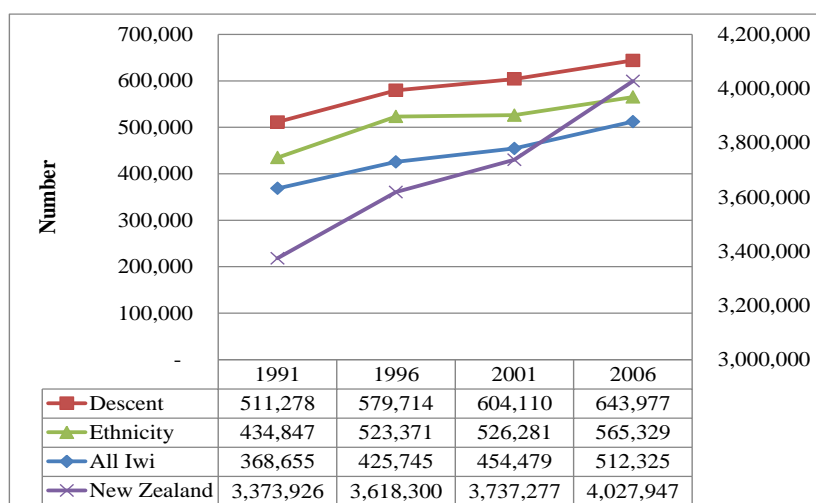
then studies key social determinants of the iwi identified population changes. Finally, section 5.6 summarises key findings from the analyses and discusses some of the likely factors underlying the increasing popularity of iwi identification in the census during the focal period.

## 5.2 Intercensal growth patterns

This section begins with an analysis of the growth trajectories of the iwi identified population between 1991 and 2006. The intercensal method is a basic demographic analysis of population change between two censuses. The main benefit of this method is that it is easy to compute and understand but it assumes population change is evenly distributed between censuses, particularly when population the number of periods between censuses is unequal. For this analysis however, this limitation is not a major issue because the number of years between censuses are of equal duration.

To begin, the graph in Figure 5.1 shows the growth trajectories of the Māori population groups by descent, ethnicity and iwi, and the total New Zealand population (including Māori).

**Figure 5.1 Number of Māori ethnic group, Māori descent and iwi populations, and the New Zealand population**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The graph indicates that within the Māori population, different ethnic criteria produce different population sizes. The descent group is the largest and the most

inclusive, followed by ethnicity and then iwi. This suggests that not all of the descent population identify as Māori in terms of cultural or iwi affiliation. This is further illustrated by Table 5.1, which shows the number and proportion of the descent population reporting an iwi.

In 1991, 72.1 percent of the descent population identified an iwi. The remainder of the descent population either *did not know* (DK) their iwi affiliation (22.1 percent) or were classified as *not elsewhere included* (NEI), which was a relatively small percentage (6.6) percent. However, over time, the composition of the descent population identifying an iwi changed. The proportion of the descent population identifying an iwi had increased steadily up to 79.6 percent by 2006. Conversely, the proportion of the descent population who did not know their iwi had declined by approximately the same magnitude, down to 15.9 percent in 2006. The proportion of NEI had slightly increased in 1996 but, slowly declined in subsequent censuses. One key assumption can be made from this analysis. The growth in iwi identification is associated with growth in the descent population. Although there was a significant proportion who did not know their iwi, this declined over time. However, this is not to say that those who did not know their iwi in the earlier censuses may have identified an iwi in subsequent censuses. It is possible that some respondents may have reported responses that classified them under NEI. However, the proportion of NEI has been relatively small and for the most part, decreased over the years. Therefore, we can safely assume that as the number of the descent population increased over time, the number of people identifying an iwi increased.

**Table 5.1 Number and proportion of Māori descent population by iwi affiliation**

	1991	1996	2001	2006
Iwi	368,655	425,745	454,479	512,325
NEI <sup>1</sup>	33,798	42,231	37,824	29,331
DK	113,193	112,563	111,810	102,363
Descent	511,278	579,714	604,110	643,977
		%		
Iwi	72.1	73.4	75.2	79.6
NEI	6.6	7.3	6.3	4.6
DK	22.1	19.4	18.5	15.9
Descent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

NEI = not elsewhere included

DK = don't know

<sup>1</sup>Includes *Refused to Answer, Response Unidentifiable, Response Outside Scope, and Not Stated.*

Referring back to the graph in Figure 5.1, the three Māori population groups had very similar trajectories. This is in spite of a slight kink in the MEG in 1996, which was primarily brought about by a the ethnicity question encouraging more respondents to list multiple responses. However, the magnitude of growth for the iwi population was overall more pronounced than the descent and ethnic populations, signalling that the proportion of people identifying an iwi is growing at a much faster rate than the ethnic and descent populations. In stark contrast, the New Zealand population pattern had a more erratic growth pattern, showing very sharp increases particularly between 1991-1996 and 2001-2006. The difference in trajectories between the Māori population and New Zealand population reflects differences in characteristics and the components of growth.

Depending on the context, the Māori population is defined by descent, ethnicity or iwi. Historically, the Māori population was driven predominantly by natural increases (Pool, 1991). Migration was hardly ever a factor in Māori population growth because the only way for significant growth to occur within an indigenous population was through natural increase. However, in light of the trajectories shown, natural increase cannot be the only determining factor. In recent years, ethnic mobility has become a major factor in driving Māori population. On the other hand, the New Zealand population typically entails people on census night

who are usual residents in New Zealand<sup>24</sup> (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). New Zealand also predominantly depends on immigration to build its economy, which has seen significant increases in its international immigrant population (see Appendix E), particularly from China and India (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-g). Theoretically, national population growth is the sum of natural increase and net international migration. However, international net migration has been the most volatile over time in comparison to natural increase in New Zealand (Baxendine, Cochrane, Dharmalingam, Hillcoat-Nallétamby, & Poot, 2005). Although, in the late 1990s and mid-2000s, net-migration annual growth rates had exceeded the natural increase annual growth rates, for the most part, the New Zealand population growth was driven by natural increases in the first instance, and net migration in the second instance.

To analyse these trajectories further, Table 5.2 highlights the intercensal comparisons by number and proportion for the Māori population groups and the New Zealand population. Although their growth patterns were very similar, their growth sizes varied considerably. The iwi population had the largest growth over the focal period. Between 1991 and 2006, the number of the iwi identified population had increased from 368,655 in 1991 to 512,325 in 2006, a growth of 39.0 percent. This overall growth size was significantly higher than the growths observed for the descent and ethnic groups. Between 1991 and 2006, the descent population increased by 26.0 percent, while the ethnic population grew by 30.0 percent. In contrast, the New Zealand population only experienced an overall increase of 19.4 percent. However, the intercensal growth patterns varied quite considerably across all population groups.

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<sup>24</sup> Includes Māori, permanent immigrants, and those who are temporarily out of the country on census night.

**Table 5.2 Change in Māori ethnic group, Māori descent and iwi populations, and the New Zealand population, 1991-2006<sup>1</sup>**

	1991	1996	2001	2006
Iwi <sup>2</sup>	368,655	425,745	454,479	512,325
Ethnicity <sup>3</sup>	434,847	523,371	526,281	565,329
Descent <sup>4</sup>	511,278	579,714	604,110	643,977
NZ <sup>5</sup>	3,373,926	3,618,300	3,737,277	4,027,947
		+/- (number)		
Iwi	n/a	57,090	28,734	57,846
Ethnicity	n/a	88,524	2,910	39,048
Descent	n/a	68,436	24,396	39,867
NZ	n/a	244,374	118,977	290,670
		+/- (%)		
Iwi	n/a	15.5	6.7	12.7
Ethnicity	n/a	20.4	0.6	7.4
Descent	n/a	13.4	4.2	6.6
NZ	n/a	7.2	3.3	7.8

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Due to classification and questionnaire changes, comparisons between 1991 and 1996 and/or 2001 and 2006 data should be treated with caution

<sup>2</sup>Total stated figure

<sup>3</sup>Includes those who state Māori as their sole ethnic group or one of several ethnic groups

<sup>4</sup>Excludes *Don't Know* and *Not Elsewhere Included* categories

<sup>5</sup>New Zealand resident population

n/a = not applicable

For the iwi identified population, the largest growth occurred between 1991 and 1996, 15.5 percent compared to 6.7 in the following intercensal period and 12.7 in the last period. As mentioned in chapter four, the most obvious reason for this large growth is due to a change in the framing of the iwi question and response formats, which would have encouraged more respondents to identify an iwi. Furthermore, I argued that individuals would have become more familiar with iwi identification by 1996, particularly in the context of Treaty settlements. The ethnic and descent populations also experienced their greatest growth between 1991 and 1996, 20.4 and 13.4 respectively. The growth effect of the Māori ethnic population in particular also reflected changes in the wording of the census question (see Appendix B), which essentially encouraged more individuals to report multiple ethnicities (Kukutai, 2001; Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-a). Moreover, these growths could also be a reflection of the increasing popularity of the Māori renaissance period, including Treaty settlements and retribalisation. The renaissance period was particularly marked by a revival of Māori cultural identity and the development of their unique political status as tangata whenua (Kukutai, 2010). In this sense, identifying as Māori, by either ethnic criteria,

yields not only material but also symbolic rewards (Kukutai, 2011). This then would have a flow-on effect by people increasingly identifying as Māori.

On the other hand, the New Zealand population had slightly different intercensal growth patterns. Its largest growth occurred in the period between 2001 and 2006, a growth size of 7.8 percent. This is reflective of the net migration and natural increase patterns of the focal period. Between 2000 and 2005, New Zealand experienced a significant increase in the net migration growth rate, well above the natural increase growth rate (Baxendine et al., 2005). In contrast, New Zealand experienced a rapid decline in negative net migration rate prior to 2000. This explains the very low growth size of the New Zealand population of only 3.3 percent, which at this particular period of time was predominantly driven by natural increases.

In fact, all four population groups experienced their lowest growth size between 1996 and 2001. The descent population experienced a growth size of 4.2 percent, but the iwi identified population grew faster, 6.7 percent. Again, this reinforces the idea that the iwi identified population is growing at a much faster rate than the descent population. The ethnic population only managed a 0.6 percent increase for the same period. This is a reflection of question change that occurred in 1996 (see Appendix B), which has an effect on intercensal comparisons. Analysts (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-a) identified three key effects of this change:

- increased multiple responses (people identifying more than one ethnicity);
- a consequent reduction in single responses;
- a tendency for respondents to answer the 1996 question on the basis of ancestry (or descent) rather than ethnicity (or cultural affiliation).

However, the ethnicity question for 2001 reverted back to the 1991 format with minor changes (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.-a). Hence, had the 1996 ethnic question remained the same as those posed in 1991 and 2006, then we would have expected to see a much more stable growth pattern for the ethnic population between 1991 and 2001.

### *Average annual growth rates*

The average annual growth rates method measures the annual rate of change within an intercensal period. This average annual growth rates method is relatively more sophisticated than the intercensal growth method because it distributes the level of growth evenly, particularly when the time periods between censuses are unequal. Calculating annual growth rates also allows us to compare with annual natural increase rates. There are three types of methods – arithmetic approximation, geometric and exponential. Table 5.3 shows the results of each method for the total iwi identified population for each intercensal period.

**Table 5.3 Average annual growth rates of the iwi population, 1991-2006**

	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Arithmetic	2.9	1.3	2.4
Geometric	2.9	1.3	2.4
Exponential	2.9	1.3	2.4

**Source:** This work is based on Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

Each method calculated the same results, which are consistent with the findings in the intercensal analysis. The highest growth rate occurred between 1991 and 1996, 2.9 percent per annum. This was followed by 2.4 percent per annum in the period between 2001 and 2006, and then 1.3 in between 1996 and 2001. Looking at the natural increase growth rates, between 1990 and 2005, the natural increase growth rate was consistently under 1.0 percent per annum and declined over this period (Baxendine et al., 2005). This rate was well under the growth rates of the total iwi identified population, reinforcing the idea that natural increase cannot be the sole factor of changing iwi identification patterns.

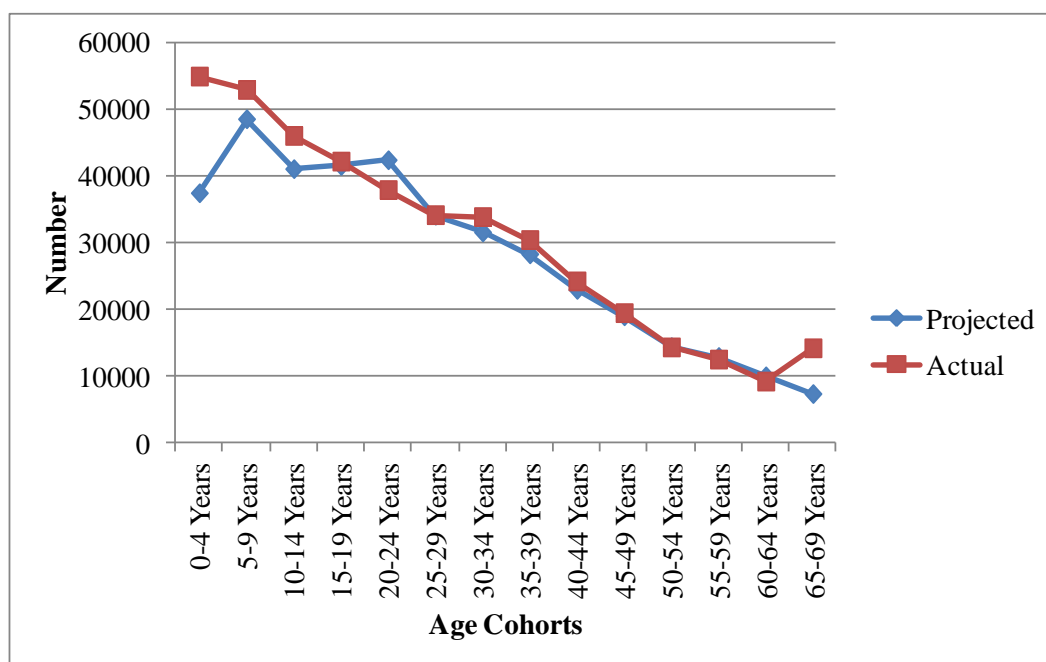
At the peak of Māori growth, the average annual growth rates of the Māori population between 1945 and 1966 were particularly high, which was predominantly driven by a decline in mortality rates in the first instance, then a high level of birth rates and fertility (Pool, 1991). Putting this back into perspective, during the immediate post-war period, the growth in the Māori population was predominantly driven by natural demographic processes (i.e. fertility and mortality). On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that a non-

demographic factor (i.e. ethnic mobility) is a significant factor in iwi population growth.

### 5.3 Cohort component analysis

This analysis compares the actual and expected (projected) total iwi identified population for 1996, 2001 and 2006 based on 1991 actual figures. The cohort component method is an even more sophisticated model because it allows us to compute the expected population in past periods. In addition, it allows us to identify key variances that we can confidently assume to be attributed to non-demographic factors, that is, ethnic mobility (see Section 4.4.3 for a more detailed description of the method). The base figures are adjusted only for births and deaths, that is, the model excludes adjustments for migration on the assumption that the Māori population is closed. Theoretically, if the actual and projected patterns are similar then the actual iwi population growth has primarily been determined by natural increase. Otherwise, differences between actual and projected figures indicate ethnic mobility. The results for the iwi identified population are shown in Figure 5.2 to Figure 5.4.

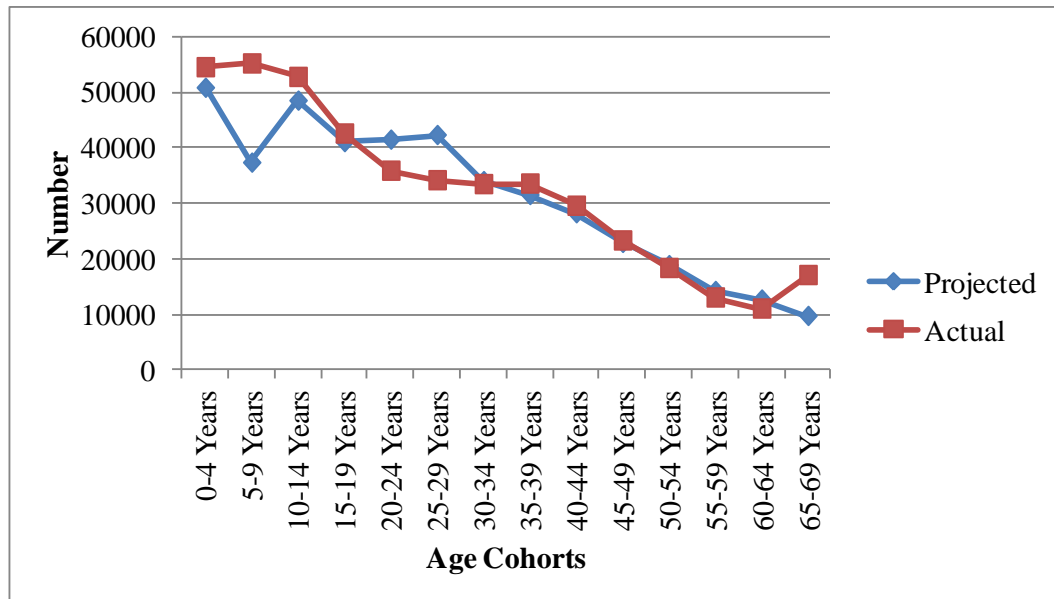
**Figure 5.2 Projected versus actual total iwi identified population by five-year age groups, 1996**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

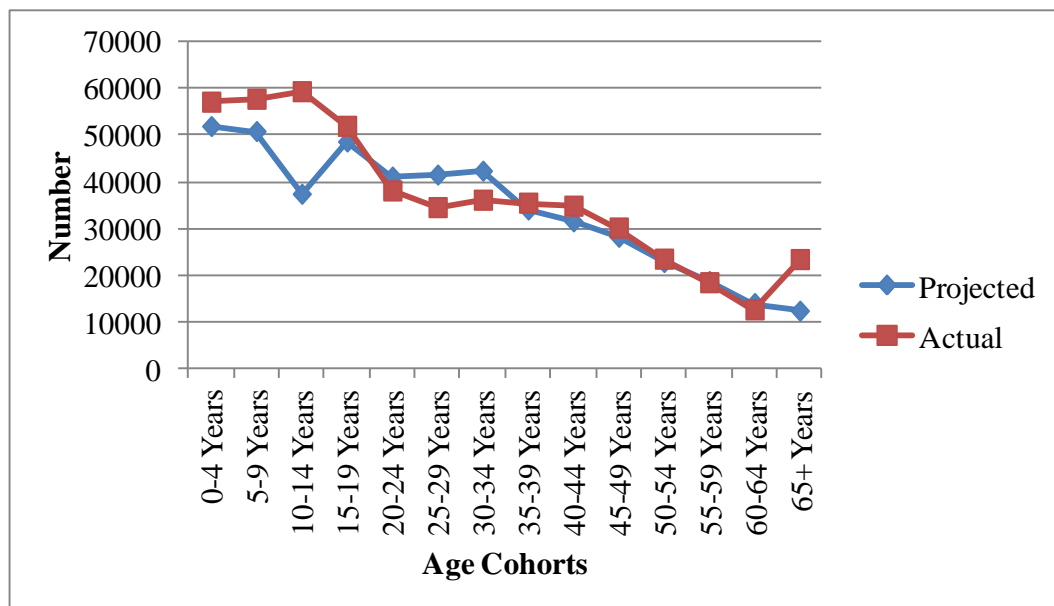


**Figure 5.3 Projected versus actual total iwi identified population by five-year age groups, 2001**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 5.4 Projected versus actual total iwi identified population by five-year age groups, 2006**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

For each census year, the patterns between the actual and observed total iwi identified population were for the most part very similar. However, there were two key areas of significant difference. First of all, the actual numbers of children (0-14) were much higher than the projected. This indicates that parents

(presumably mothers) were increasingly identifying an iwi for their children. However, there was a noticeable drop in the actual numbers amongst young people (15-29), suggesting that this particular age group are relatively more mobile in the sense that they tend to travel overseas more so than other age groups. Furthermore, this pattern could be a reflection of teenagers/young adults identifying themselves differently to what their parents would have identified when they (i.e. teenagers/young adults) were children, that is, lesser numbers of 15-29 years olds identified an iwi.

#### **5.4 Birth cohort analysis**

The birth cohort method tracks the demographic behaviour of birth cohorts as they pass through an age group. In theory, on the assumption that migration has no bearing on Māori population growth, we would expect the size of birth cohorts to decline over time because of mortality. The aim of this analysis is to identify key population changes of particular birth cohorts as they age through the passage of time. Furthermore, the method helps to identify any particular ages where birth cohorts have similar experiences. Table 5.4 shows the number of the iwi identified population by five-year birth cohorts at each census year, while the intercensal changes expressed as a percentage in Table 5.5.

There was a considerable amount of variability across all birth cohorts. Some birth cohort numbers increased between censuses while other cohort numbers decreased. In 2001, most cohorts had decreased in number. One trend, however, was that the iwi identification numbers increased as cohorts born between 1982 and 2001, passed through the ages of 0-14. This pattern strengthens the argument that an increasing number of parents (i.e. mothers) were identifying an iwi on behalf of their children, signalling the importance that parents place on having their children identified with their iwi. In contrast, however, there was a considerable drop in iwi identification as birth cohorts, particularly shown by those born between 1972 and 1991, passed through the ages of 15-29. This observation implies two important factors for this situation to occur. Firstly, that there are a proportion of young people who do not make the same affiliation decisions as their parents when they reach an independent age (e.g. 15 years and

over). Robitaille et al (2010) refers to the phenomenon of inter-generational ethnic mobility, where children express different ethnic affiliations from their parents but, typically happens amongst children whose parents have different ethnic identities. I suggest that young people do not make the same ethnic affiliation decisions as their parents, or do not identify an ethnic affiliation for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it could be that iwi affiliation does not have the same appeal or meaning to young people as it does to their parents. Secondly, young people are relatively more transient because they are usually participating in tertiary education and training, seeking for work opportunities, or moving between jobs and residences. Thirdly, this age group are disposed to travel overseas more so than other age groups. Therefore, there would be a higher proportion of young people who may not complete a census, either because they are out of the country or they overlook the importance of completing a census as they move between residences.

There was also negative growth experienced by cohorts born between 1932 and 1941, who passed through the ages of 60-64. This growth pattern is more likely to be explained by mortality effects rather than ethnic mobility. There appeared to be a stable growth pattern amongst cohorts who passed through the middle-ages, except in 1991, there were some cohorts who experienced significant growth, particularly those born between 1952 and 1966. I suggest that there is likely to be attributed to parents increasingly identifying their own iwi alongside their children.

**Table 5.4 Total iwi identified population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991	1996	2001	2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	56,955
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	54,492	57,579
1992-1996	n/a	54,882	55,170	59,190
1987-1991	48,216	52,878	52,740	51,801
1982-1986	40,674	45,996	42,555	38,025
1977-1981	41,127	42,156	35,871	34,464
1972-1976	42,102	37,893	34,158	36,045
1967-1971	33,885	34,137	33,456	35,412
1962-1966	31,404	33,852	33,558	34,770
1957-1961	28,137	30,414	29,565	30,114
1952-1956	22,833	24,225	23,319	23,469
1947-1951	18,912	19,476	18,366	18,450
1942-1946	14,334	14,346	13,062	12,663
1937-1941	12,915	12,528	11,070	n/a
1932-1936	10,053	9,234	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	7,482	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

**Table 5.5 Percentage change of total iwi identified population (aged 0-64) by five year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	5.7
1992-1996	n/a	0.5	7.3
1987-1991	9.7	-0.3	-1.8
1982-1986	13.1	-7.5	-10.6
1977-1981	2.5	-14.9	-3.9
1972-1976	-10.0	-9.9	5.5
1967-1971	0.7	-2.0	5.8
1962-1966	7.8	-0.9	3.6
1957-1961	8.1	-2.8	1.9
1952-1956	6.1	-3.7	0.6
1947-1951	3.0	-5.7	0.5
1942-1946	0.1	-9.0	-3.1
1937-1941	-3.0	-11.6	n/a
1932-1936	-8.1	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

## 5.5 Social demographic determinants

This section examines three social demographic characteristics of the iwi identified population, that are important to Māori identity and social well-being – education, te reo Māori and Māori ethnicity. The purpose of the exercise is to determine how the socio-demographic profile of the population changes over time, and to ascertain which sector of the population are driving population changes.

### *Education*

This analysis examines the iwi identified population by highest qualification levels and sex. The aim of this exercise is to determine how the composition changes over time and to ascertain the educational and gender characteristics of the population who drove the iwi identified growth patterns. Table 5.6 shows the number and percentage of the iwi population by highest qualification level and sex.

The composition of the population varied overtime. Overall, majority of the population had no qualifications. This is probably because the Māori population is relatively youthful and a high proportion of the Māori population have no or low qualifications. However, the percentage of the population with no qualifications had declined overtime. Between 1996 and 2006, there was an increase in the percentage of the population with post-school qualifications and degree/higher degree qualifications. This was particularly more noticeable in 2006, with 21.6 percent of the population with post-school qualifications and 7.7 percent with degree/higher degree qualifications. The percentage of the iwi population with school qualifications had also increased up until 2001, and then dropped in 2006. This could be due to a shift in the younger population finishing school and entering the tertiary education sector.

In terms of gender, there appeared to be considerable variability by education level and census period. For the most part however, females with no qualifications dropped more significantly than males. At the same time, there was a higher percentage of females with school qualifications than males. However,

in the earlier census periods, males dominated the higher level qualification levels but towards the end of the focal period, the percentage of females with a post-school qualification was greater.

**Table 5.6 Highest qualifications of the total iwi population (aged 15+) by sex, 1991-2006**

	1991	1996	2001	2006
Males				
None	42,906	59,439	50,298	nd
School	17,337	29,625	39,231	nd
Post-school	13,536	16,497	19,875	nd
Degree or higher	2,685	4,065	5,934	nd
Total males <sup>1</sup>	76,464	109,629	115,338	nd
Females				
None	45,726	64,653	52,392	nd
School	22,863	40,500	53,475	nd
Post-school	10,374	18,066	25,896	nd
Degree or higher	2,565	4,215	8,433	nd
Total females <sup>1</sup>	81,531	127,431	140,196	nd
Total Sex				
None	88,632	124,092	102,690	144,498
School	40,200	70,125	92,706	129,489
Post-school	23,910	34,563	45,768	83,607
Degree or higher	5,250	8,277	14,370	29,838
Total <sup>1</sup>	157,995	237,060	255,531	387,438
%				
Males				
None	56.1	54.2	43.6	n/a
School	22.7	27.0	34.0	n/a
Post-school	17.7	15.0	17.2	n/a
Degree or higher	3.5	3.7	5.1	n/a
Total males <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Females				
None	56.1	50.7	37.4	n/a
School	28.0	31.8	38.1	n/a
Post-school	12.7	14.2	18.5	n/a
Degree or higher	3.1	3.3	6.0	n/a
Total females <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Total Sex				
None	56.1	52.3	40.2	37.3
School	25.4	29.6	36.3	33.4
Post-school	15.1	14.6	17.9	21.6
Degree or higher	3.3	3.5	5.6	7.7
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total figures exclude *Not Elsewhere Included* or *other* categories

nd = no data available

Post-school qualifications consists of qualifications obtained in the tertiary sector e.g. national certificates and diplomas, that do not fall into the degree or higher degree category

From another perspective, Table 5.7 shows the intercensal changes of the iwi identified population by highest qualifications and sex. The growth patterns are consistent with the overall intercensal patterns where the largest growth across all qualification levels occurred between 1991 and 1996. This is likely to be the result of the changes in iwi question in 1996. In this same intercensal period, the largest growth occurred amongst those with school qualifications (74.4 percent), followed by degree qualified (57.7 percent) and post-school qualified (44.6 percent). There was also a huge increase in degree qualified persons, particularly between 2001 and 2006. In terms of sex, majority of the growth across all qualifications were mainly driven by females.

**Table 5.7 Percentage change of highest qualifications of the total iwi population (15 years and older) by sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Males			
None	38.5	-15.4	n/a
School	70.9	32.4	n/a
Post-school	21.9	20.5	n/a
Degree or higher	51.4	46.0	n/a
Total males	43.4	5.2	n/a
Females			
None	41.4	-19.0	n/a
School	77.1	32.0	n/a
Post-school	74.2	43.3	n/a
Degree or higher	64.3	100.1	n/a
Total females	56.3	10.0	n/a
Total Sex			
None	40.0	-17.3	40.7
School	74.4	32.2	39.7
Post-school	44.6	32.4	82.7
Degree or higher	57.7	73.6	107.6
Total	50.0	7.8	51.6

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

The next two tables, Table 5.8 and Table 5.9, focus on the iwi identified population with no qualifications by five-year age groups. There was huge growth in numbers between 1991 and 1996, but this is most likely attributed to an increase in persons identifying an iwi as a result of instrumental changes in 1996. Not surprisingly, there were a high proportion of young people (15-19) with no qualifications but dropped significantly in 2001. However, there were also a

relatively high number between the ages of 30 and 49 with no qualifications, particularly in 1996 and 2001. However, there was a huge drop in numbers, particularly between 1996 and 2001 across all age groups except one.

**Table 5.8 Number of the total iwi population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991	1996	2001	2006
15-19	13,962	18,021	15,642	nd
20-24	10,713	11,799	8,751	nd
25-29	11,004	13,785	8,640	nd
30-34	10,542	14,691	10,908	nd
35-39	8,673	13,977	11,670	nd
40-44	7,938	11,325	10,998	nd
45-49	6,549	10,350	9,069	nd
50-54	5,871	8,166	8,259	nd
55-59	4,659	7,287	6,126	nd
60-64	3,645	5,544	5,046	nd
65-69	2,355	4,209	3,333	nd
Total	85,911	119,154	98,442	144,498 <sup>1</sup>

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

<sup>1</sup>Unable to determine the age bracket therefore, this figure is not comparable for this data analysis

**Table 5.9 Percentage change of the total iwi population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
15-19	29.1	-13.2	nd
20-24	10.1	-25.8	nd
25-29	25.3	-37.3	nd
30-34	39.4	-25.8	nd
35-39	61.2	-16.5	nd
40-44	42.7	-2.9	nd
45-49	58.0	-12.4	nd
50-54	39.1	1.1	nd
55-59	56.4	-15.9	nd
60-64	52.1	-9.0	nd
65-69	78.7	-20.8	nd
Total	38.7	-17.4	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

n/a = not applicable

The shift in the education profile of the overall iwi population is likely to be a reflection of the broader socio-political context during the 1990s. In particular, it was a period where changes in educational policies and ideologies encouraged



more Māori to participate in education, especially tertiary level. Plus, education scholarships and grants offered by iwi and Māori organisations (e.g. Manaaki Tauira<sup>25</sup>), which provided further incentives for Māori to participate in education.

The tertiary education sector also underwent major reforms in the 1990s (Pollock, 2012). Previously, the tertiary education sector in particular was dominated by universities, polytechnics, colleges of education and wānanga (Māori tertiary institutes). However, the tertiary reforms of the 1990s opened the way for relatively smaller education and training facilities, including privately owned establishments, to enter the sector and deliver tertiary-level qualifications, including degrees. These education programmes included Government subsidised *Training Opportunity Programmes* (TOPs) and *Youth Training* programmes specifically aimed towards low qualified, unemployed persons (predominantly Māori), to upskill and enter the workforce.

Given this context, the changes in the education profile of the total iwi population was likely to be the result of two factors operating simultaneously. First, the profile change was brought about by *new* identifications with a school or higher qualification. Second, the change was brought about by an improvement in the qualification levels of iwi identified persons due to the increased participation in tertiary education.

#### *Te reo Māori speakers*

This analysis examines the composition of the iwi identified population who speak te reo Māori. Table 5.10 shows the number and percentage of the population classified into two categories – those who spoke and those who did not speak te reo Māori.

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<sup>25</sup> The Manaaki Tauira was a major education grant specifically aimed towards Māori participation in tertiary level education: “The Manaaki Tauira scheme was established to ensure that participation by Māori in tertiary education was not adversely affected when significant increases in tertiary fees were introduced in the early 1990s” (Office of the Auditor General, 2012). The scheme was axed in the mid-2000s.

**Table 5.10 Number and percentage of the total iwi population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori Indicator	1996	2001	2006
Speak	112,560	113,598	118,518
Not speak	292,629	324,261	378,420
Total <sup>1</sup>	405,189	437,859	496,932
MEG <sup>2</sup> – speak	129,048	130,479	131,613
Total MEG <sup>1</sup>	493,686	501,534	537,681
	%		
Speak	27.8	25.9	23.8
Not speak	72.2	74.1	76.2
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
MEG – speak	26.1	26.0	24.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

No language spoken data was collected in 1991.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes ‘no language’ and ‘not elsewhere identified’

<sup>2</sup>MEG = Māori ethnic group

Overall, about three quarters of the population did not speak te reo, and the percentage increased over time. Interestingly, the proportion of the iwi identified population who did speak te reo was similar to the proportion of the Māori ethnic group who also spoke te reo, suggesting a strong correlation of Māori identity and hence, Māori identification – language, Māori ethnicity and iwi identity.

Table 5.11 shows the intercensal changes of the iwi identified population by te reo categories. Going against the overall intercensal trend, the intercensal growth between 2001 and 2006 was much larger. This appeared to be driven more so by those who did not speak te reo (16.7 percent). In comparison, the intercensal changes of the MEG population was quite stable.

**Table 5.11 Percentage change of the total iwi population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996-2001	2001-2006
Speak	0.9	4.3
Not speak	10.8	16.7
Total	8.0	13.5
MEG – speak	1.1	0.9

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**Notes:**

No language spoken data was collected in 1991.

### *Māori ethnicity indicator*

The intercensal analysis in Section 5.2 indicated varying population sizes of Māori ethnic-based categories. Roughly three quarters of the Māori descent population identified an iwi. This analysis in particular looks at the sector of the iwi identified population who identified as Māori ethnicity. Table 5.12 presents the number and percentages by Māori ethnicity indicators. Overall, there was a higher proportion (around 90 percent) of the iwi identified population who identified as Māori ethnic. Again, this suggests a high correlation between indicators of Māori identity, in this case ethnicity and iwi. However, when looking at the intercensal changes presented in Table 5.13, there appeared to be unusual variability in intercensal periods. Between 1991 and 1996, the Māori ethnicity group experienced the highest growth. This is most likely a reflection of the instrumental changes that occurred during this time. However, between 1996 and 2001, the trend reversed. The growth size was much more pronounced amongst those who did not identify as Māori ethnicity.

**Table 5.12 Number and percentage of the total iwi population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnic indicator	1991	1996	2001
Māori ethnicity	259,995	387,861	398,901
Not Māori ethnicity	31,308	35,076	53,022
Total <sup>1</sup>	291,300	422,937	451,923
		%	
Māori ethnicity	89.3	91.7	88.3
Not Māori ethnicity	10.7	8.3	11.7
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

<sup>1</sup>Total excludes 'not elsewhere included'

**Table 5.13 Percentage change of the total iwi population by Māori ethnic indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnic indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001
Māori ethnicity	49.2	2.8
Not Māori ethnicity	12.0	51.2
Total	45.2	6.9

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

## 5.6 Summary

The total iwi population grew by a massive 39 percent between 1991 to 2006, in comparison to the Māori descent (26 percent), MEG (30 percent) and total New Zealand population (19.4 percent). These overall patterns suggest different population drivers affecting different population groups. For the iwi population, ethnic mobility was a significant factor of change, whereas the total New Zealand population was predominantly driven by natural increases and to some extent, immigration.

The intercensal analysis also highlighted the instrumental affects, particularly on the iwi population and MEG. For the iwi identified population, the largest growth occurred between 1991 and 1996 and then between 2001 and 2006. This trend shown was reinforced further using the annual average growth rates method. The lowest growth occurred between 1996 and 2001, which was unusual considering that a supplementary list of iwi was provided to assist respondents to indicate their iwi.

The significance of ethnic mobility was also reaffirmed by the cohort analyses in sections 5.3 and 5.4. The cohort component analysis showed that the variances between the observed and projected numbers in the iwi population was attributed to parents (presumably mothers) increasingly identifying their children with an iwi. At the same time, there was a corresponding increase at the middle-ages, presumably mothers. However, there was a noticeable drop in the proportion of young people (15-29 years). I argued that this was likely to be a reflection of the age group travelling overseas but, also an inter-generational ethnic mobility effect where younger adults make different ethnic identification choices to their parents. The birth cohort analysis further strengthened the previous analysis by showing increases overtime, that essentially can only be due to *new* identifications.

The socio-demographic analyses of the iwi identified population showed three important trends: a noticeable shift in the education profile of the iwi identified population, a strong correlation between Māori identity indicators, and growth driven by persons who did not identify as Māori ethnicity nor spoke te reo Māori.

Initially, the majority of the population had no qualifications but, in later censuses, the profile changed significantly when there were greater increases in persons with school qualifications and higher qualifications. This is likely to be a reflection of the general age structure of the Māori population, which is relatively more youthful than non-Māori. Another important factor to consider is the broader political context, particularly in the 1990s where there were major reforms in the Tertiary education sector. This is important to consider because more education and tertiary facilities entered the sector and offered targeted programmes that encouraged more Māori to participate in education. Furthermore, iwi authorities and Māori organisations offered scholarships and grants, providing further incentives for Māori to participate. Therefore, we cannot fully assume that the changes in the education profile of the iwi population was driven by ethnic mobility, that is, more people identifying with an iwi. Instead, I argue that the change was brought about by a mixture of two factors – new identifications *and* improved qualification levels of the iwi identified population.

Approximately three quarters of the iwi identified population did not speak te reo Māori. However, the proportion of the population who did speak was similar to the proportion of the MEG who also spoke te reo. This suggests a strong correlation between indicators of Māori identity, that is, those who identify as Māori ethnicity and speak te reo, are more than likely to identify an iwi. An examination of the Māori ethnicity profile of the population, showed a high proportion of the population who did identify as Māori ethnicity. Interestingly, however, the intercensal analyses showed that most of the change was driven by those who did not identify as Māori ethnicity.

The next two chapters apply the same methods adopted in the analysis of the iwi identified population. Chapter six looks at the growth patterns of Ngāi Tahu and Waikato, two prominent iwi that received substantial settlements in the 1990s. This is then followed by an analysis of Ngāti Awa, who settled in 2003 but for a significantly lesser amount of monies, and Tūhoe.

## **Chapter 6: Ngāi Tahu and Waikato growth patterns**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter analysed changes in the population size and composition of the total iwi identified population between 1991 and 2006. It showed that the most significant increase occurred between 1991 and 1996, and that this was most likely to be caused by instrumental effects. Furthermore, the chapter showed a major trend of parents, presumably mothers, increasingly identifying their children, and correspondingly for themselves. However, there was a noticeable shift once children reached the young adult ages of 15 to 29, suggesting that this particular group travel overseas, but also do not adopt the same ethnic identification practices as their parents. The socio-demographic analyses showed a shift in the education profile, which I argued was brought about by a mixture of new identifications and improved qualification levels. There also appeared to be a strong correlation between Māori ethnicity, speakers of te reo Māori and iwi identification, suggesting that those who had a strong sense of Māori identity were more likely to identify an ethnic identity provided in the census. However, intercensal changes in the iwi identified population were for the most part driven by those who did not speak te reo Māori or identify as Māori ethnicity.

Because the iwi identified population is an aggregate of individual iwi, its growth trajectories may obscure underlying patterns occurring at the individual level. Simply put, while the size of the total iwi identified population may be increasing or decreasing at certain intervals, the opposite may be occurring for individual iwi. More in-depth analyses are essential to fully understand changes in patterns of identification over time.

This chapter expands the analysis of iwi growth patterns by investigating the demographic trajectories of two large and politically prominent iwi: Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. These iwi groups reached independent settlements with the Crown in 1995 and 1997 respectively, relating to the alienation of land and other injustices during the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. The aim of this chapter is to identify the key components predominantly driving their

population growth patterns, and to situate these patterns within the broader socio-political context including the settlement process.

This chapter is organised into two sections. The first case study analyses the growth and compositional changes of the Ngāi Tahu population, while the second case study focuses on Waikato. Each case study begins with a general background, followed by their analyses between 1991 and 2006, using the same methods applied in the previous chapter. This chapter then concludes with a summary of the results, and the implications this has for the following analyses of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, and the broader study of changing identification patterns.

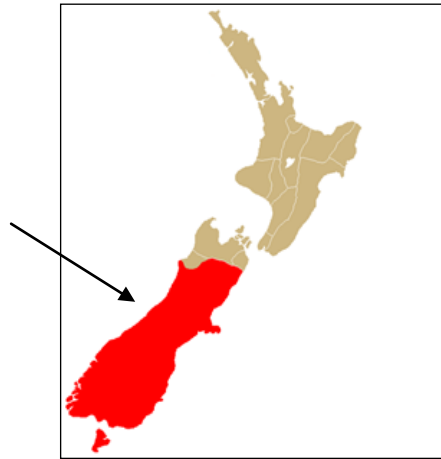
## **6.2 Case study one: Ngāi Tahu**

### *Background*

Ngāi Tahu/Kāi Tahu is the principal iwi grouping with customary rangatiratanga (authority) over most of the South Island. Ngai Tahu comprises three iwi groups – Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoē and Waitaha. All individuals descended from their five primary hapū: Kāti Kurī, Ngāti Irakehu, Kāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996)

In the 2006 census, Ngāi Tahu was the fourth largest iwi. However, geographically it has the largest rohe (area), covering approximately 80 percent of the South Island (Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996). As shown in Figure 6.1, the rohe extends from Kaikoura on the East Coast, across to the West Coast and down to Stewart Island. The main metropolitan areas within their rohe are located on the east and south coasts - Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill.

**Figure 6.1 Approximate area of Ngāi Tahu**



Ngāi Tahu have a lengthy history of sustained contact with Pākehā, dating back as early as 1795. The newcomers, mostly men, came from various European backgrounds and settled around the coastal areas with whaling stations, many of them subsequently partnering with Ngāi Tahu women (Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996; Wanhalla, 2009). These inter-racial unions were not only mutually beneficial in terms of economic prosperity (Anderson, 1991), but were also socially and culturally beneficial:

...the shore whaling era produced long-term interracial relationships, and mixed-descent population with strong familial bonds and cultural ties to Ngāi Tahu...shore whaling was ‘not simply an economic activity, but a social and cultural complex’ based on physical hybridity, and cultural, economic and technological intermixing...a set of relationships based not on ‘casual, promiscuous encounters but the development of marital unions which gave rise to the distinct family units’ (Wanhalla, 2009, p. 37)

By 1891, a high proportion (32 percent) of the Ngāi Tahu population were mixed descent compared to other iwi and regions (Wanhalla, 2009). Because of their long and complex history of intermarriage and contact with Pākehā, Ngāi Tahu have often been construed as *less* Māori than other iwi, with Tūhoe and Waikato regarded as *more* Māori (Gould, 1996; O’Regan, 2001). In addition Ngāi Tahu people shared socio-economic and physical similarities with Pākehā (Wanhalla, 2009). This perception of Ngāi Tahu was further reinforced when the iwi gained political prominence in the mid-1990s for their Treaty claims and subsequent settlements (O’Regan, 2001). O’Regan (2001) refers to phrases such as “less Māori”, “the white tribe”, “other Māori”, “Pākehā iwi”, “greedy, wealthy, plastic



Māoris”, to describe the general perception of Ngāi Tahu people, from both the wider Pākeha and Māori communities. On this premise, many outside the iwi felt that Ngāi Tahu were less deserving of settlements than other iwi (O'Regan, 2001). Work by Gould (1996), for example, has shown that while Ngāi Tahu have better socio-economic outcomes than most other iwi such as Tūhoe or Waikato, the proportion who speak te reo Māori and identify as Māori ethnicity would be relatively smaller.

#### *Treaty settlement and claims history*

Given their history of intermarriage and subsequent antagonism brought about by their 1997 settlement, O'Regan (2001) argues that Ngāi Tahu have a unique identity that is a product of circumstance, which makes them no less than Māori. In this respect, Ngāi Tahu experienced grievances that dated back to 1849 and signalled its intentions to claim redress for breaches of the Treaty well before the mid-1990s.

Ngāi Tahu sold 34.5 million acres of land (approximately 14 million hectares) to the Crown between 1844 and 1864. In return for the sale, 10 percent of adequate land was to be reserved for the iwi and the Crown was to establish schools and hospitals (*Ngāi Tahu settlement: Briefing kit*, 1996; Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996). However, the Crown failed to honour their obligations of the contract and in addition, refused to pay a fair price for the land. As a consequence, Ngāi Tahu experienced dramatic loss and deprivation:

...as a result of the purchases, Ngāi Tahu was reduced from owning about half of New Zealand's land mass, to holding barely 15,000 hectares (some 37,500 acres), much of which was of little economic use...the purchase process deprived them of any way in which they could participate meaningfully and effectively for themselves... (*Ngāi Tahu settlement: Briefing kit*, 1996, "Historical summary," para. 8).

After a lengthy period of negotiations, Ngāi Tahu reached a landmark agreement in October 1996 of \$170 million worth of assets, one of the largest in settlement history to date<sup>26</sup>. As a result, *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu* was established under the

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<sup>26</sup> The *Deed of Settlement* was not signed until November 1997.

*Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996*. It is the main tribal or governing body of Ngāi Tahu for the purposes of managing the Treaty of Waitangi settlement assets for the interests and aspirations of its members. The body constitutes 18 rūnanga/rūnaka representing locations in the rohe. An elected representative from each of the rūnanga make up the tribal authority to oversee its functions. Ngāi Tahu currently has major economic interests in the tourism and seafood industries, as well as various investment portfolios and property. It also has a social services arm to serve the social and health needs of its people.

### 6.2.1 Intercensal growth patterns

Table 6.1 shows the number reporting as Ngāi Tahu in each census between 1991 and 2006, and the percentage change. Clearly Ngāi Tahu experienced extraordinary growth during this period, more than doubling in size from a baseline population of 20,304 to 49,185 in 2006. Growth was significant across all intercensal periods (ranging from 43.5 to 25.5 percent), but was especially marked between 1991 and 1996.

**Table 6.1 Number and percentage change of Ngāi Tahu population, 1991-2006**

Year	Ngāi Tahu	+/- (number)	+/- (%)
1991	20,304	n/a	n/a
1996	29,136	8,832	43.5
2001	39,180	10,044	34.5
2006	49,185	10,005	25.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

While the growth between 1991 and 1996 can be partly attributed to instrumental changes in the census, it was also a period of great socio-political change as Ngāi Tahu prepared for their settlement. Media attention on Ngāi Tahu and Government relations was especially prominent immediately prior to signing their *Deed of Settlement* in November 1997 (Barlow, 1996, October 5; "Ngāi Tahu settlement likely before election," 1996). The landmark settlement package and the debates surrounding their settlement, especially around the time of the October 1996 general elections, would have heightened awareness the profile of Ngāi Tahu and their engagement in a settlement with the Crown.

After the 1997 settlement, although the relative growth had decreased in subsequent censuses, the number of individuals identifying as Ngāi Tahu still increased substantially. I propose that the growth experienced by Ngāi Tahu in 2001 and 2006, was attributed to the prominence of iwi registration and identification, brought about by individuals becoming more familiar with Ngāi Tahu and the generous services that they offered to registered members, such as saving schemes and education scholarships.

*Average annual growth rates*

Table 6.2 shows the average annual growth rates for Ngāi Tahu for each quinquennial period between 1991 and 2006. Each method produced similar results for each intercensal period – about 7.2 percent per annum between 1991 and 1996 – to 4.6 percent per annum between 2001 and 2006. One way of putting these trends in perspective is to compare them with the average annual growth rates of the total iwi identified population. There are two key points of difference. In any given period, Ngāi Tahu growth rates were much higher, but declined over time. In comparison, the total iwi identified population rates dropped then rose between 2001 and 2006.

**Table 6.2 Average annual growth rates (%) for Ngāi Tahu population, 1991-2006**

Method	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Arithmetic	7.2	5.9	4.5
Geometric	7.5	6.1	4.7
Exponential	7.2	5.9	4.6

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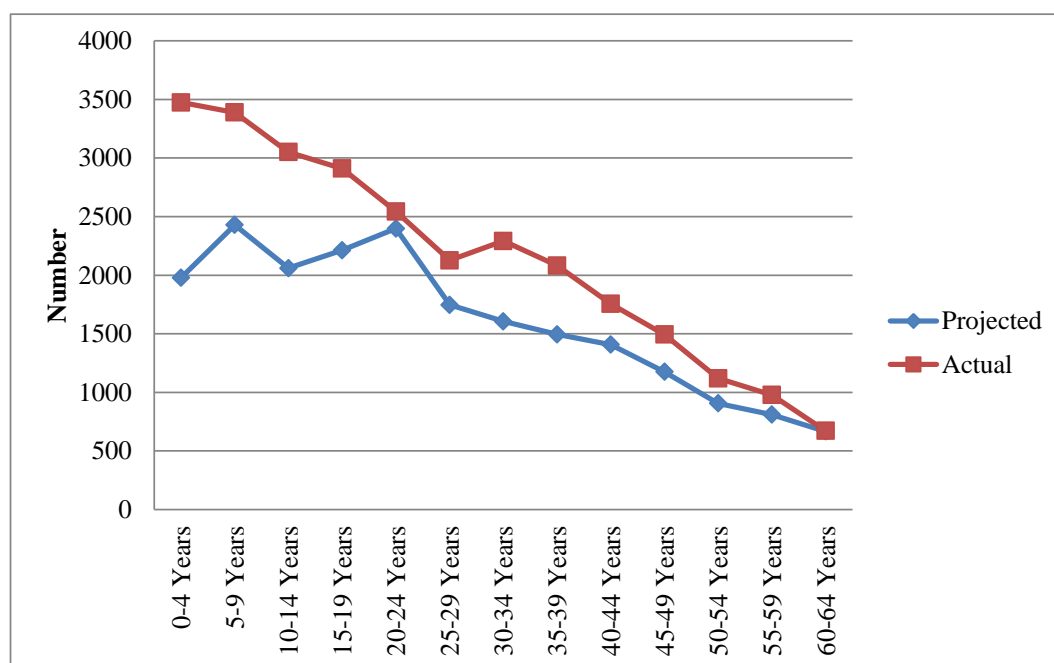
This comparison clearly highlights that focusing solely on the growth patterns of the total iwi identified population overlooks key dynamics occurring at the individual iwi level. While Ngāi Tahu experienced high levels of growth, the analysis at the total iwi identified population suggested moderate iwi population growth. One of the main reasons for this anomaly is that the total iwi identified population growth pattern is a reflection of the sum total of all individual iwi population numbers, consisting of a mixture of pre-settlement and post-settlement iwi. It is probable that a significant number of individual iwi, relatively smaller in organisational capacity, would not have had similar experiences or growth

patterns to the extent as Ngāi Tahu. This means that these smaller iwi population numbers would have either counteracted or minimised the impact of Ngāi Tahu population numbers on the total iwi identified population growth pattern.

### 6.2.2 Cohort component analysis

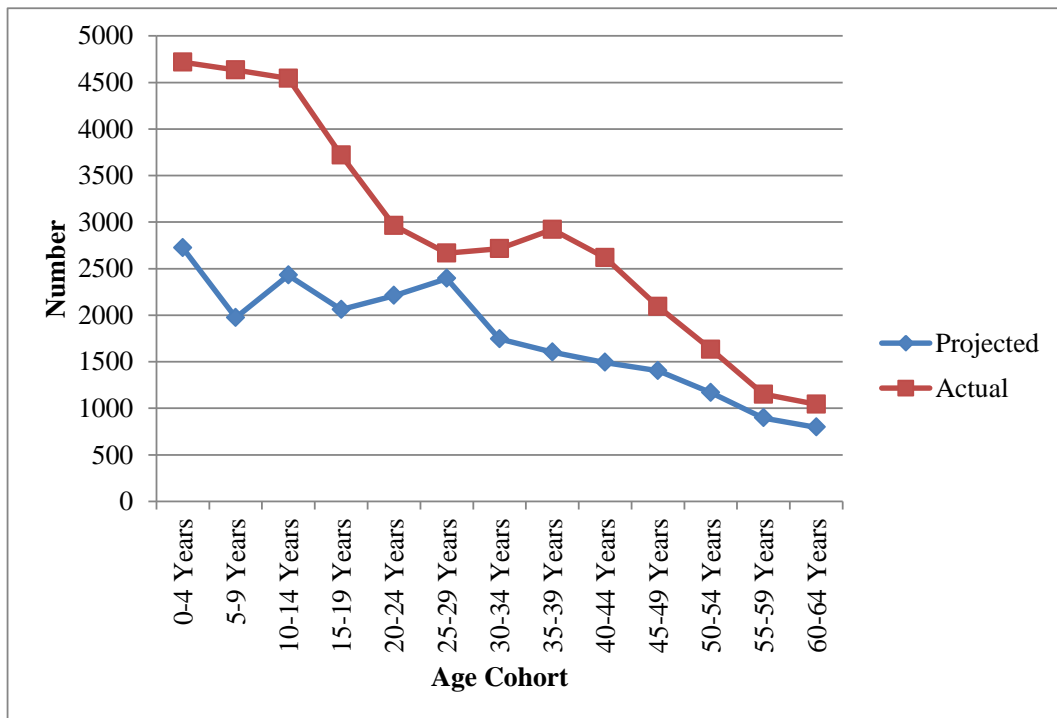
Using the Ngāi Tahu population in the 1991 census as the baseline, this analysis projects the expected population numbers of each five-year age group forward to 1996, 2001 and 2006, and compares them with the numbers enumerated (see Section 4.4.3 for a description of this method). The purpose of this analysis is to identify the key areas of difference between the projected and actual data. Based on natural demographic processes, we would expect the projected and actual figures to be very similar. Thus, any major differences between the projected and actual figures, are likely to be explained by non-demographic factors. The results for Ngāi Tahu are shown in Figure 6.2 to Figure 6.4 below.

**Figure 6.2 Expected and actual Ngāi Tahu population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 1996**



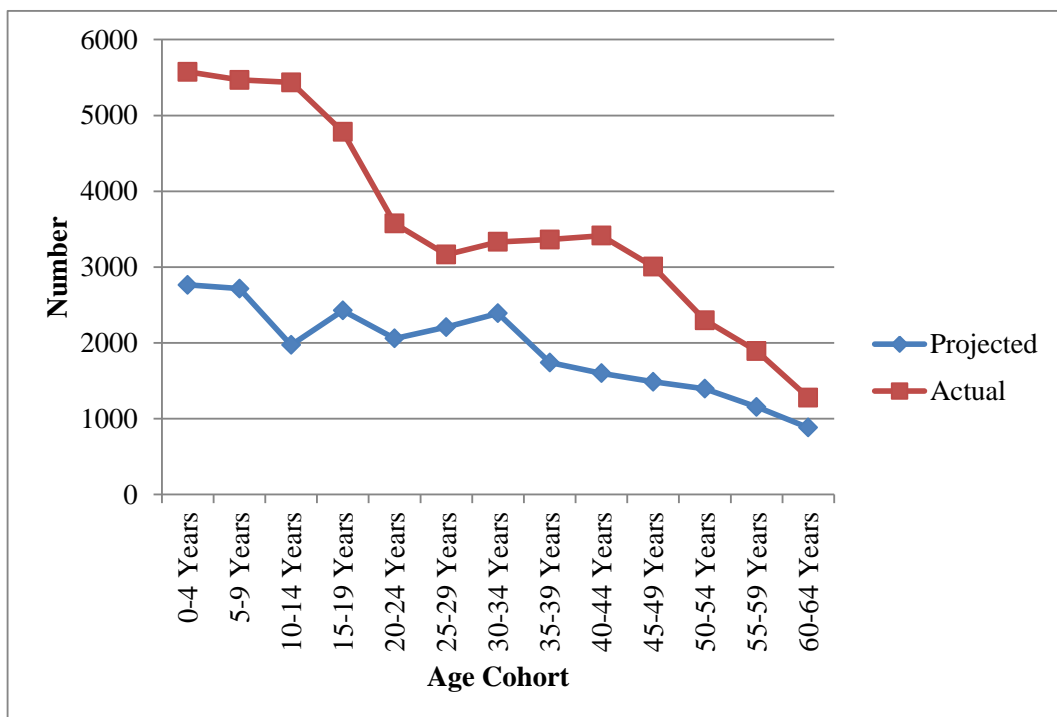
Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 6.3 Expected and actual Ngāi Tahu population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2001**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 6.4 Expected and actual Ngāi Tahu population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2006**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

There are three key points to be taken from the analysis. First, the actual population is higher than the projected population across all age groups. Given that the projections take account of natural increase, the difference could only be explained by an increase in identification (i.e. ethnic mobility). The biggest difference between the actual and projected figures occurred amongst children (0-14). This suggests that parents (mothers) were increasingly identifying their children with a Ngāi Tahu identity. Second, the actual number of individuals aged (35-49), assuming to be the parents, was significantly higher than the projected population numbers. This implies the importance and interest that parents place on an iwi identity for their children. Thirdly, there was a marked drop in the actual numbers for the young adult ages (15-29) across all three census years. This pattern is likely to be due to young adults travelling overseas or it could be a reflection of young adults having different identification choices from their parents.

### **6.2.3 Birth cohort analysis**

As explained in the methodology chapter, this analysis tracks the population sizes of birth cohorts as they pass through various age brackets. Because we have assumed that the Māori population is a closed population, we expect to see the birth cohorts to reduce in number across time because of mortality effects. Therefore, any increases in number can only be explained by *new* persons identifying an iwi. The results for the Ngāi Tahu population aged between 0 to 64 are shown in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3 Ngāi Tahu population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991	1996	2001	2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	5,574
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	4,719	5,469
1992-1996	n/a	3,474	4,635	5,436
1987-1991	2,436	3,390	4,545	4,785
1982-1986	2,061	3,051	3,720	3,573
1977-1981	2,214	2,910	2,964	3,165
1972-1976	2,400	2,544	2,667	3,333
1967-1971	1,749	2,127	2,715	3,363
1962-1966	1,605	2,292	2,922	3,414
1957-1961	1,497	2,082	2,619	3,006
1952-1956	1,413	1,755	2,094	2,298
1947-1951	1,179	1,494	1,635	1,893
1942-1946	915	1,119	1,152	1,278
1937-1941	822	978	1,044	n/a
1932-1936	678	672	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	498	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

At every census, the size of each birth cohorts increased except for two birth cohorts 1982-1986 and 1932-1936. This confirms that the overall population growth experienced by Ngāi Tahu are mainly the result of persons *new* persons identifying an iwi (i.e. ethnic mobility). There was also a slight drop in numbers for the birth cohort 1932-1936, which was more than likely to be attributed to mortality. The decrease in the birth cohort 1982-1986, can be attributed to, at the very least, overseas travel. This is expected considering that at the ages of 15-29, young people tend to be more mobile as they seek for work opportunities or overseas experiences. However, the same could not be stated about the cohorts of 1977-1981 and 1972-1976 who experienced a slight growth in numbers as they passed through the ages of 15-24. In response to this trend, I argue that young people (15-29) also typically enter the tertiary education sector. Thus, an increase in the numbers of the 1977-1981 and 1972-1976 birth cohorts was probably brought about by an increase in numbers entering the tertiary sector, and therefore, becoming aware of iwi and the incentives they offer.

**Table 6.4 Percentage change of Ngāi Tahu population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	15.9
1992-1996	n/a	33.4	17.3
1987-1991	39.2	34.1	5.3
1982-1986	48.0	21.9	-4.0
1977-1981	31.4	1.9	6.8
1972-1976	6.0	4.8	25.0
1967-1971	21.6	27.6	23.8
1962-1966	42.8	27.5	16.8
1957-1961	39.1	25.8	14.8
1952-1956	24.2	19.3	9.7
1947-1951	26.7	9.4	15.8
1942-1946	22.3	3.0	10.9
1937-1941	19.0	6.8	n/a
1932-1936	-0.9	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	n/a	n/a	n/a

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Table 6.4 shows the intercensal changes. The patterns confirm that the largest growth occurred amongst younger birth cohorts and middle-aged cohorts. Again, reaffirming the idea that parents were also identifying more with Ngāi Tahu in conjunction with their children.

### 6.2.4 Social demographic determinants

The previous three analyses measured the intercensal and cohort growth patterns. Based on these analyses, we know that the growth patterns of Ngāi Tahu were predominantly driven by ethnic mobility, particularly amongst children and their parents.

The analyses of this section identifies specific socio-demographic characteristics of the Ngāi Tahu population, using four key socio-demographic variables important to Māori identity and social-wellbeing – location, education, te reo Māori and Māori ethnicity. The objectives of this analysis are two-fold. The first is to examine the changes in the socio-demographic profile over time and the second is to identify the characteristics of the population who predominantly drive population growth.



### *Rohe indicator*

This section examines the location of Ngāi Tahu population for two purposes. The first is to examine the compositional changes over time. The second purpose is to identify the spatial characteristics of the population predominantly driving population change. The population is categorised into two categories – those living within and outside the rohe. To obtain the numbers of those living within the rohe, this analysis uses data from those territorial authorities that are approximately located within the rohe, from the Tasman district to Invercargill<sup>27</sup>. Table 6.5 shows the number and percentage of the total Ngāi Tahu population by rohe indicator across all four censuses.

**Table 6.5: Number of Ngāi Tahu population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991	1996	2001	2006
Inside	12,444	16,485	20,829	25,416
Outside	7,830	12,645	18,336	23,766
Total	20,304	29,136	39,180	49,185
		%		
Inside	61.3	56.6	53.2	51.7
Outside	38.6	43.4	46.8	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

The data shows that at any given census, the majority of Ngāi Tahu population lived within the rohe. This is not surprising considering that the customary rohe of Ngāi Tahu is significantly large. Although there were numerical increases over time, the composition of those living within the rohe had steadily declined over time from 61.3 percent in 1991 to 51.7 percent in 2006. This suggests that the Ngāi Tahu population living outside the rohe were growing at a much faster rate than those living within the rohe.

From another perspective, Table 6.6 shows the intercensal percentage changes. Clearly, at each intercensal period, growth was mainly driven by those living

<sup>27</sup> Territorial Authorities are: Ashburton District, Buller District, Central Otago District, Clutha District, Christchurch City, Dunedin City, Gore District, Grey District, Hurunui District, Invercargill City, Kaikoura District, Mackenzie District, Nelson City, Queenstown-Lakes District, Selwyn District, Southland District, Tasman District, Timaru District, Waimakariri District, Waimate District, Waitaki District and Westland District.

outside the rohe, particularly between 1991 and 1996. This reaffirms that although both groups experienced growth overtime, those living outside the rohe were driving most of the population growth.

**Table 6.6 Percentage change (%) of the Ngāi Tahu population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Inside	32.5	26.4	22.0
Outside	61.5	45.0	29.6
Total	43.5	34.5	25.5

**Source:** This work is based on Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

### *Education*

This section examines the education profile of the Ngāi Tahu population for two purposes. The first part examines the compositional changes, so as to determine the educational characteristics of the population that is growing the fastest. The second part, studies the intercensal growth patterns to determine the characteristics of the group that is predominantly driving most of the intercensal change.

As indicated in Table 6.7, a high proportion of the population had no qualifications in 1991 (42.6 percent) and 1996 (40.0 percent). This changed in the later censuses, where the majority of the population had a school qualification, 39.8 percent in 2001 and 35.5 percent in 2006. This suggests that although more people were identifying as Ngāi Tahu at each year, the fastest growth was occurring amongst those with no or low qualifications.

**Table 6.7 Ngāi Tahu population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991	1996	2001	2006
Males				
None	2,259	3,078	3,267	nd
School	1,539	2,511	3,693	nd
Post-school	1,191	1,611	2,175	nd
Degree or higher	468	582	849	nd
Total males <sup>1</sup>	5,457	7,779	9,987	nd
Females				
None	2,598	3,798	3,699	nd
School	1,995	3,387	5,421	nd
Post-school	921	1,656	2,625	nd
Degree or higher	420	585	1,146	nd
Total females <sup>1</sup>	5,934	9,429	12,888	nd
Total Sex				
None	4,857	6,876	6,966	8,814
School	3,534	5,898	9,114	10,980
Post-school	2,112	3,267	4,800	7,449
Degree or higher	888	1,167	1,995	3,678
Total <sup>1</sup>	11,391	17,208	22,875	30,921
%				
Males				
None	41.4	39.6	32.7	n/a
School	28.2	32.3	37.0	n/a
Post-school	21.8	20.7	21.8	n/a
Degree or higher	8.6	7.5	8.5	n/a
Total males <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Females				
None	43.8	40.3	28.7	n/a
School	33.6	35.9	42.1	n/a
Post-school	15.5	17.6	20.4	n/a
Degree or higher	7.1	6.2	8.9	n/a
Total females <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Total Sex				
None	42.6	40.0	30.5	28.5
School	31.0	34.3	39.8	35.5
Post-school	18.5	19.0	21.0	24.1
Degree or higher	7.8	6.8	8.7	11.9
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total figures exclude *Not Elsewhere Included* or *Other* categories

nd = no data available

Post-school qualifications consists of qualifications obtained in the tertiary sector e.g. national certificates and diplomas, that do not fall into the degree or higher degree category

Gender compositions were quite variable. For the most part, there were a higher percentage of females with no qualifications in 1991 and 1996, but dropped below the percentage of males in 2001. At the same time, there was a noticeable increase in the percentage of females with a school qualification. Males featured

more dominantly at the higher qualification levels, but except in 2001 where there was a slightly higher percentage of females with a degree or higher. Furthermore, compositional changes of the male population at the higher qualification levels appeared more stable.

Table 6.8 shows that the largest intercensal growth occurred between 1991 and 1996, which is consistent with the overall iwi and Ngāi Tahu intercensal growth patterns. In the first intercensal period, the largest growth happened more so amongst those with a school qualification, but in later periods the biggest growth size was amongst those with a degree or higher qualification. In terms of gender, women dominated intercensal growth at every qualification level.

**Table 6.8 Percentage change (%) of Ngāi Tahu population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Males			
None	36.2	6.1	n/a
School	63.2	47.1	n/a
Post-school	35.3	35.0	n/a
Degree or higher	24.4	45.9	n/a
Total males	42.56	28.4	n/a
Females			
None	46.2	-2.6	n/a
School	69.8	60.1	n/a
Post-school	79.8	58.5	n/a
Degree or higher	39.3	95.9	n/a
Total females	58.9	36.7	n/a
Total Sex			
None	41.6	1.3	26.5
School	66.9	54.5	20.5
Post-school	54.7	46.9	55.2
Degree or higher	31.4	71.0	84.4
Total	51.1	32.9	35.2

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Table 6.9 and

Table 6.10 show the intercensal growth patterns amongst the Ngāi Tahu population with no qualifications. Previous analyses showed that in earlier censuses, there were a high proportion of the Ngāi Tahu population with no qualifications, but, overtime the proportion had dropped in the 2001 and 2006

censuses. The data shows that a high proportion of those aged 25 to 29 had the biggest drop in numbers between 1996 and 2001. In the same intercensal period, those aged 50 to 54 had the biggest increase. Between 1991 and 1996, the biggest growth occurred amongst those aged 45-49 and 65-69. This suggests that older adults were driving most of the population change amongst those with no qualifications.

**Table 6.9 Number of Ngāi Tahu population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991	1996	2001	2006
15-19	732	1,038	1,149	nd
20-24	414	471	498	nd
25-29	492	558	429	nd
30-34	480	732	591	nd
35-39	447	696	717	nd
40-44	471	585	690	nd
45-49	417	675	609	nd
50-54	375	519	645	nd
55-59	363	486	474	nd
60-64	261	378	426	nd
65-69	189	306	297	nd
Total	4,641	6,438	6,525	8,814 <sup>1</sup>

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

<sup>1</sup>Unable to determine the age bracket therefore, this figure is not comparable for this data analysis

**Table 6.10 Percentage change of Ngāi Tahu population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
15-19	41.8	10.7	nd
20-24	13.8	5.7	nd
25-29	13.4	-23.1	nd
30-34	52.5	-19.3	nd
35-39	55.7	3.0	nd
40-44	24.2	18.0	nd
45-49	61.9	-9.8	nd
50-54	38.4	24.3	nd
55-59	33.9	-2.5	nd
60-64	44.8	12.7	nd
65-69	61.9	-2.9	nd
Total	38.7	1.4	n/a

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**Notes:**

nd = no data available

n/a = not applicable

The educational profile of Ngai Tahu showed a clear improvement, particularly in the post-settlement period. I argue that this is due to a combination of changes in the educational outcomes of Maori generally (see discussion of this in chapter five) and the higher education profile of *new* affiliates.

*Te reo Māori indicator*

This examines the composition of the Ngāi Tahu population by te reo Māori indicator, and aims to identify the compositional changes and the group driving the overall growth patterns of Ngāi Tahu.

Table 6.11 shows composition of the Ngāi Tahu population who spoke or did not speak te reo Māori. The data shows a very high percentage of the Ngāi Tahu population who did not speak te reo. Although the number increased over time for both groups, the composition of speakers to non-speakers remained fairly stable. The percentage of Ngāi Tahu population who spoke te reo was also well below the percentage of the MEG, suggesting that te reo Māori was not a major characteristic or determinant of the Ngāi Tahu identity.

**Table 6.11 Number and percentage of Ngāi Tahu population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996	2001	2006
Speak	3,408	4,935	5,751
Not speak	24,369	32,757	41,865
Total <sup>1</sup>	27,777	37,692	47,616
MEG <sup>2</sup> – speak	129,048	130,479	131,613
Total MEG <sup>1</sup>	493,686	501,534	537,681
	%		
Speak	12.3	13.1	12.1
Not speak	87.7	86.9	87.9
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
MEG – speak	26.1	26.0	24.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes *No Language* and *Not Elsewhere Identified* categories

<sup>2</sup>MEG = Māori Ethnic Group

Table 6.12 shows that in the first intercensal period, the largest growth occurred amongst the population who spoke te reo. However, in the second intercensal period, the dynamics had switched. For both groups, the size of the growth dropped considerably, but, those who did not speak te reo had the larger growth size. In comparison to the MEG population, intercensal growth was much more volatile.

**Table 6.12 Percentage change of Ngāi Tahu population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996 -2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996-2001	2001-2006
Speak	44.8	16.5
Not speak	34.4	27.8
Total	35.7	26.3
MEG – Speak	1.1	1.0

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**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

### *Māori ethnicity indicator*

This section examines the ethnicity profile of the Ngāi Tahu population. The first part examines the compositional changes followed by a look at the intercensal changes. The third part specifically focuses on the growth patterns of the Ngāi Tahu population who identified as Māori ethnicity, to identify the age group that is predominantly driving growth changes within this specific group.

Table 6.13 shows that the majority of the Ngāi Tahu population identified as Māori ethnicity but, the composition had varied over time. Between 1991 and 2001, the composition of the Māori ethnicity group increased suggesting that it grew more significantly and much faster. However, in 2001, there was a marked decrease in the composition of the Māori ethnicity group. Although between 1996 and 2001 both groups experienced a massive increase in numbers, the portion of the population who did not identify as Māori ethnicity, grew much faster. This latter pattern suggests that Māori ethnicity was not a significant feature in identifying with Ngāi Tahu.

**Table 6.13 Number and percentage of Ngāi Tahu population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991	1996	2001
Māori ethnicity	14,277	23,052	28,953
Not Māori ethnicity	5,970	5,886	10,014
Total <sup>1</sup>	20,241	28,941	38,970
	%		
Māori ethnicity	70.5	79.7	74.3
Not Māori ethnicity	29.5	20.3	25.7
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

<sup>1</sup>Total excludes *Not Elsewhere Included*

The intercensal growth patterns in

Table 6.14, varied between both categories. In the first intercensal period, the proportion who did not identify as Māori ethnicity had dropped by 1.4 percent, while the ethnic Māori group experienced a massive increase of 64.4 percent. However, between 1996 and 2001, the growth patterns had switched. Those who did not identify as Māori ethnicity had grown by 70.1 percent compared to a growth of only 25.6 percent.



**Table 6.14 Percentage change of Ngāi Tahu population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001
Māori ethnicity	64.4	25.6
Not Māori ethnicity	-1.4	70.1
Total	43.0	34.7

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

The socio-demographic profile of Ngāi Tahu showed quite mixed results. The majority of the population lived within the rohe, but the composition had decline over time. This indicated that the population living outside the rohe were growing at a faster rate. This was further reinforced by the intercensal patterns that showed a very clear picture that those living outside the rohe were driving most of the population change at each intercensal period. Overall, this suggests that rohe was not a significant Māori identity marker for those increasingly identifying with Ngāi Tahu.

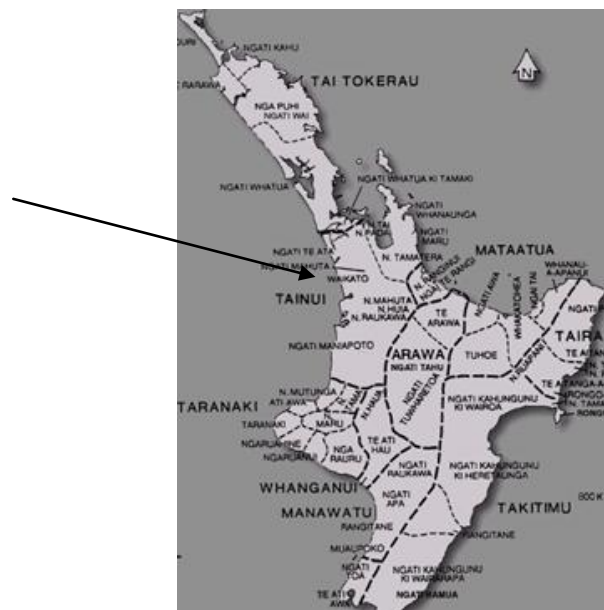
There was a noticeable shift in the education profile of Ngāi Tahu, which was more pronounced in later censuses. Majority of the population had no qualifications but the composition changed in later censuses when more people identifying as Ngāi Tahu had school qualifications. Most of this movement was by females and middle-aged persons. Furthermore, it was evident from the intercensal analyses that females were driving population change. I argue that the change in the educational was caused by overall improvements in the education level of Māori in general and increase in the numbers of new Ngāi Tahu affiliates. Given the historical and social context of Ngāi Tahu, the majority of the population did not speak te reo Māori nor identified as Māori ethnicity. However, the intercensal analysis for these two indicators showed mixed results. In earlier censuses, those increasingly identifying as Ngāi Tahu spoke te reo Māori but in later censuses it was those who did not speak te reo Māori who drove most of the population change. A similar pattern occurred in the analysis of the Māori ethnicity indicators.

Using the same methods employed for the analysis of Ngāi Tahu, the next section examines the intercensal growth patterns, cohort patterns and socio-demographic profile of the Waikato iwi population.

### 6.3 Case study two: Waikato

Waikato iwi traces its roots to the Tainui waka (canoe), captained by Hoturoa, that travelled the Pacific ocean to Aotearoa around 1350AD (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, n.d.-a). Three other principal iwi also descend from Tainui waka – Hauraki, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa. As part of the Tainui waka confederation, the customary rohe (see Figure 6.5) of Waikato iwi spans from South Auckland down to the King Country region, and from the west coast to the mountain ranges of Hapuakohe and Kaimai in the east (Walling et al., 2009). Waikato iwi is situated within a core part of New Zealand’s economic and social infrastructure, which includes Hamilton City and Auckland. The Waikato river and agricultural resources are pivotal to the economic success of the Waikato region. In the 2006 census Waikato<sup>28</sup> was the eighth largest iwi.

Figure 6.5 Approximate area of Waikato iwi



<sup>28</sup> Depending on the context, the name *Waikato* is used to refer to different groupings and physical features. It is the name of a specific iwi, the name of the region as defined by the Local Government Act 2002, and the name of the river that passes through the region. The name *Waikato-Tainui* consists of a confederation of iwi in connection to *Tainui* waka, which includes Waikato iwi. *Waikato-Tainui* is also the name used in connection with the raupatu (land confiscation) settlement for the confederation. When discussing the data analyses, I use the name *Waikato* in reference to the specific iwi unless specified.

*Raupatu (land confiscation) settlement and the Kīngitanga (King movement)*

Waikato-Tainui received a significant raupatu settlement package worth \$170 million from the Crown in 1995. The Waikato-Tainui confederation is comprised of the main kin groups, who descend from Tainui waka - Waikato, Maniapoto, Raukawa and Hauraki. The history of this settlement is invariably connected to the Kīngitanga (King movement) and the subsequent seizure of land within the rohe (Mahuta, 1993).

In response to the growing concerns about colonial Government pressures and land issues, the Kīngitanga was initiated at inter-tribal hui (meetings) held around 1848 (Mahuta, 1993). The movement primarily involved the main iwi of the central North Island including Ngāti Tūwharetoa. After a lengthy search of a suitable monarch, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato was appointed in 1858 as the first Māori King. The purpose of the Kīngitanga was to hold the mana (power/prestige) of iwi, prevent inter-tribal warfare, and control the flow of land from Māori (Mahuta, 1993). From the Crown's perspective, the establishment of a Kīngitanga was a threat to British authority and settlement (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008a). In response, the Crown pursued an agenda of destroying the Kīngitanga and, enforcing the process of raupatu, the confiscation of land through legislative means and physical force (Boast & Hill, 2009). By this time, the son of Pōtatau reigned in his stead – Tāwhiao. In 1863, the New Zealand Settlements Act was created, allowing the confiscation of 1.2 million acres of land in the Waikato region, majority of which were fertile farmlands. Furthermore, the colonial armed forces had invaded the Waikato region, and eventually ended with the battle of Orakau in 1864. Although Tāwhiao managed to keep the Kīngitanga together though they were in exile within the boundaries of Ngāti Maniapoto, also known as the King Country region. As a result, the iwi of the Waikato region, were in a state of poverty and alienation, having to rely on surrounding iwi to support them.

Since the raupatu and wars, the Kīngitanga and iwi of the Waikato region sought redress for the unjustified invasion and confiscation of their lands. The Raupatu claim dates as far back as 1864, some 131 years before their 1995 settlement. After lengthy negotiations, an initial 'agreement' was made in 1946 for the

Raupatu claims, which resulted in the establishment of the Tainui Māori Trust Board to administer the annuities. The Board was instrumental in seeking the social and economic well-being of the Tainui iwi. However, during this time, a couple of issues still remained outstanding – the need for Government to admit their wrong and the return of land (Mahuta, 1993). The Board sought further redress resulting in the return of lands in the early 1990s before their final settlement in 1995. The *Deed of Settlement* was made in May 1995 and signed by the Māori Queen and representatives of the Crown. More recently, a deed for the Waikato River was signed in 2008.

Today, the Kīngitanga remains vested in Tainui-Waikato and as a prominent feature in the rohe. Although the Tainui Māori Trust Board were the initial authority for administering the 1995 settlement funds, Waikato-Tainui have undergone significant restructuring. The tribal structure consists of three governance bodies (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, n.d.-b): Te Kauhanganui (parliamentary body), Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust and Waikato Raupatu River Trust. Ten members from Te Kauhanganui, one of which is appointed by the current King, Tuheitia, are then elected to the executive body Te Arataura. The commercial activities are managed by Tainui Group Holdings Limited.

Waikato-Tainui have significant economic interests in the region. It has investments in the retail and hospitality sector of Hamilton as well as in South Auckland. It also provides social, cultural and health services at various locations in the region.

### **6.3.1 Intercensal growth patterns**

As shown in Table 6.15, Waikato experienced very erratic growth patterns. Its initial population was 22,227 and had risen by 50.4 percent to 33,429 in 2006. However, between 1991 and 2006, there was significant variation in growth sizes.

**Table 6.15 Number and percentage change of Waikato iwi population, 1991-2006**

Year	Waikato iwi	+/- (number)	+/- (%)
1991	22,227	n/a	n/a
1996	23,808	1,581	7.1
2001	35,781	11,973	50.3
2006	33,429	-2,352	-6.6

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

The growth between 1991 and 1996 was relatively slow, only increasing by 7.1 percent. This was unusual considering that the total iwi identified population and Ngāi Tahu experienced significant growth sizes of 15.5 and 43.5 respectively for the same period. I argued that instrumental changes in the census and the publicity surrounding the settlement of Ngāi Tahu were key factors in explaining these growth patterns. This clearly did not happen for Waikato. The iwi did not experience significant growth until 2001, an extraordinary 50.3 percent increase. However, in 2006, Waikato experienced negative growth of 6.6 percent. To understand the growth pattern of Waikato, it needs to be measured against the population growth patterns of Tainui, defined as a waka confederation in the census.

The raupatu settlement was mainly referred to and publicised under the name of Tainui. I propose that there were a proportion of people who identified Tainui, as a tribal identity, and therefore, affected how they were classified in the census. To illustrate, Table 6.16 shows the number who reported as Tainui in 2001 and 2006 and the number who were classified under *Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae, Not Further Defined*<sup>29</sup> (NFD) category. This latter category includes the responses that could not be categorised into specific iwi for the region of Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae, as per the iwi classification standard (see Appendix D). In 1991 and 1996, the number categorised as NFD was quite relatively significant, over 15,000 and 18,000 respectively. However, in the 2001 census, there was a massive drop in the number of NFD. Simultaneously, there was a marked increase in the number of responses classified under Tainui waka confederation. Firstly, this implies that a significant proportion of NFD identification in 1991 and 1996 would have been

<sup>29</sup> Te Rōhe Pōtae relates to the King Country.

Tainui identified as Tainui was not its own category in the 1991 and 1996 classification standard. By 2001, the classification list changed to include Tainui as a category of its own. Hence, the dramatic drop in the NFD category contributed to the significant number in the Tainui category.

**Table 6.16 Tainui and Waikato/King Country not further defined responses, 1991-2006**

Iwi category	1991	1996	2001	2006
Waikato/King	15,399	18,711	1,650	1,086
Country region – nfd				
Tainui	nd	nd	12,591	14,070

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data collected

nfd = not further defined

These growth patterns happening within the NFD and Tainui categories provide insight into the growth patterns of Waikato. I argue that the growth pattern for the Waikato identified population between 1991 and 1996 was relatively small because a high proportion of people who identified Tainui, instead of Waikato, were classified under NFD. It could be argued that respondents can identify both Waikato and Tainui, and therefore, raises the question as to why Waikato experienced low growth. This is a valid point considering that respondents can specify more than one iwi affiliation in the census. I contend that although respondents can specify both Tainui and Waikato as their iwi, the census asks respondents to write-in their iwi, on the assumption that they know the name of their iwi. In reference to the raupatu settlement, the name Tainui was frequently used in media and official reports (Egan & Mahuta, 1983; "Tainui 'full of joy' at historic settlement," 1995; "Tainui urged to share raupatu story," 1996; Te Anga, 1996; "Treaty cash is for all Māoris," 1998). Furthermore, the Tainui name was established in the iwi authority titles - Tainui Māori Trust Board, and Tainui Group Holdings. Therefore, it is assumed that the popularity of the Tainui brand would have influenced respondents to report Tainui more so than Waikato as their iwi.

Waikato experienced huge growth between 1996 and 2001. The introduction of the iwi list in 2001 may have had some impact in this instance because it would

have helped eligible respondents to not only specify iwi names as defined by the census. Hence, respondents who may have initially reported Tainui as their iwi in the earlier censuses, may have changed or included Waikato in their 2001 census return. It is likely that individuals may have reported both Waikato and Tainui because there was still a significant proportion who reported Tainui in the 2001 and 2006 censuses. However, there was a notable decline in the number of the Waikato population in 2006. While there is no obvious explanation, I still maintain that the publicity surrounding the settlement under the brand name of Tainui continued to have a major influence, given that there was a marked increase in the number of Tainui responses.

*Average annual growth rates*

The average annual growth rates for the Waikato population are shown Table 6.17. The results produced by each method were very similar for each intercensal period and are consistent with the overall growth patterns of Waikato, where the largest growth occurred between 1996 and 2001, and the remaining intercensal periods had similar rates.

**Table 6.17 Average annual growth rates (%) for Waikato iwi population, 1991-2006**

Method	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Arithmetic	1.4	8.0	-1.4
Geometric	1.4	8.5	-1.4
Exponential	1.4	8.2	-1.4

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand’s data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

In comparison to the total iwi population growth rates, the rates for the Waikato population in the first and third intercensal period were much lower, but significantly higher in the second intercensal period. Again, this analysis reflects how the interpretation of the statistics at the aggregate level conceals the dynamics happening at the individual iwi level.

In the analysis of the Ngāi Tahu population, I mentioned that its substantial growth patterns across time were obscured by the moderate growth levels shown by the total iwi population. My argument was that the total iwi population pattern was merely a reflection of the total sum of individual iwi growth patterns. Given

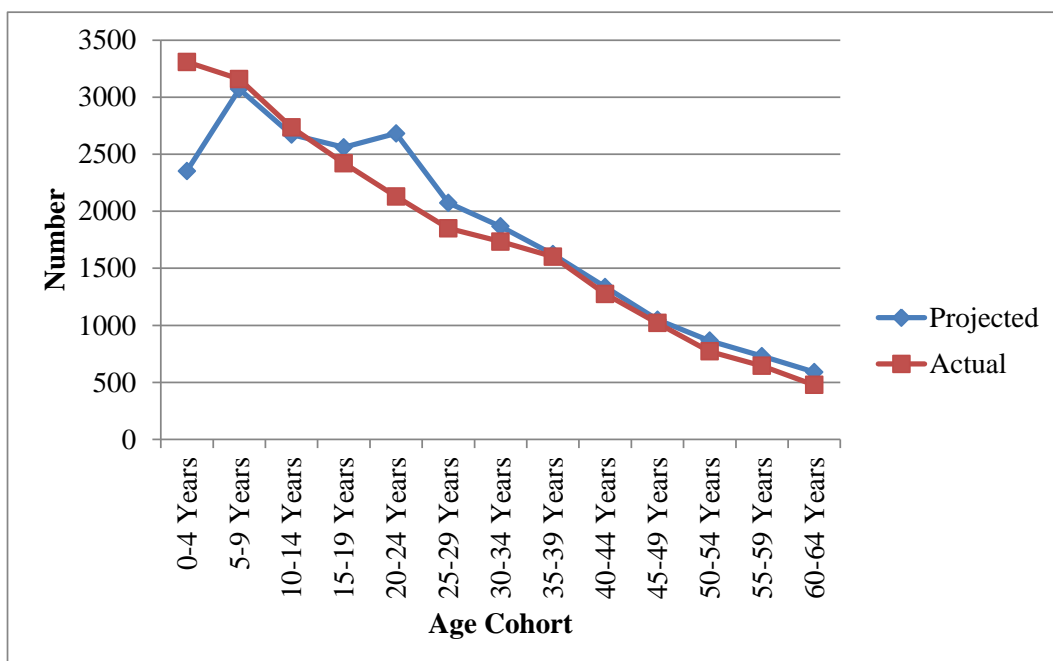


the low and regressive growth pattern of Waikato in 1991-1996 and 2001-2006, would have tempered the growth experienced by Ngāi Tahu, especially in the first and third intercensal periods. However, we noted that the largest and fastest growth occurred in the first intercensal period, followed by the third intercensal period of the total iwi population, the very same periods in which Waikato experienced its slowest growths. However, I still reason that although the Waikato population growth pattern would have counteracted the Ngāi Tahu population growth pattern in the first and third intercensal periods, this would have been minimal given that there are many other large and prominent iwi, such as Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu, that may have had similar growth patterns like Ngāi Tahu or more moderate growth patterns than Waikato.

### **6.3.2 Cohort component analysis**

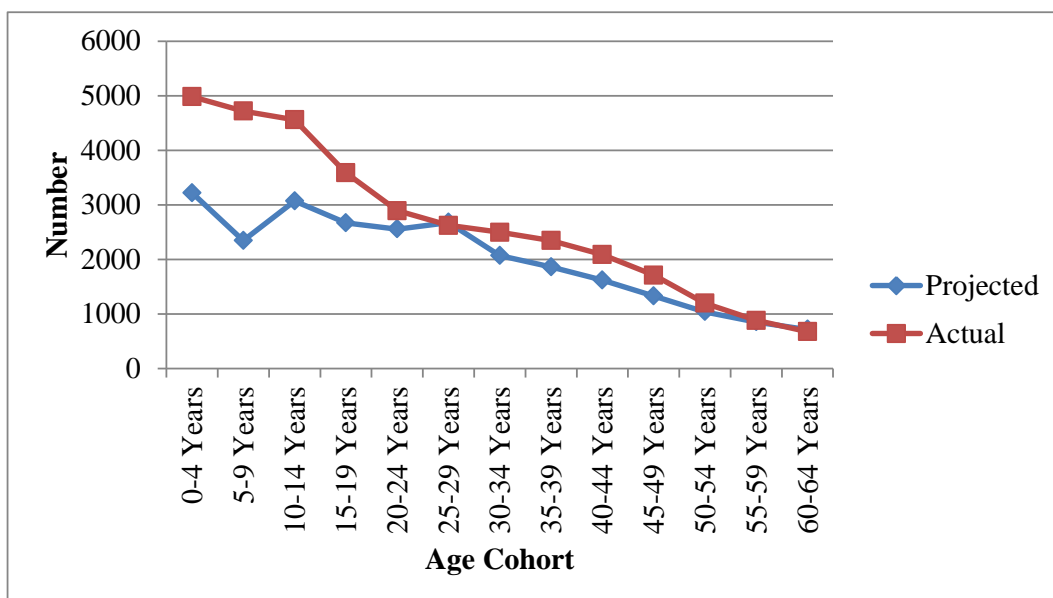
This method projects the expected population numbers for Waikato of each five-year age group forward to 1996, 2001 and 2006 using 1991 Waikato observed data as the base population. It then compares these projections with the actual numbers of Waikato (see Section 4.4.3 for a fuller description of the method). The data is displayed in Figure 6.6 to Figure 6.8.

**Figure 6.6 Projected and actual Waikato iwi population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 1996**



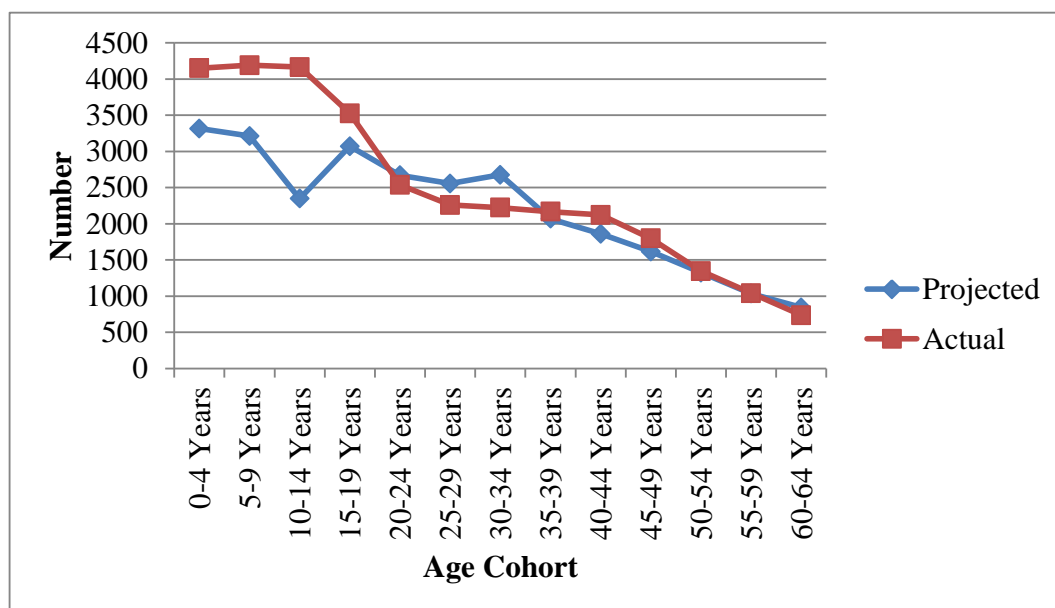
Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 6.7 Projected and actual Waikato iwi population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2001**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 6.8 Projected and actual Waikato iwi population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2006**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The projected numbers for the Waikato population were for the most part similar to the observed data. However, there were three particular age groups where the data varied considerably – children (0-14), young adults (15-29), and middle-ages (35-49). The observed data was well above the projected figures for children but only slightly higher than the number amongst the age group of 35-49. Like the total iwi identified population and Ngāi Tahu, there was a common trend of parents increasingly identifying their children and correspondingly, for themselves. However, the Waikato observed numbers were lower than the expected numbers for the young adult ages (20-34 years). There is no clear explanation for this anomaly other than to suggest that more than expected young adults moved out of the country or did not identify with Waikato.

### 6.3.3 Birth cohort analysis

Table 6.18 and Table 6.19 show the birth cohort population numbers and percentages across all four censuses for the Waikato iwi population. The analysis tracks birth cohorts for the purpose of identifying significant change in the population size (see Section 4.4.3 for a description of the method). It was assumed that the general Māori population and therefore, iwi population is *closed*. On this assumption, there is an expectation that birth cohort sizes decrease

because of mortality effects, and hence, increases in cohort size can only be explained by *new* identification.

**Table 6.18 Waikato iwi population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991	1996	2001	2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	4,149
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	4,986	4,191
1992-1996	n/a	3,309	4,722	4,164
1987-1991	3,084	3,159	4,563	3,525
1982-1986	2,676	2,736	3,591	2,535
1977-1981	2,562	2,421	2,895	2,259
1972-1976	2,685	2,130	2,625	2,223
1967-1971	2,079	1,851	2,499	2,166
1962-1966	1,866	1,734	2,349	2,121
1957-1961	1,626	1,602	2,091	1,797
1952-1956	1,335	1,275	1,713	1,344
1947-1951	1,053	1,020	1,200	1,041
1942-1946	870	771	885	735
1937-1941	735	645	678	n/a
1932-1936	600	477	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	456	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

**Table 6.19 Percentage change (%) of Waikato iwi population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	-15.9
1992-1996	n/a	42.7	-11.8
1987-1991	2.4	44.4	-22.8
1982-1986	2.2	31.3	-29.4
1977-1981	-5.5	19.6	-22.00
1972-1976	-20.7	23.2	-15.3
1967-1971	-11.00	35.0	-13.3
1962-1966	-7.1	35.5	-9.7
1957-1961	-1.5	30.5	-14.1
1952-1956	-4.5	34.4	-21.5
1947-1951	-3.1	17.7	-13.3
1942-1946	-11.4	14.8	-17.00
1937-1941	-12.2	5.1	n/a
1932-1936	-20.5	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	n/a	n/a	n/a

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

There were significant decreases in population numbers between 1991 and 1996 across most birth cohorts except for the younger cohorts born between 1982-1986 and 1987-1991. The largest drop in numbers occurred in the cohort 1972-1976. To put this into more detailed perspective, this cohort would have been aged 19-24 years in the 1991 census and 25-29 years in the 1996 census. This implies that iwi identification numbers tend to decrease significantly in the young adult age groups of 19-29 years. Similarly, as the birth cohorts 1977-1981, 1982-1986, and 1987-1991 passed through the ages of 19-29 years, they also experienced a substantial drop in numbers, ranging from 22.0 percent to 29.4 percent. There was a noticeable, yet unusual, decrease in the older age groups. In particular, the birth cohort 1932-1936, had a significant drop of 20.5 percent between the 1991 and 1996 censuses. Similarly, the birth cohort 1952-1956 dropped by 21.5 percent between the 2001 and 2006 censuses. At the older ages, we would expect to see drops due to deaths, but because of the magnitude, there is no clear reason why this occurred.

Overall, this analysis reinforces similar trends found in the analysis of Ngāi Tahu growth patterns, where there was a significant increase in the number amongst children and parents. However, the drop in numbers amongst the teenage/young adult ages of 15 to 29 years appeared to be more pronounced than Ngāi Tahu, suggesting that perhaps more move overseas or did not identify with Waikato.

#### **6.3.4 Social demographic determinants**

The previous three analyses measured the intercensal and cohort growth patterns for Waikato. Like Ngāi Tahu, we know that the growth patterns of Waikato were predominantly driven by ethnic mobility, particularly amongst children and their parents, and that numbers dropped considerably amongst teenagers and young adults. This section identifies specific socio-demographic characteristics of the Waikato population, using the four key socio-demographic variables important to Māori identity and well-being – location, education, te reo Māori and Māori ethnicity. The aims of this analysis are to observe changes in the socio-demographic profile in order to determine which sector of the population is identifying as Waikato at a faster rate. Furthermore, this analysis examines

intercensal changes in order to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of the persons driving change.

### *Location*

Table 6.20 shows the distribution of the Waikato iwi population across all four censuses. The population has been categorised into two groups – those living within the Waikato rohe and those living outside the rohe. To determine the number living within the Waikato rohe, the data used the Waikato population numbers of the territorial authorities located within the rohe<sup>30</sup>. However, given that the iwi boundaries are different to the territorial authority boundaries, the figures are only an estimate.

**Table 6.20 Number of Waikato iwi population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991	1996	2001	2006
Inside	13,521	14,256	20,295	19,365
Outside	8,700	9,540	15,474	14,076
Total	22,227	23,808	35,781	33,429
		%		
Inside	60.8	59.9	56.7	57.9
Outside	39.1	40.1	43.2	42.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

While the numbers of each group increased between 1991 and 2001, the composition of each group only varied slightly. At every census, the majority of the Waikato population resided within the rohe. However, the percentage had declined slightly overtime. For example, in 1991, 60.8 percent resided within the rohe but, by 2006 it dropped to 56.7 percent in 2001 before rising to 57.9 percent in 2006. Conversely, the number living outside the rohe had risen over time from 39.1 percent to 43.2 percent in 2001, but slightly dropped to 42.1 percent in 2006.

The intercensal patterns in Table 6.21 are consistent with the overall growth pattern for Waikato. Both groups experienced a slow growth pattern in the first and third intercensal periods but, experienced substantial growth size in the second intercensal period. However, the population growth sizes varied quite

<sup>30</sup> Territorial authorities include: Auckland City, Manukau City, Papakura City, Franklin District, Waikato District, Hamilton City, Matamata-Piako District, Waipa District and Otorohanga District.

significantly between the categories. Overall, the greatest growth changes occurred amongst the Waikato population living outside the rohe across all intercensal periods. This analysis suggests that while both groups of the Waikato population experienced highly variable growth, it was predominantly those living outside the rohe who pushed most of the population change.

**Table 6.21 Percentage change (%) of Waikato iwi population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Inside	5.4	42.4	-4.6
Outside	9.7	62.2	-9.0
Total	7.1	50.3	-6.6

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### *Education*

Similar to the previous case study, the education profile of Waikato is analysed in three parts. The first part examines the compositional changes, so as to determine the characteristics of the group that is growing the fastest. The second part, studies the intercensal growth patterns to determine the characteristics of the group that is predominantly driving most of the intercensal change. The final part, specifically focuses on the Waikato population over the age of 15 with no qualifications. The aim of this analysis is to identify which age group is driving population change amongst those with no qualifications.

Table 6.22 shows the numbers and percentages of the Waikato population aged 15 years and over by highest qualification and gender, between 1991 and 2006. Majority of Waikato population had no qualifications at every census. However, this proportion had decreased over time from 64.7 percent in 1991 to 40.2 percent in 2006. At the same time, the proportions of those with a qualification increased overtime, though the percentage had dropped between 2001 and 2006 for those with a school qualification. The more pronounced movement occurred amongst the population with a tertiary level qualification. For example, while the proportion of those with a post-school qualification had only improved slightly between 1991 and 1996, there was a considerable jump in the proportion in the later censuses to 17.0 percent in 2001, and 21.4 percent in 2006. Similarly, the

proportion of the Waikato population with a degree or higher consistently increased over time. This analysis implies that a significant proportion of the population, increasingly identifying with the Waikato, were those with at least a post-school qualification.

**Table 6.22 Waikato iwi population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991	1996	2001	2006
Males				
None	3,513	3,339	3,918	nd
School	1,077	1,338	2,544	nd
Post-school	807	723	1,260	nd
Degree or higher	105	168	390	nd
Total males <sup>1</sup>	5,505	5,571	8,115	nd
Females				
None	4,209	4,029	4,455	nd
School	1,410	1,881	3,660	nd
Post-school	645	816	1,932	nd
Degree or higher	162	222	612	nd
Total females <sup>1</sup>	6,426	6,945	10,659	nd
Total Sex				
None	7,722	7,368	8,373	7,701
School	2,487	3,219	6,204	5,772
Post-school	1,452	1,539	3,192	4,104
Degree or higher	267	390	1,002	1,557
Total <sup>1</sup>	11,931	12,516	18,774	19,137
%				
Males				
None	63.8	59.9	48.3	n/a
School	19.6	24.0	31.3	n/a
Post-school	14.7	13.0	15.5	n/a
Degree or higher	1.9	3.0	4.8	n/a
Total males <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Females				
None	65.5	58.0	41.8	n/a
School	21.9	27.1	34.3	n/a
Post-school	10.0	11.7	18.1	n/a
Degree or higher	2.5	3.2	5.7	n/a
Total females <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Total Sex				
None	64.7	58.9	44.6	40.2
School	20.8	25.7	33.0	30.2
Post-school	12.2	12.3	17.0	21.4
Degree or higher	2.2	3.1	5.3	8.1
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total figures exclude *Not Elsewhere Included* or *Other* categories

nd = no data available



By examining the composition of the qualification levels by gender, there was a significant level of variation. In 1991, the majority of the Waikato population with no and school qualifications were female but, this had reversed in the following censuses. At the higher qualification levels, there were slightly more females with a degree or higher. However, there was more variation amongst those with a post-school qualification. There were a higher proportion of males with a post-school qualification in 1991 and 1996, but by 2006, the proportion of females had increased quite substantially, surpassing the proportion of males. This analysis suggests that it was predominantly females with a qualification identifying at a faster rate than their counterparts.

The data shown in Table 6.23 displays major variation across qualification levels and census years. There was slow and negative growth amongst those with no qualifications. However, there was significant growth, particularly amongst those with a tertiary level qualification in the second intercensal period.

Similar to the overall growth pattern of Waikato, the biggest growth occurred in the second intercensal period of 50.0 percent, followed by 4.9 percent in the first intercensal period. However, the third intercensal period, Waikato showed small positive growth in the total percentage even though overall Waikato experienced negative growth. This is because this analysis focuses on the Waikato population aged over 15 and not the whole Waikato population. More importantly, however, to counter the relatively small negative growth at the no qualification and school qualification levels, there was huge positive growth at the tertiary qualification levels. This in effect contributed towards the overall positive growth in the third intercensal period.

**Table 6.23 Percentage change (%) of Waikato iwi population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Males			
None	-5.0	17.3	n/a
School	24.2	90.1	n/a
Post-school	-10.4	74.3	n/a
Degree or higher	60.0	132.1	n/a
Total males	1.2	45.7	n/a
Females			
None	-4.3	10.6	n/a
School	33.4	94.6	n/a
Post-school	26.5	136.8	n/a
Degree or higher	37.0	175.7	n/a
Total females	8.1	53.5	n/a
Total Sex			
None	-4.7	13.6	-8.0
School	29.4	92.7	-7.0
Post-school	6.0	107.4	28.6
Degree or higher	46.1	156.9	55.4
Total	4.9	50.0	1.9

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Once more, it was mostly the female population with higher qualifications who predominantly propelled the positive growth patterns in the second intercensal period, where males with low qualifications counterbalanced the growth gained by females in the first intercensal period.

The final part of this analysis focuses on the numbers and percentage changes of the Waikato population with no qualifications by age group, as shown in Table 6.24 and Table 6.25. The purpose of this analysis is to identify any important concentrations of growth at certain age groups. The above analysis showed that there was an overall decrease in the number with no qualifications. For the most part, the negative growth occurred amongst the young adult ages of 20-29. This is not surprising considering that this age group are typically in the process of gaining a tertiary level qualification. There was also a significant drop amongst those in the age groups 15-19 and 30-34 between 1991 and 1996, but the numbers had increased in 2001.

**Table 6.24 Number of Waikato iwi population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991	1996	2001	2006
15-19	1,296	1,116	1,413	nd
20-24	1,002	816	810	nd
25-29	957	888	792	nd
30-34	909	828	981	nd
35-39	771	864	900	nd
40-44	645	669	900	nd
45-49	558	567	735	nd
50-54	456	462	570	nd
55-59	405	393	450	nd
60-64	312	318	342	nd
65-69	195	216	228	nd
Total	7,506	7,125	8,124	7,701

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

<sup>1</sup>Unable to determine the age bracket therefore, this figure is not comparable for this data analysis

**Table 6.25 Percentage change (%) of Waikato iwi population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
15-19	-13.9	26.6	n/a
20-24	-18.6	-0.7	n/a
25-29	-7.2	-10.8	n/a
30-34	-8.9	18.5	n/a
35-39	12.1	4.2	n/a
40-44	3.7	34.5	n/a
45-49	1.6	29.6	n/a
50-54	1.3	23.4	n/a
55-59	-3.0	14.5	n/a
60-64	1.9	7.6	n/a
65-69	10.8	5.6	n/a
Total	-5.1	14.0	n/a

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

*Te reo Māori indicator*

Table 6.26 shows the distribution of the Waikato population grouped into two categories – those who spoke te reo and those who did not speak te reo.

**Table 6.26 Number and percentage of Waikato iwi population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996	2001	2006
Speak	8,160	12,069	10,917
Not speak	14,409	22,326	21,411
Total <sup>1</sup>	22,572	34,401	32,328
MEG <sup>2</sup> – speak	129,048	130,479	131,613
Total MEG <sup>1</sup>	493,686	501,534	537,681
	%		
Speak	36.2	35.1	33.8
Not speak	63.9	64.9	66.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
MEG	26.1	26.0	24.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes *No Language* and *Not Elsewhere Identified*

<sup>2</sup>MEG = Māori ethnic group

Majority of the Waikato population did not speak te reo. This was despite the numbers of the population who did speak te reo growing between 1996 and 2001. However, the magnitude of growth was much greater amongst non-speakers of te reo. The proportion of non-speakers increased each census year from 63.9 to 66.2, whereas the proportion of those who spoke te reo decreased each census year. This analysis implies that the non-speakers of te reo were growing at a faster rate than speakers of te reo. However, the intercensal patterns in Table 6.27 showed significant variation. Between 1996 and 2001, while those who did not speak te reo, experienced the greatest growth size, it was mainly te reo speakers who drove the negative growth pattern between 2001 and 2006. This was noticeable in the previous table where there was a considerable drop off in the number of te reo speakers in 2001.

**Table 6.27 Percentage change (%) of Waikato iwi population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996-2001	2001-2006
Speak	47.1	-9.6
Not speak	54.9	-4.1
Total	52.4	-6.0
MEG	1.1	1.0

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**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

*Māori ethnicity indicator*

Table 6.28 shows the distribution the Waikato population by Māori ethnicity indicator.

**Table 6.28 Number and percentage of Waikato iwi population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991	1996	2001
Māori ethnicity	21,018	22,461	33,357
Not Māori ethnicity	1,167	1,164	2,262
Total <sup>1</sup>	22,185	23,625	35,619
	%		
Māori ethnicity	94.7	95.1	93.7
Not Māori ethnicity	5.3	4.9	6.4
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total excludes *Not Elsewhere Included*

A dominant proportion of the Waikato population identified as Māori ethnicity. However, the composition of the groups had varied across censuses. The composition of the group who identified as Māori ethnicity had increased from 94.7 to 95.1 between 1991 and 1996 but, dipped slightly in 2001. On the other hand, the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity accounted for 5.3 percent of the Waikato population but, this eventually increased to 6.4 percent. These patterns suggest that in 1996, the numbers of those who identified Māori ethnicity grew at a faster rate than those who did not, but in 2001, the pattern had reversed.

Table 6.29 clearly shows the extraordinary patterns of intercensal growth patterns of each category. In the intercensal period 1991-1996, we notice that the group who identified Māori ethnicity determined most of the population growth.

However, growth was slightly tempered by the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity. In the 1996-2001 intercensal period, however, there was a considerable change. The growth size of the Māori ethnicity group was significantly large but, was overwhelmed by the 94.3 percent growth size of the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity. This shows that in later censuses, although both groups experienced astonishing growth, the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity drove most of the population change.

**Table 6.29 Percentage change of Waikato iwi population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001
Māori ethnicity	6.9	48.5
Not Māori ethnicity	-0.3	94.3
Total	6.5	50.7

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The socio-demographic profile of Waikato showed very mixed dynamics. Similar to Ngāi Tahu, the majority lived within the rohe but the composition had declined over time, indicating that the population living outside the rohe were identifying at a faster rate. The intercensal growth pattern clearly showed that those living outside the rohe were driving most of the population change at each intercensal period. Majority of the population had no qualifications but the composition changed in later censuses when more people identifying with Waikato had school qualifications. We also not however, very pronounced growth amongst the population with post-school and degree qualifications. Once more we notice a trend where it was predominantly female population driving population change. A further analysis of the population with no qualifications shows that it was the predominantly the younger adults, who were driving most of the population growth patterns. Dissimilar to Ngāi Tahu, the majority of the Waikato population spoke te reo and identified as Māori ethnicity. However, the intercensal analysis showed mixed results. In earlier censuses, those increasingly identifying Waikato spoke te reo but in later censuses it was those who did not speak te reo who drove most of the population change. These patterns were also evident in the analyses of Māori ethnicity.

## 6.4 Summary

This chapter analysed the population growth patterns of two very prominent and large iwi - Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. Although both iwi received major Treaty of Waitangi settlements in 1995 and 1997 respectively, there were some key differences as well as similarities.

Overall, the analysis showed two very different population growth patterns. The Ngāi Tahu population experienced steady but, relatively large positive growth patterns over time. Their largest growth occurred between 1991 and 1996. Based on the analyses, it was clear that instrumental changes and increasing identification brought about by their Treaty settlement determined most of the growth for Ngāi Tahu. I argued that instrumental changes as well as the publicity surrounding settlements and retribalisation determined most of the growth of Ngāi Tahu.

Contrariwise, Waikato experienced very volatile patterns. Waikato initially experienced very slow growth, until their numbers substantially grew in 2001 but, then Waikato experienced negative growth in 2006. I presented that the growth pattern of Waikato was best measured against the growth patterns of Tainui and the Not Further Defined (NFD) category. The Waikato-Tainui raupatu settlement was predominantly branded under the name of Tainui. My argument was that given the publicity of the settlement, Tainui would have been the more popular name, and therefore, eligible respondents would have identified Tainui as one, if not, the only iwi response. By observing the patterns of Tainui and the NFD category, there is significant evidence to suggest that many people did identify Tainui as their iwi response. Therefore, I contended that the slow trajectory, especially between 1991 and 1996, was affected by individuals identifying more so with Tainui than Waikato. On the other hand, Waikato experienced significant growth in 2001, but I argue that this may have been slightly influenced by the introduction of the supplementary iwi list provided with the 2001 census.

Theoretically, over time the size of birth cohorts decline because of mortality. However, the birth cohort analyses of both iwi revealed that the majority of birth

cohorts experienced increases across time. This suggests that the overall growth patterns of both iwi were not predominantly driven by births, mortality or migration, but, growth patterns were determined by increasing identification brought about by conscious choices or instrumental changes. The cohort component analyses showed that there were significant differences in the projected versus actual population data. In theory, variations between actual and projected figures would signal identity changes. However, the projected figures were highly skewed because the rates used in the model were based on different population groups. Therefore, it was difficult to determine with certainty that any differences between the projected and actual figures were caused by identity changes. Overall however, the actual population figures did show a declining pattern of each age cohort over time.

This chapter also analysed various socio-demographic variables, which included location, education level, te reo and the Māori ethnic indicator. The purpose of this analysis was to look at the distribution and composition of the population numbers of each iwi, and what characteristics of each population were predominantly driving population changes. For both iwi, majority of those who identified an iwi had also identified as ethnic Māori. But, there was also some variability between those who did not identify as Māori. On the other hand, those of Ngāi Tahu population had low numbers of te reo Māori speakers compared to the Waikato population. It was also discovered that most of those people who identified with their relevant iwi, predominantly lived within their rohe, but, when examining the population change over time, it was predominantly those living outside the rohe who were driving change. In terms of education level, initially both iwi showed a high level of their population with no qualifications. However, this declined over time.

These case studies clearly showed the impact of the settlements environment. It was solely natural increase determining their growth patterns but, a combination of changing or new identities, facilitated by the publicity surrounding their settlements, and instrumental changes. This analysis also indicates that it is the younger birth cohorts who mainly determined the decline in number in 2006. On the other hand, those in their late teens and young adults tended to produce more



stagnant results, shown by the flatter growth patterns. On the other hand, those older than 30 years old were more responsive to indicating Waikato as their iwi, particularly between 1996 and 2006.

Applying the same statistical methods, the next chapter examines the growth patterns of two more iwi – Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. By studying these two case studies, we can ascertain whether similar trends can be found based on the conclusions drawn from the last two case studies.

## Chapter 7: Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe growth patterns

### 7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the population growth patterns of two prominent iwi – Ngāti Tahu and Waikato. Although both these iwi reached milestone settlements with the Crown in 1995 and 1997 respectively, their population growth patterns followed very different trajectories. Ngāti Tahu experienced very pronounced growth patterns between 1991 and 2006, while the growth pattern of Waikato was very volatile. However, their growth patterns were predominantly affected by changes in identification patterns in response to the broader macro-political factors - instrumental changes in the census and the settlements context.

In light of the findings from the previous chapter, this chapter examines the growth patterns of Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. These iwi are smaller in population size and rohe, compared to Ngāti Tahu and Waikato, but the settlements context has played just as much a significant role for Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. Ngāti Awa reached settlement with the Crown in 2003, while Tūhoe are currently in the process of a settlement<sup>31</sup>. The aim of this analysis is to study the effect of the settlement environment and the broader socio-political context on their population growth, and to determine if there are any similarities to that experienced by Ngāti Tahu and Waikato. If the findings about Ngāti Tahu and Waikato growth patterns provide a foundation on which to draw from, then we would expect a noticeable growth pattern in Ngāti Awa numbers in the 2001 and 2006 census. On the other hand, because Tūhoe have not received a settlement yet, we would expect their numbers to remain reasonably stable.

This chapter follows a similar pattern to the previous. It is organised into two parts, in which, the first part analyses the population patterns of Ngāti Awa, while the second part focuses on Tūhoe. Each part begins with a general background of the relevant iwi, followed by an analysis of growth patterns between 1991 and 2006. The methods used in the previous two chapters are applied in this analysis.

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<sup>31</sup> At the time of writing this paper, Tūhoe reached an agreement with the Crown in September 2012 for \$170 million settlement (Young, 2012). Given the timing of this announcement, this does not have an impact on the data analysis of this thesis.

The chapter then ends with a summary of the results, and how these conclusions compare to the previous two chapters.

## 7.2 Case study three: Ngāti Awa

Ngāti Awa is an iwi that traces its origins to the Mātaatua waka, which was captained by their great ancestor Toroa. They trace their ancestry to a people they believe were living in Aotearoa prior to the arrival of Māori and prior to the arrival of the Mātaatua waka; beginning with their demi-god, Māui-tiktiki-ataranga (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009c). Generations later, Toitehuatahi (Toi), who was a principal ancestor of many North Island tribes, lived above Whakatāne. His second-born was named Awanuiarangi, of whom the Ngāti Awa people descend (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009c).

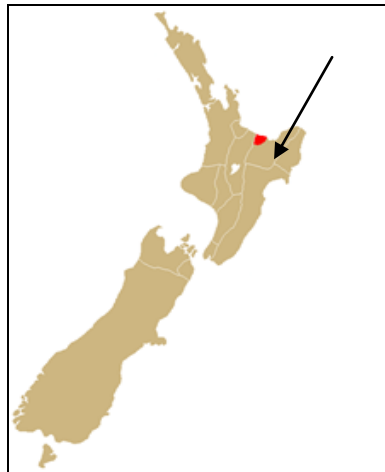
The customary rohe of Ngāti Awa is primarily situated in a small area of the Eastern Bay of Plenty (see Figure 7.1), a coastal area that consists of a number of small rural communities, with Whakatāne as its major urban centre. The area stretches from Pongakawa in the west, Ōhiwa in the east, and inland towards Matahine, Maungawhakamana, Pōkuku, and back to Pongakawa, and includes the motu (islands) of Mōtiti, Rūrima, Moutohorā and Whakaari (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009b).

Ngāti Awa consists of 22 hapū, which is represented by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. This tribal authority was formally established in 1988 in anticipation of the return of land to the iwi in 1990. It remains as the mandated authority for the settlement of the Ngāti Awa raupatu claim<sup>32</sup>. Ngāti Awa was the tenth largest iwi in 2006.

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<sup>32</sup> Claim reference is WAI 46

**Figure 7.1 Approximate area of Ngāti Awa**



### *Treaty settlement*

Ngāti Awa had a lengthy history of settling claims. The first known petition for injustices conducted in the 1860s, was as early as 1867 (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2009). In general, the claim relates to the raupatu of approximately 99,000 hectares (around 245,000 acres), and the consequential land reorganisation and relocations (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). In the contemporary context however, negotiations have taken over twenty years to complete (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2009). The *Deed of Settlement* was signed in July 2002 (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2002), and the iwi was compensated for an amount of \$42.4 million. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa remain as the iwi authority responsible for managing the financial assets of the iwi, and like other authorities, promotes cultural, educational and economic development for its people and the region.

### **7.2.1 Intercensal growth patterns**

Table 7.1 displays the number reporting as Ngāti Awa in each census between 1991 and 2006, and the percentage change. Clearly, the iwi experienced very moderate growth patterns in comparison to Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. It began with a baseline population of 9,795 and increased by 55.8 percent to 15,258 in 2006. The difference in growth patterns are likely to be attributed to the timing of settlements. Ngāti Awa settled after the 2001 census. By the 2006 census, there was a noticeable increase in identification numbers but, not as pronounced as Ngāi Tahu or Waikato. The intercensal growth sizes of the Ngāti Awa were also reasonably steady. Although the experience of Ngāti Awa was somewhat

different to Waikato and Ngāi Tahu, overall it still indicates that iwi experience significant growth particularly around settlement dates.

**Table 7.1 Number and percentage change of Ngāti Awa population, 1991-2006**

Year	Ngāti Awa	+/- (number)	+/- (%)
1991	9,795	n/a	n/a
1996	11,304	1,509	15.4
2001	13,044	1,740	15.4
2006	15,258	2,214	17.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

Notes:

n/a = not applicable

#### *Average annual growth rates*

Table 7.2 presents the average annual growth rates for each quin-quennial period between 1991 and 2006. The results were very similar across the board. The first two intercensal periods produced the same growth rate of 2.9 percent per annum. This only increased slightly to 3.1 percent per annum in the 2001-2006 intercensal period. By comparing these rates with the total iwi population rates and the other case studies, there was only one major trend - Ngāti Awa growth rates were more stable. Furthermore, their growth rates were much lower than Ngāi Tahu. This reinforces the idea that growth varies by iwi because of their different social and political contexts.

There are two possible explanations for these growth patterns of Ngāti Awa. Firstly, the growth patterns could be attributed to increasing identification, especially in the third intercensal period because of their settlement. Secondly, the growth rates could be attributed to natural increase, but further cohort analyses are required to determine whether natural increase had a major effect on population change. This is discussed in the next section.

**Table 7.2 Average annual growth rates (%) for Ngāti Awa population, 1991-2006**

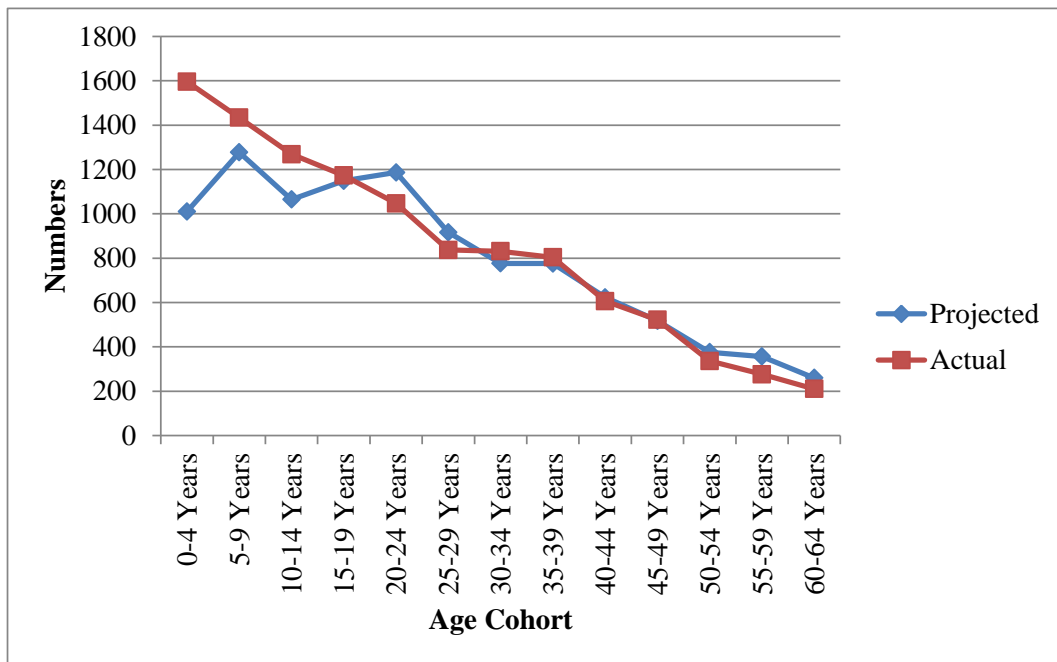
Method	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Arithmetic	2.9	2.9	3.1
Geometric	2.9	2.9	3.2
Exponential	2.9	2.9	3.1

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license

### 7.2.2 Cohort component analysis

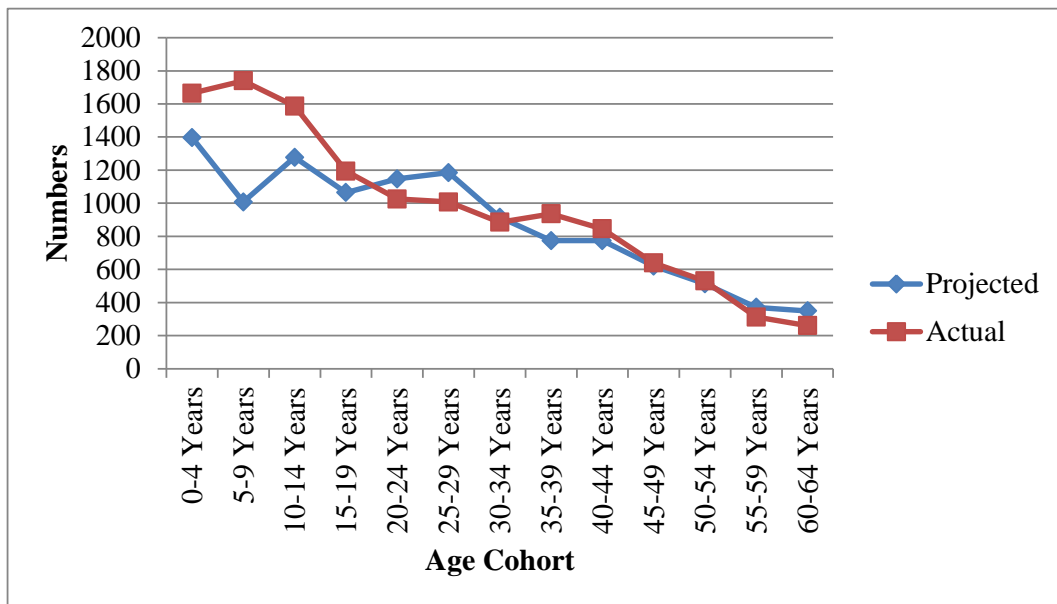
Like the previous case studies, the actual population of Ngāti Awa in the 1991 census is used the baseline in order to project the population numbers for each five-year age group forward to 1996, 2001 and 2006. A description of the method is provided in Section 4.4.3 of this thesis. The results for Ngāti Awa are shown in Figure 7.2 to Figure 7.4.

**Figure 7.2 Projected versus actual Ngāti Awa population by five-year age cohorts (0-64), 1996**



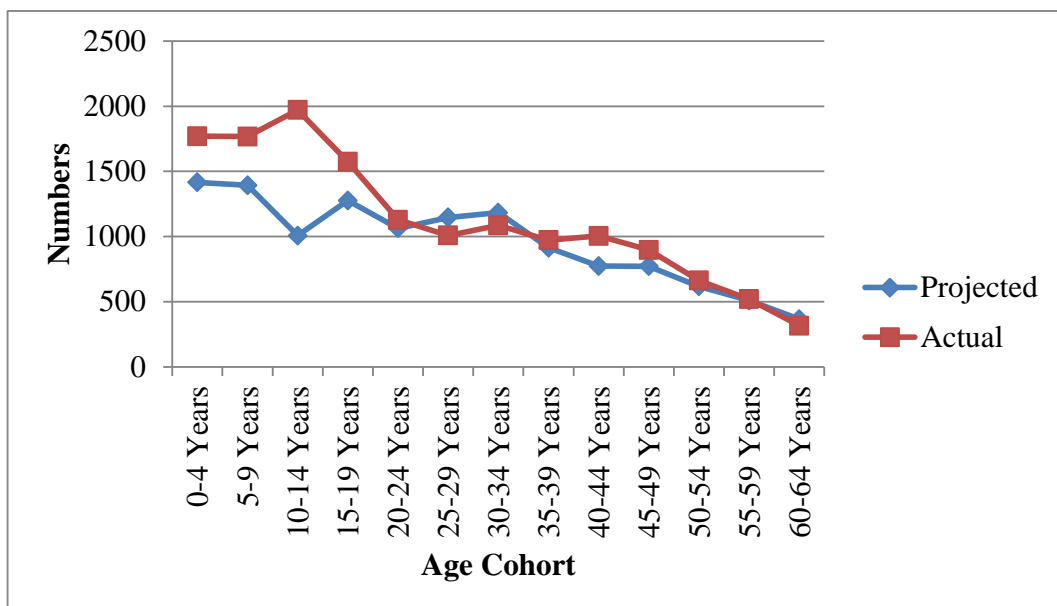
Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 7.3 Projected versus actual Ngāti Awa population by five-year age cohorts (0-64), 2001**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 7.4 Projected versus actual Ngāti Awa population by five-year age cohorts (0-64), 2006**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

Two main points can be taken from this analysis. Firstly, like the previous two case studies the actual population was higher than the projected population for children (0-14). Given that the projections take account of natural increase, the difference can only be explained by increased identification of Ngāti Awa. Once more, this reinforces the idea of parents determining most of the iwi population



changes. Secondly, the projected figures exceeded the observed figures, particularly for individuals aged between 20 and 29, that is, there appeared to be more less individuals in the age group identifying with Ngāti Awa than expected. However, we would expect a drop in numbers to occur for this group because they are more transient than other age groups. Unfortunately, we were not able to predict the magnitude of this drop. Unexpectedly, Ngāti Awa had higher numbers above the projected for those aged 15 to 19. A possible reason for this could be that there more 15 to 19 year olds decided to identify with Ngāti Awa in the context of secondary and tertiary education incentives from iwi authorities.

### **7.2.3 Birth cohort analysis**

This analysis tracks the population size of the birth cohort as they pass through various age brackets. The purpose of this exercise is to identify any significant increases in the number of identification by birth cohort as they age. Because we have assumed that the Māori population is a closed population, theoretically we would expect a birth cohorts to reduce in number across time because of mortality. Therefore, any increases in number can only be explained by new identification. Table 7.3 shows the Ngāti Awa population by five-year birth cohorts, and is analysed in conjunction with the intercensal data for each cohort in Table 7.4.

Table 7.3 shows higher concentration of population numbers of the younger generations born between 1972 and 2006, reflecting the relatively youthful structure of the general Māori population. Three important trends can be gleaned from Table 7.4. The first key trend is that there were increases in population numbers amongst the younger birth cohorts (0-14). This reaffirms the previous analysis that the overall growth pattern of Ngāti Awa was not so much driven by natural increase, but more so by parents increasingly identifying their children with an iwi identity. The second trend is that the size of cohorts passing through young adult ages (15-29) decreased. Once again, we would expect this to happen because young adults tend to be more mobile as they seek for work opportunities or overseas experiences, and young people may indicate a different identity to what their parents indicated when they were children. The third key trend is that those particularly born between 1932 and 1946, determined most of the negative

growth in the earlier censuses. The most likely explanation for this is mortality effects.

**Table 7.3 Ngāti Awa population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991	1996	2001	2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,770
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	1,665	1,767
1992-1996	n/a	1,596	1,740	1,971
1987-1991	1,284	1,434	1,587	1,575
1982-1986	1,062	1,269	1,194	1,128
1977-1981	1,146	1,173	1,026	1,008
1972-1976	1,188	1,047	1,008	1,086
1967-1971	915	837	885	972
1962-1966	777	831	936	1,005
1957-1961	780	804	846	897
1952-1956	624	606	639	663
1947-1951	522	522	831	519
1942-1946	378	336	312	315
1937-1941	363	276	261	n/a
1932-1936	264	210	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	204	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

In some cases, the age group of the birth cohort at each census year is provided in brackets

**Table 7.4 Percentage change of Ngāti Awa population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	6.1
1992-1996	n/a	9.0	13.3
1987-1991	11.7	10.7	-0.8
1982-1986	19.5	-5.9	-5.5
1977-1981	2.4	-12.5	-1.8
1972-1976	-11.9	-3.7	7.7
1967-1971	-8.5	5.7	9.8
1962-1966	7.0	12.6	7.4
1957-1961	3.1	5.2	6.0
1952-1956	-2.9	5.5	3.8
1947-1951	0.00	1.7	-2.3
1942-1946	-11.1	-7.1	1.0
1937-1941	-24.0	-5.4	n/a
1932-1936	-20.5	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

#### **7.2.4 Social demographic determinants**

The previous three methods measured the intercensal and cohort growth patterns for Ngāti Awa. Based on the analyses, we know that the growth patterns of Ngāti Awa were predominantly driven by changing identification patterns, particularly amongst children (0-14) and young adults, particularly after the 2003 Treaty settlement.

This part of the Ngāti Awa population analysis, examines the socio-demographic characteristics of the population, using four key variables – location, education, te reo Māori and ethnicity. The objectives of this analysis are two-fold. The first is to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of the population who are likely to drive most of the population change. The second is to assess the compositional changes over time.

##### *Rohe indicator*

This sub-section examines the location of Ngāti Awa population for two purposes. The first is to examine the compositional changes over time. The second purpose is to study the intercensal growth patterns and to determine the spatial characteristics of the population predominantly driving those changes. The population is separated into two categories – those living within the rohe, based on data of territorial authorities that are approximately within the rohe<sup>33</sup>. The remaining territorial authorities supply the data that constitute those living outside the rohe. However, given that the customary rohe of Ngāti Awa is different to the territorial boundaries, the figures are only an estimate. The results are shown in Table 7.5 and Table 7.6.

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<sup>33</sup> Territorial Authorities include: Kawerau District and Whakatane District.

**Table 7.5 Number of Ngāti Awa population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991	1996	2001	2006
Inside	3,912	4,017	4,524	4,881
Outside	5,883	7,293	8,538	10,371
Total	9,798	11,304	13,044	15,258
		%		
Inside	39.9	35.5	34.7	32.0
Outside	60.0	64.5	65.5	68.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Table 7.6 Percentage change (%) of Ngāti Awa population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Inside	2.7	12.6	7.9
Outside	24.0	17.1	21.5
Total	15.4	15.4	17.0

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At any given census, the majority of population lived outside the customary rohe. The percentage of those living outside the rohe had increased significantly overtime from 60.0 percent in 1991 to 68.0 percent in 2006, despite the population numbers of those living within the rohe growing significantly over time. This implies that the growth in the numbers of the population living outside the rohe, grew more rapidly. Table 7.6 shows that at each quinquennial period, the largest growth occurred amongst those living outside the rohe. This further confirms that although both groups experienced growth overtime, those living outside the rohe were driving most of the population growth.

Ngāti Awa rohe is relatively small so there were only two territorial authorities to include in comparison to the number of territorial authorities outside the rohe. For a better perspective, Table 7.7 provides a more detailed view of the spatial distribution of the Ngāti Awa population. The majority of the population lived in the Whakatane district, followed by Kawerau district. There was a significant increase of those living in the Whakatane district between 2001 and 2006. However, there is also a significant proportion living in Auckland and Manukau city regions. The remainder of the territorial authorities have very small numbers residing in their areas, but because there were territorial authorities outside the

rohe, the total was much higher than the total of only two relatively small sized authorities.

**Table 7.7 Number of Ngāti Awa population by specific territorial authority, 1991-2006**

Territorial Authorities	1991	1996	2001	2006
Whakatane District	2,961	2,985	3,489	3,723
Kawerau District	951	1,032	1,035	1,158
Auckland City	591	711	759	882
Manukau City	687	741	978	1,080
Rotorua District	< 500	516	675	888
Tauranga City	< 500	< 500	501	654
Waitakere City	< 500	< 500	< 500	516

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

### *Education*

This sub-section analyses the educational profile (i.e. by highest qualification levels) of the Ngāti Awa population aged 15 years and over, between 1991 and 2006. This is conducted in three parts. The first part examines the compositional changes, so as to determine the characteristics of the group that is growing the fastest. The second part, studies the intercensal growth patterns to determine the characteristics of the group that is predominantly driving most of the intercensal change. The final part, focuses on the Ngāti Awa population over the age of 15 with no qualifications. The aim is to identify which age group is driving population change amongst those with no qualifications. This section now begins with a study of the compositional changes as shown in Table 7.8.

At each census year, the highest proportion of the Ngāti Awa population over 15 years old had no qualifications, however the proportion decreased over time. However, the proportion of the population gaining a school qualification had increased between 1991 and 2001. There was a drop in the proportions of those with post-school qualification between 1991 and 1996, but had increased in 2001 and 2006 censuses. These patterns are a reflection of how the education profile

changes over time as youth and young adults (15-29), in particular, gain qualifications. It is also a reflection of the broader political context, as educational policies encouraged more Māori to participate in the tertiary education sector.

**Table 7.8 Ngāti Awa population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991	1996	2001	2006
Males				
None	1,323	1,344	1,158	nd
School	567	798	1,104	nd
Post-school	573	480	612	nd
Degree or higher	123	132	213	nd
Total males <sup>1</sup>	2,592	2,754	3,084	nd
Females				
None	1,365	1,494	1,311	nd
School	825	1,104	1,488	nd
Post-school	417	567	861	nd
Degree or higher	126	165	300	nd
Total females <sup>1</sup>	2,733	3,330	3,966	nd
Total Sex				
None	2,688	2,838	2,469	2,874
School	1,392	1,902	2,592	3,018
Post-school	990	1,047	1,473	2,202
Degree or higher	249	297	513	864
Total <sup>1</sup>	5,325	6,084	7,050	8,961
%				
Males				
None	51.0	48.8	37.5	n/a
School	21.9	29.0	35.8	n/a
Post-school	22.1	17.4	19.8	n/a
Degree or higher	4.7	4.8	6.9	n/a
Total males <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Females				
None	49.9	44.9	33.1	n/a
School	30.2	33.2	37.5	n/a
Post-school	15.3	17.0	21.7	n/a
Degree or higher	4.6	5.0	7.6	n/a
Total females <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Total Sex				
None	50.5	46.6	35.0	32.1
School	26.1	31.3	36.8	33.7
Post-school	18.6	17.2	20.9	24.6
Degree or higher	4.7	4.9	7.3	9.6
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total figures exclude *Not Elsewhere Included* or *Other* categories

nd = no data available

The compositions varied by gender. For the most part, there were a higher proportion of males with no qualifications than females. In conjunction, the proportion of females gaining a school qualification was much higher than the proportion of males. At the higher level of qualifications, however, males had slightly higher post-school qualifications except in 2001 where there were slightly more females. In 1991, there were more males with tertiary degrees or higher, but in later censuses, there were higher percentage of females. Overall, this analysis suggests that females were driving most of the population changes in latter censuses at each qualification level.

The intercensal growth changes shown in Table 7.9 show a high level of variation at each qualification level. The largest intercensal growth occurred amongst those with a degree or higher, especially in the second and third intercensal period. However, in the first intercensal period, the largest growth happened amongst those with a school qualification. In terms of gender, females dominated growth at every qualification level. This shows that women with a qualification were driving most of the population change between censuses.

**Table 7.9 Percentage change (%) of Ngāti Awa population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Males			
None	1.6	-13.8	n/a
School	40.7	38.4	n/a
Post-school	-16.2	27.5	n/a
Degree or higher	7.3	61.4	n/a
Total males	6.3	12.0	n/a
Females			
None	9.5	-12.3	n/a
School	33.8	34.8	n/a
Post-school	36.0	51.9	n/a
Degree or higher	31.0	81.8	n/a
Total females	21.8	19.1	n/a
Total Sex			
None	5.6	-13.0	16.4
School	36.6	36.3	16.4
Post-school	5.8	40.7	49.5
Degree or higher	19.3	72.7	68.4
Total	14.3	15.9	27.1

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**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Both Table 7.10 and Table 7.11 focus on the Ngāti Awa population with no qualifications by age group. The purpose of this analysis is to determine the age group driving most of the population change. The data shows that there were major variations by age groups. The greatest drop occurred between the age groups of 65 to 69 in the second intercensal period. This is more likely to be explained by mortality. On the other hand, the large drop in the ages of 20-24 is likely to be explained by participation in tertiary education.



**Table 7.10 Number of Ngāti Awa population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991	1996	2001	2006
15-19	441	471	393	nd
20-24	297	279	210	nd
25-29	276	276	246	nd
30-34	303	306	255	nd
35-39	261	324	285	nd
40-44	264	249	255	nd
45-49	207	252	204	nd
50-54	198	201	204	nd
55-59	156	156	138	nd
60-64	123	111	120	nd
65-69	81	102	75	nd
Total	2,601	2,727	2,376	2,874

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

<sup>1</sup>Unable to determine the age bracket therefore, this figure is not comparable for this data analysis

**Table 7.11 Percentage change (%) of Ngāti Awa population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
15-19	6.8	-16.6	n/a
20-24	-6.1	-24.7	n/a
25-29	0.0	-10.9	n/a
30-34	1.0	-16.7	n/a
35-39	24.1	-12.0	n/a
40-44	-5.7	2.4	n/a
45-49	21.7	-19.1	n/a
50-54	1.5	1.5	n/a
55-59	0.0	-11.5	n/a
60-64	-9.8	8.1	n/a
65-69	25.9	-26.5	n/a
Total	4.8	-12.9	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

*Te reo Māori indicator*

As stressed in previous case studies, language is an important marker of Māori identity. This sub-section examines the composition and intercensal changes of the Ngāti Awa population by two categories – those who spoke te reo versus those who did not speak te reo.

Table 7.12 shows the numbers and composition of the Ngāti Awa population. Like Ngāi Tahu and Waikato, the majority of the population did not speak te reo Māori. Furthermore, while the population numbers for each category increased over time, the compositions varied little in 1996 and 2001. However, in 2006, the change in composition indicates the population who did not speak te reo grew slightly faster than those who spoke te reo.

**Table 7.12 Number and percentage of Ngāti Awa population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996	2001	2006
Speak	3,858	4,533	4,914
Not speak	6,813	7,995	9,855
Total <sup>1</sup>	10,674	12,528	14,763
MEG <sup>2</sup> – speak	129,048	130,479	131,613
Total MEG <sup>1</sup>	493,686	501,534	537,681
	%		
Speak	36.14	36.18	33.29
Not speak	63.83	63.82	66.75
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
MEG	26.1	26.0	24.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes *No Language* and *Not Elsewhere Identified*

<sup>2</sup>MEG = Māori ethnic group

Table 7.13 shows the intercensal percentage changes. In the first intercensal period, there were very little differences in the growth size between groups. However, in the following intercensal period, it was mainly non-speakers who were driving population growth, 23.3 percent compared to a growth size of 8.4 percent amongst speakers of te reo. This analysis reinforces similar patterns found in the previous two case-studies that it was the non-speakers of te reo who were predominantly driving the growth patterns, particularly in 2006.

**Table 7.13 Percentage change (%) of Ngāti Awa population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996-2001	2001-2006
Speak	17.4	8.4
Not speak	17.4	23.3
Total	17.4	17.8
MEG	1.1	1.0

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

*Māori ethnicity indicator*

We know that from the analysis of aggregate iwi population data, that not of the descent population identify as Māori in term of ethnicity or iwi. On this note, this analysis examines the ethnicity profile of the Ngāti Awa population in three parts. The first part examines the composition of the population by Māori ethnicity indicator. The next part then identifies which group was driving the overall population patterns. Finally, we examine the growth patterns within the ethnic group, to identify the age group that is predominantly driving growth changes.

This sub-section begins with the examination of the compositional changes for Ngāti Awa as shown in Table 7.14. This data has been grouped into two categories – those who identified Māori ethnicity and those who did not identify Māori ethnicity

**Table 7.14 Number and percentage of Ngāti Awa population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991	1996	2001
Māori ethnicity	8,766	10,470	11,832
Not Māori ethnicity	1,017	750	1,155
Total <sup>1</sup>	9,783	11,220	12,984
	%		
Māori ethnicity	89.6	93.3	91.1
Not Māori ethnicity	10.4	6.7	8.9
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

<sup>1</sup>Total excludes *Not Elsewhere Included*

Like the previous two case studies, the majority of the Ngāti Awa population identified as Māori ethnicity. However, the proportion of those who identified

Māori ethnicity dropped in 2001. This suggests that in 2001, the number of those who did not identify Māori ethnicity increased faster.

In Table 7.15, the intercensal growth varied by ethnic indicator. In the first intercensal period, the group that identified Māori ethnicity experienced positive growth while their counterparts showed a larger magnitude of negative growth. This shows that the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity determined most of the growth, even though it was negative. However, in the second intercensal period, the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity grew positively by a massive 54.0 percent, which still reaffirms that this group was responsible for driving most of the population change.

**Table 7.15 Percentage change (%) of the Ngāti Awa population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001
Māori ethnicity	19.4	13.0
Not Māori ethnicity	-26.3	54.0
Total	14.7	15.7

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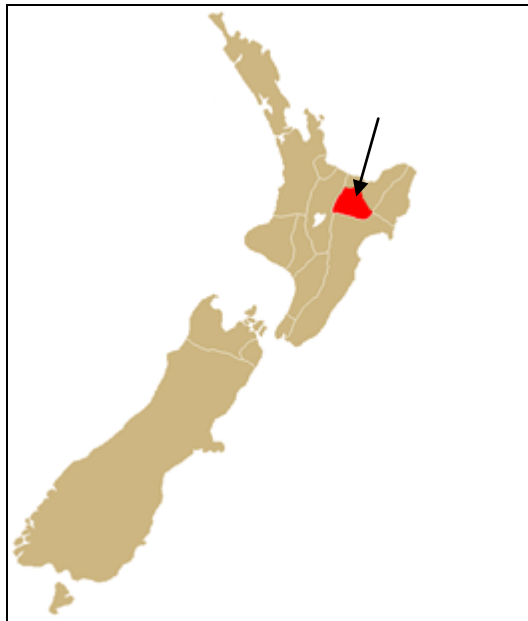
The socio-demographic analyses revealed that majority of the Ngāti Awa population driving population change lived outside the rohe and did not speak te reo. With regards to its education profile, Ngāti Awa experienced similar patterns to Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. Majority of the population had no qualifications, but the proportion dropped in later censuses, where more people who identified with Ngāti Awa had school qualifications. Once again, it appeared the females were driving most of the change. In terms of the Māori ethnicity indicator, it was mainly the group who did not identify Māori ethnicity who drove most of the population change. These shifts in the education profile of Ngāti Awa are also likely to be driven by the wider context of education policies and incentives for Māori to participate in education. Overall, this shows that the proportion of the population who predominantly changed iwi identification did not strongly identify with Māori identity indicators (e.g. language or ethnicity). Now that three case studies of iwi who have already settled are complete, the next section examines the growth patterns of Tūhoe, which has not settled.

### **7.3 Case study four: Tūhoe**

Tūhoe/Ngāi Tūhoe, are an iwi situated in the central eastern region of New Zealand's North Island (see Figure 7.5). The iwi takes its name from their ancestor Tūhoe-pōtiki, who was a descendant of Toroa, captain of the Mataatua waka. In the early 1800s, Tūhoe emerged from a period of inter-tribal rivalries but were generally resolved through peace agreements, typically in the form of intermarriages (Ngāi Tūhoe, 2012c). Although the people identify strongly with distinct tribal groupings within the rohe, they valued their whakapapa links between groups (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009). Tūhoe iwi developed a strong connection with the whenua (land), affirming their ancestors were the maunga (mountain) and Hine-pūkohu-rangi (name of the mist maiden) who brought forth the people of Tūhoe (Anamata, 2006).

The customary lands of Tūhoe centres around Te Urewera region. The rohe encompasses westward from Maungapōhatu to Ngā Māhanga on the Whakatane river, then further west between the Whakatāne and Rangitāiki rivers. The rohe moves northwards along Te Ika-whenua-a-Tamatea range to west of Tarapounamu peak. The boundary then extends to south to Maungataniwha, across the Wairau river and follows the Huiarau range to Whakatakā and then back towards Maungapōhatu (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009a). The rohe encompasses a significant catchment, Lake Waikaremoana and approximately 213,000 hectares (525,000 acres) of Te Urewera National Park, a significant taonga (treasure) to the iwi and a prominent feature of their Treaty negotiations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009). The rohe is considerably isolated, with heavy forestation and low quality infrastructure (Ngāi Tūhoe, 2012a). The closest urban centres are Whakatane, Opotiki, Rotorua and Wairoa. Tūhoe were the ninth largest iwi in 2006.

**Figure 7.5 Approximate area of Tūhoe**



In earlier times, Tūhoe had very little direct contact with the early European settlers compared to other Māori/iwi, such as Ngāi Tahu, primarily because of their relative inaccessible territory and tensions with their coastal neighbours, Ngāti Awa (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011b). This suggests that there were very little inter-racial unions, which in a sense provides some context for their strong sense of identity. The people of Tūhoe are reknown to have a strong sense of Māori identity – “The people who live in Te Urewera are predominantly Māori, living by Māori values and speaking te reo Māori” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009, p. 7), though Tūhoe, through its people, prominent leaders and organisations, express and assert their unique identity as Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe identity) (Anamata, 2006; Higgins, 2004; Ngāi Tūhoe, 2012b; Rangihau, 1992). On this basis, and situated within the theoretical framework provided in chapter two, we would expect very minimal ethnic mobility.

#### *Current Treaty negotiations*<sup>34</sup>

Tūhoe are currently in direct negotiations with the Crown over a number of historical and contemporary issues, many of which are similar to other iwi

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<sup>34</sup> At the time of writing this paper, Tūhoe reached an agreement with the Crown in September 2012 for \$170 million settlement (Young, 2012). Given the timing of this announcement, this does not have an impact on the data analysis of this thesis.

claimants. Tūhoe were affected by a series of injustices that occurred in the mid to late 1800s, including: raupatu, military conflict, land alienation, and the creation and failure of the Urewera district native reserve, and the Crown's handling of environmental and socio-economic issues (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009). These issues serve as the primary basis of their settlements claims and has raised the constitutional implications of the Treaty, particularly as they were non-signatories (Waitangi Tribunal, 2009). In this regards, Tūhoe strongly assert their mana motuhake (self-governance/determination).

While some time has passed since the first contemporary claim, some major progress has been made between the Crown and Tūhoe chief negotiators. The focus of the negotiations is to restore and redevelop Tūhoe independence and cultural permanency through the return of Te Urewera, mana motuhake and financial redress (Ngāi Tūhoe, 2012a). However, a major decision by the Prime Minister, John Key, to renege on the return of Te Urewera national park, has provided a major stall in the finalising of their negotiations ("Popularity fears cost Urewera settlement, says Tūhoe," 2010; Tahana, 2010; Trevett & Tahana, 2010). Given that Tūhoe did not settle over the focal period of this data analyses, we would expect very minimal effect on population growth.

There are a number of organisations representing Tūhoe who have played a pivotal role in the progression of the iwi, including Tūhoe Fisheries Charitable Trust, Tūhoe Waikaremoana Trust Board, Te Kotahi a Tūhoe Trust and Te Uru Taumatua (Te Uru Taumatua, 2012a).

### **7.3.1 Intercensal growth patterns**

Table 7.16 shows the number reporting as Tūhoe in each census between 1991 and 2006, and the percentage change. Like Ngāti Awa, Tuhoe experienced very moderate growth patterns in comparison to Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. Its initial population was 24,522, and increased by 33.2 percent to 32,670 in 2006. The difference in growth patterns between iwi are likely to be attributed to the different socio-political contexts. Ngāi Tahu and Waikato featured prominently in the public forum because of their large settlements with the Crown. On the otherhand, Tūhoe have not had a settlement and, at the time of the censuses, did

not attract the same type of publicity as Ngāi Tahu or Waikato. Furthermore, Tūhoe are reknown to have a strong sense of Māori or Tūhoe identity. On this notion, we would expect an individual of Tūhoe descent to strongly and consistently identify with Tūhoe, and therefore we would not expect to see much ethnic mobility, especially in relation to Ngāi Tahu. It is possible therefore to assume that the growth patterns of Tūhoe are determined by natural increases as opposed to ethnic mobility, however, further analyses are conducted below to determine whether this is the case.

**Table 7.16 Number and percentage change of Tūhoe population, 1991-2006**

Year	Tūhoe	+/- (number)	+/- (%)
1991	24,522	n/a	n/a
1996	25,917	1,395	5.7
2001	29,259	3,342	12.9
2006	32,670	3,411	11.7

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Intercensal growth was very minimal between 1991 and 1996 but, was especially marked between 1996 and 2001 (12.9 percent). This was unusual considering that the total iwi identified population (15.5 percent) and Ngāi Tahu (43.5 percent) experienced their greatest growth between 1991 and 1996. I argued, that for the most part, the change in iwi question in 1996 was the main reason for the extraordinary growth at the aggregate level. In addition, Ngāi Tahu was preparing itself for a settlement with the Crown, which built up public awareness. In effect, the combination of instrumental changes and increasing identification as a result of political factors meant that the Ngāi Tahu population experienced massive intercensal growth. On this notion, we would expect that the salience of iwi in the 1990s and the instrumental changes in the census, would have a similar impact on other individual iwi. In the case of Tūhoe, this did not happen to the same extent. Tūhoe did not receive the level of media attention as Waikato or Ngāi Tahu at the time, and therefore, we would expect the number of affiliations to Tūhoe to be relatively low. However, I contend that the small increase in the Tūhoe population in 1996 could still be a result of instrumental changes but, not necessarily to the same extent as Ngāi Tahu, Waikato or the total iwi identified population.



There are no obvious reasons for the intercensal growth patterns in subsequent years, but there are two possible scenarios. Firstly, growth, across all intercensal periods, could mostly be the result of natural increase, however, this will be made clear through an analysis of the data using the birth cohort and cohort component methods. Secondly, it is possible that the intercensal growths could be brought about by an increase in identification through conscious choices. There may have been a proportion who did not affiliate with Tūhoe in earlier censuses, but did so later. I argue that given 1991 was the first time that iwi data was collected in the contemporary context, we would expect a slow uptake of identification numbers in earlier censuses. We would expect by the 2001 census, that people would have been more aware of the significance of iwi and Māori in the political context at the time, and therefore lead to individuals increasingly identifying with Tūhoe.

*Average annual growth rates*

Table 7.17 shows the average annual growth rates for Tūhoe for each quinquennial period between 1991 and 2006. Each method produced similar results for each intercensal period – about 1.1 percent per annum between 1991 and 1996 – to 2.2 percent per annum between 2001 and 2006. One way of putting these trends in perspective is to compare them with the growth rates for the total iwi identified population. There are two points of difference. Firstly, during the first and third intercensal period, Tūhoe growth rates were slightly lower in comparison to the aggregate population, but was higher in the second period. Secondly, the total iwi population rates went down then rose between 2001 and 2006. In contrast, Tūhoe slightly peaked between 1996 and 2001. In comparison to the other case studies, the growth rates of Tūhoe were significantly lower than Ngāi Tahu across all intercensal periods, and more stable than Waikato.

**Table 7.17 Average annual growth rates (%) for Tūhoe population, 1991-2006**

Method	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Arithmetic	1.1	2.4	2.2
Geometric	1.1	2.5	2.2
Exponential	1.1	2.4	2.2

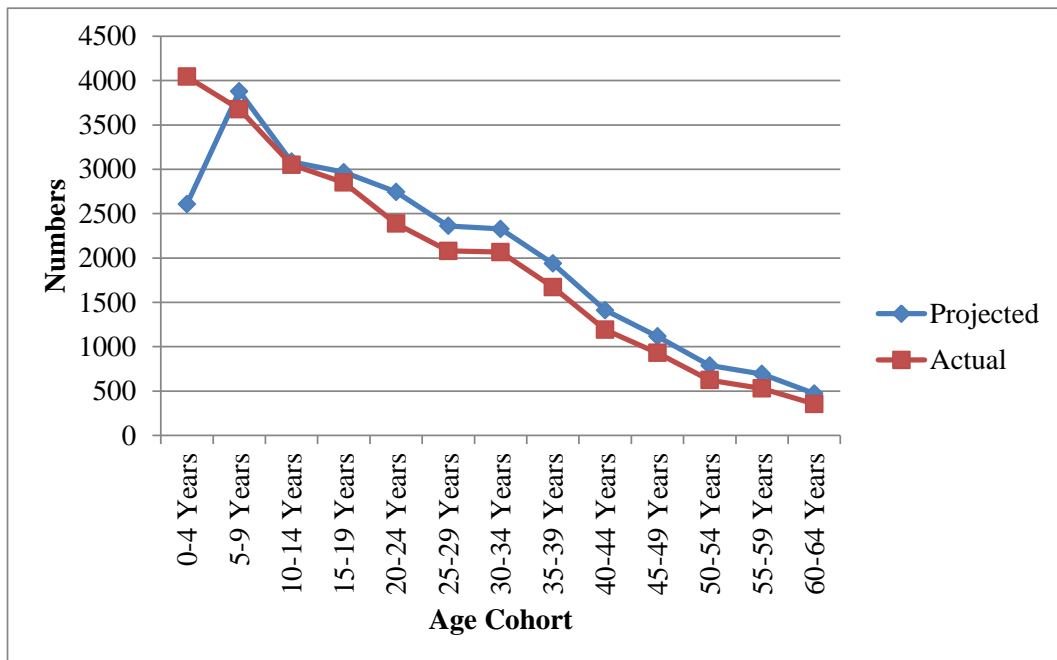
**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

This analysis further strengthens the argument that individual iwi experience different growth patterns because of their different social and political contexts. The analysis also implies that individual iwi who have not as yet received a settlement nor received similar publicity relevant to Ngāi Tahu or Waikato, may experience similar growth effects as Tūhoe.

### **7.3.2 Cohort component analysis**

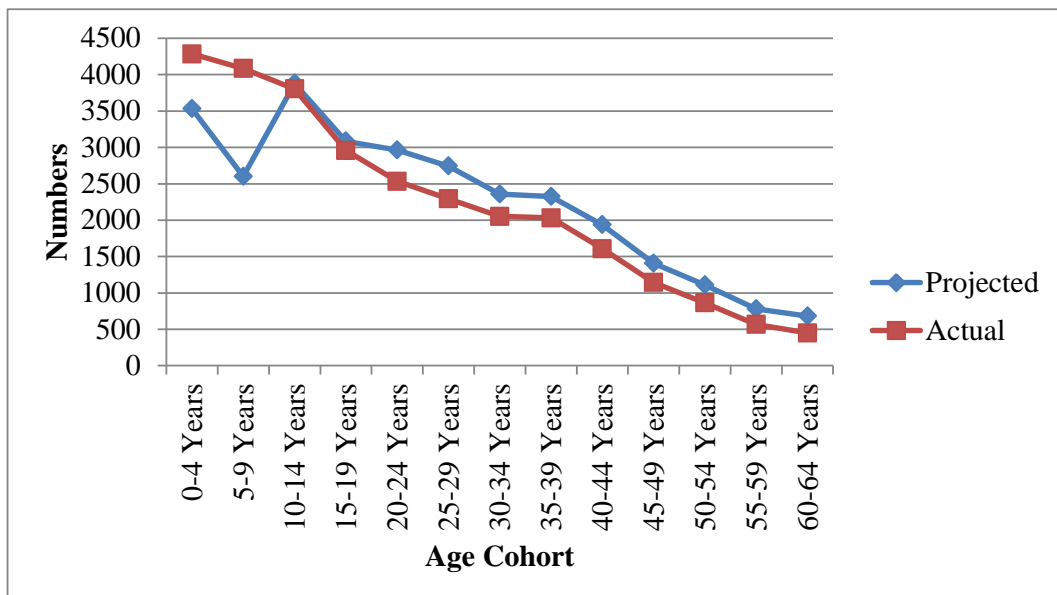
Using the actual population in the 1991 census as the baseline, this section projects each five-year age group forward to 1996, 2001 and 2006, and compares them with the numbers enumerated for Tūhoe. Again, we reject any adjustments for migration and are confident that any increases in population numbers cannot be explained by migration because of the outward trends at the national Māori population level within the last forty years or so. On this premise, we project the individual iwi population using natural increase (i.e. births less deaths) as the sole determinant of Tūhoe population changes. On the assumption that population only changes because of natural demographic factors, we would therefore expect the projected and actual figures to be very similar. Any key differences, are likely to be explained by changing identification patterns. The results are shown in Figure 7.6 to Figure 7.8.

**Figure 7.6 Projected versus actual Tūhoe population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 1996**



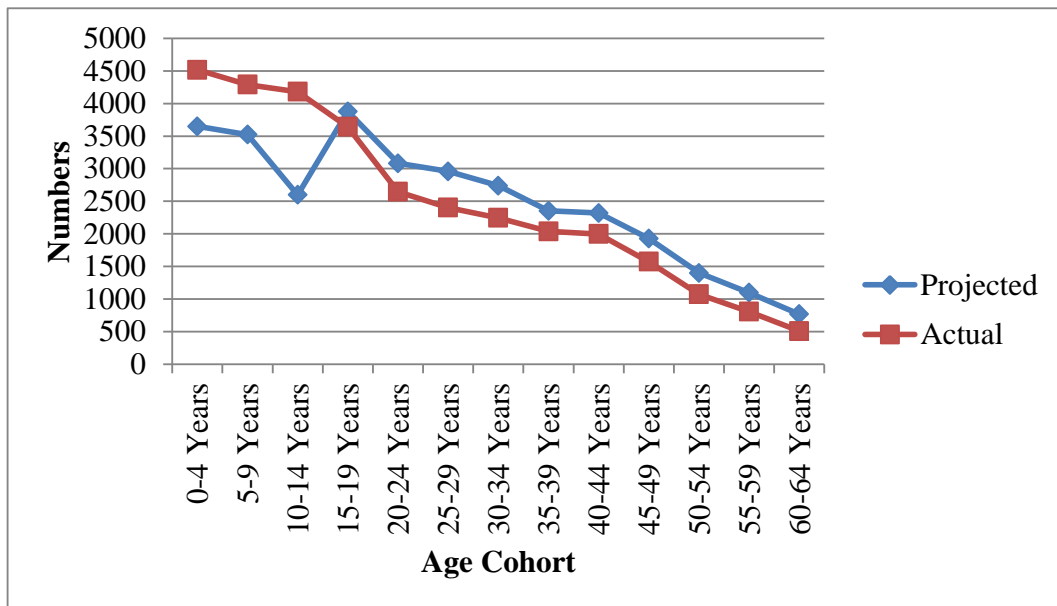
Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 7.7 Projected versus actual Tūhoe population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2001**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 7.8 Projected versus actual Tūhoe population (aged 0-64) by five-year age cohorts, 2006**



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The first notable trend is that the projected population is higher than the actual population across all age groups, except children (0-14). Given that the projections take account of natural increase, the difference could only be explained by under-reporting of identification. The issue with this explanation is that the projections are just an expected population size based on the assumption that the base population in 1991 would grow by a certain rate of natural increase. In real life however, we know that this does not always happen. So while it is possible that under-reporting could explain the difference between the projected and observed data, it cannot be definitive diagnosis. Hence, this analysis suggests that it is quite possible that the actual numbers were below the projected merely because the Tūhoe population did not grow by the rate of natural increase that the model projected. It is therefore possible that a combination of both under-reporting and lower levels of natural increase could explain the difference between the projected and actual.

The second point is that the biggest difference between the actual and projected figures occurred amongst children (0-14), except in 1996, the projected figures for those aged 5 to 14 was slightly under. Overall, however, this again reaffirms previous case study trends that parents were increasingly identifying their children

with a Tūhoe identity because of the importance they place on ensuring their children connect with their iwi early in life.

### **7.3.3 Birth cohort analysis**

A birth cohort is a group who share the same birth year(s). This analysis tracks the population size of the birth cohort as they pass through various age brackets. The purpose of this analysis is to compare the size of the birth cohort between censuses. Because we have assumed that the Māori population is a closed population, theoretically we would expect a birth cohorts to reduce in number across time because of mortality. Therefore, any increases in number can only be explained by new identification. The results for Tūhoe aged between 0 to 64 are shown in Table 7.18. The data is analysed in conjunction with Table 7.19 , which shows the intercensal percentage changes by birth cohorts.

There are two important trends to be taken from this analysis. The first key trend is that there were increases in population numbers amongst the younger birth cohorts, 1992-1996 and 1997-2001, as they passed through the ages of 0 to 14. However, this was not always the case. The birth cohort, 1982-1986, experienced a slight decrease in numbers between 1991 and 1996. For the most part however, the data shown in Table 7.19 supports the finding that the growth in numbers for children was mainly brought about by parents ensuring their children connect with their iwi.

The second trend is that at every census, the size of teenager (15-19) and adult (20 years and over) cohorts decreased. This indicates that there was some level of natural decrease and under-reporting of identification. On the other hand, the large drop in numbers for the older birth cohorts 1932-1946 is more than likely to be attributed to mortality, whereas the drop in the numbers for the birth cohort 1982-1986, can be attributed to at least mobility or out-migration. This is expected considering that young people (15-24) tend to be more mobile as they seek for work opportunities or overseas experiences.

**Table 7.18 Tūhoe population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991	1996	2001	2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	4,518
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	4,284	4,290
1992-1996	n/a	4,044	4,086	4,182
1987-1991	3,888	3,678	3,804	3,642
1982-1986	3,090	3,051	2,958	2,646
1977-1981	2,967	2,850	2,535	2,403
1972-1976	2,748	2,388	2,292	2,244
1967-1971	2,364	2,079	2,052	2,037
1962-1966	2,328	2,067	2,031	1,998
1957-1961	1,938	1,671	1,608	1,572
1952-1956	1,413	1,191	1,143	1,071
1947-1951	1,122	930	864	804
1942-1946	792	624	567	507
1937-1941	702	528	450	n/a
1932-1936	480	354	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	330	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

**Table 7.19 Percentage change (%) of Tūhoe population (aged 0-64) by five-year birth cohorts, 1991-2006**

Birth year	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
2002-2006	n/a	n/a	n/a
1997-2001	n/a	n/a	0.1
1992-1996	n/a	1.0	2.4
1987-1991	-5.4	3.4	-4.3
1982-1986	-1.3	-3.1	-10.6
1977-1981	-3.9	-11.1	-5.2
1972-1976	-13.1	-4.0	-2.1
1967-1971	-12.1	-1.3	-0.7
1962-1966	-11.2	-1.7	-1.6
1957-1961	-13.8	-3.8	-2.2
1952-1956	-15.7	-4.0	-6.3
1947-1951	-17.1	-7.1	-6.9
1942-1946	-21.2	-9.1	-10.6
1937-1941	-24.8	-14.8	n/a
1932-1936	-26.3	n/a	n/a
1927-1931	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

### 7.3.4 Social demographic determinants

The previous three methods measured the intercensal and cohort growth patterns. For the most part, we know that the growth patterns of Tūhoe were either driven by mortality or under-reporting of identification. On the other hand, the numbers of children (0-14) being identified with Tūhoe increased over time. This section now examines the characteristics of the population, using four key socio-demographic variables important to Māori identity and social-wellbeing – location, education, te reo Māori and ethnicity. The objectives of this analysis are two-fold. The first is to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of the population who are likely to drive most of the population change. The second is to assess the compositional changes over time.

#### *Rohe indicator*

For Tūhoe, the customary rohe was not only a key source of sustenance but, also an important element of their identity. We also know from the historical context presented in chapter two, that Māori left their traditional homelands to move to urban centres for work (Barcham, 2004). Currently, the majority live away from their traditional iwi rohe and, therefore, cannot or do not participate fully in iwitanga, meaning, culture customs pertaining to their iwi identity.

This sub-section examines the location of Tūhoe population for two purposes. The first is to examine the compositional changes over time. The second purpose is to study the intercensal growth patterns and to determine the spatial characteristics of the population predominantly driving those changes. The population is separated into two categories – those living within the rohe, based on data of territorial authorities that are approximately within the rohe<sup>35</sup>. The remaining territorial authorities supply the data that constitute those living outside the rohe. However, given that the customary rohe of Tūhoe is different to the territorial boundaries, the figures are only an estimate. The results are shown in Table 7.20 and Table 7.21.

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<sup>35</sup> Territorial Authorities include Rotorua District, Whakatane District, Opotiki District and Wairoa District.

**Table 7.20 Number of Tūhoe population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991	1996	2001	2006
Inside	8,535	8,490	8,766	9,279
Outside	15,993	17,427	20,478	23,397
Total	24,522	25,914	29,256	32,670
		%		
Inside	34.8	32.8	30.0	28.4
Outside	65.2	67.2	70.0	71.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Table 7.21 Percentage change (%) of Tūhoe population by rohe indicator, 1991-2006**

Rohe indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Inside	-0.5	3.3	5.9
Outside	9.0	17.5	14.2
Total	5.7	12.9	11.7

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

There are two key trends to be gathered from this analysis. First, at any given census, the majority of population lived outside the customary rohe. This is not surprising given that the rohe is relatively isolated and is an economically poorer region than other parts of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011a). Therefore, we would expect that a high proportion of the population would be located in more urbanised areas for social and economic reasons.

Second, the numbers of those living outside the rohe increased significantly over time. Similarly, those living within the rohe experienced increases over time, except in 1996. However, the proportion of those living within the rohe had steadily declined over time from 34.8 percent in 1991 to 28.4 percent in 2006, compared to the population living outside the rohe, increasing from 65.2 percent to 71.6 percent of the population in 2006. This suggests that the Ngāi Tahu population living outside the rohe were growing much faster than those living within the rohe.

From another perspective, Table 7.21 shows the intercensal percentage changes. Clearly, at each quinquennial period, the largest growth occurred amongst those living outside the rohe. This further confirms that although both groups



experienced growth overtime, those living outside the rohe were driving most of the population growth.

Although the number of the population living within the rohe had dipped slightly in 1996, the numbers had increased significantly from 2001, but, proportionally declined. This indicates that the population living outside the rohe were growing more rapidly than those living within the rohe. Across all censuses, the population living outside the rohe experienced much larger growth than their counterparts, confirming that the population living outside the rohe drove most of the growth.

The data presented in the tables above are quite deceiving because of the way the categories have been constructed. The Tūhoe rohe is relatively small so there is less number of territorial authorities to include in comparison to the number of territorial authorities outside the rohe. Table 7.22 shows the specific data for key territorial regions. Closer inspection shows that the greatest number of those who were Tūhoe, actually lived in the Whakatane or the surrounding districts of Rotorua and Kawerau. The numbers of Tūhoe population living within the Whakatane district had declined in 1996 but, stabilised to around 4,900 in latter censuses. On the other hand, the Tūhoe population living within the Rotorua district increased quite significantly over time. Rotorua district is near the Tūhoe rohe but, for this analysis, is not considered as a territorial authority within the Tūhoe rohe. This explains the high proportion of the Tūhoe population living outside the customary rohe, however, it also shows that a significant proportion still live within close proximity to the rohe, which allows a proportion of the population to still participate in their iwi-tanga.

**Table 7.22 Number of Tūhoe population by specific territorial authority, 1991-2006**

Territorial authority	1991	1996	2001	2006
Whakatane District	5,064	4,845	4,923	4,902
Rotorua District	2,187	2,433	2,595	3,084
Auckland City	1,098	1,095	1,179	1,212
Manukau City	1,485	1,602	1,980	2,391
Hamilton City	< 1,000	< 1,000	1,008	1,155
Kawerau District	1,035	1,050	1,005	1,041
Gisborne District	1,350	1,320	1,479	1,596
Hastings District	< 1,000	< 1,000	1,020	1,143
Lower Hutt City	< 1,000	1,044	1,212	1,389

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

### *Education*

As discussed in previous chapters, ethnic identity plays a pivotal role in determining life chances and access to public resources, including educational outcomes. During the 1990s, educational policies encouraged more Māori to participate and achieve in education, but also saw the establishment of wananga (tertiary education institutes). At an iwi level, this included the offering of scholarships and grants for registered members. Based on studies conducted by Eschbach et al (1998), education influences how respondents report their identity on the assumption that ethnic identification varies according to the needs and interests of individuals. Given that Tūhoe have not received a major settlement, we would expect very minimal change in the level of identification, because of the lack of incentives to do so. However, Tūhoe-Waikaremoana Trust Board<sup>36</sup> offered generous secondary and tertiary scholarships/grants on the premise that the way forward for Tūhoe is through education, with the objective of promoting Tūhoe culture, language and identity (Te Uru Taumatua, 2012b). One of

<sup>36</sup> The original website containing information regarding education policies for Tūhoe is now operated through Te Uru Taumatua website [www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz](http://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz).

these major scholarships included the *Rangihau Scholarship* which was established in the 1990s for post-graduate study.

This section analyses the educational profile (i.e. by highest qualification levels) of the Tūhoe population aged 15 years and over, between 1991 and 2006. This is conducted in three parts. The first part examines the compositional changes, so as to determine the characteristics of the group that is growing the fastest. The second part, studies the intercensal growth patterns to determine the characteristics of the group that is predominantly driving most of the intercensal change. The final part, focuses on the Tūhoe population over the age of 15 with no qualifications. The aim is to identify which age group is driving population change amongst those with no qualifications. This section now begins with a study of the compositional changes as shown in Table 7.23.

At each census year, the highest proportion of the Tūhoe population over 15 years old had no qualifications, however the proportion had decreased over time. Over the same period, the proportion of the population gaining higher qualifications (i.e. post-school and degree level) particularly increased between 1996 and 2001. This increase in numbers particularly happened after the establishment of the Rangihau scholarship.

The compositions varied by gender and qualification levels. For the most part, there were a higher proportion of males with no qualifications. However, the proportion of females gaining a qualification was much higher than the proportion of males. This suggests that females with gaining higher qualifications and identifying with Tūhoe were growing faster than the males.

**Table 7.23 Tūhoe population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991	1996	2001	2006
Males				
None	3,588	3,483	3,051	nd
School	1,206	1,503	2,109	nd
Post-school	966	759	1,113	nd
Degree or higher	156	126	270	nd
Total males <sup>1</sup>	5,919	5,874	6,540	nd
Females				
None	3,744	3,732	3,165	nd
School	1,698	2,157	2,994	nd
Post-school	786	891	1,512	nd
Degree or higher	177	183	405	nd
Total females <sup>1</sup>	6,402	6,960	8,073	nd
Total Sex				
None	7,332	7,215	6,216	6,828
School	2,904	3,660	5,103	5,748
Post-school	1,752	1,650	2,625	3,951
Degree or higher	333	309	675	1,176
Total <sup>1</sup>	12,321	12,834	14,613	17,712
%				
Males				
None	60.6	59.3	46.7	n/a
School	20.4	25.6	32.2	n/a
Post-school	16.3	12.9	17.0	n/a
Degree or higher	2.6	2.1	4.1	n/a
Total males <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Females				
None	58.5	53.6	39.2	n/a
School	26.5	31.0	37.1	n/a
Post-school	12.3	12.8	18.7	n/a
Degree or higher	2.8	2.6	5.0	n/a
Total females <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	n/a
Total Sex				
None	59.5	56.2	42.5	38.6
School	23.6	28.5	34.9	32.5
Post-school	14.2	12.9	18.0	22.3
Degree or higher	2.7	2.4	4.6	6.6
Total <sup>1</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Total figures exclude *Not Elsewhere Included* or *Other* categories

nd = no data available

The intercensal growth changes shown in Table 7.24, show different dynamics to the previous analysis. The largest intercensal growth occurred amongst those with a degree or higher, especially in the second and third intercensal period.

However, in the first intercensal period, the largest growth happened amongst those with a school qualification. In terms of gender, females dominated growth at every qualification level. This shows that women with a qualification were

driving most of the population change between censuses, particularly those with a degree or higher.

**Table 7.24 Percentage change (%) of Tūhoe population (aged 15+) by highest qualification and sex, 1991-2006**

Qualification level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
Males			
None	-2.9	-12.4	n/a
School	24.6	40.3	n/a
Post-school	-21.4	46.6	n/a
Degree or higher	-19.2	114.3	n/a
Total males	-0.8	11.3	n/a
Females			
None	-0.3	-15.2	n/a
School	27.0	38.8	n/a
Post-school	13.4	69.7	n/a
Degree or higher	3.4	121.3	n/a
Total females	8.7	16.0	n/a
Total Sex			
None	-1.6	-13.9	n/a
School	26.0	39.4	n/a
Post-school	-5.8	59.1	n/a
Degree or higher	-7.2	118.5	n/a
Total	4.2	13.9	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

Table 7.25 and Table 7.26 presents specific data of the Tūhoe population with no qualifications by age groups. The purpose of this analysis is to determine the age group driving most of the population change. The data shows that there were major variations by age groups. The greatest drop occurred between the age groups of 20 to 34, in both intercensal periods. This is expected because it is usually this age group that is involved in tertiary education.

**Table 7.25 Number of Tūhoe population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991	1996	2001	2006
15-19	1,194	1,254	1,104	nd
20-24	1,032	843	660	nd
25-29	1,068	936	627	nd
30-34	969	1,014	771	nd
35-39	714	825	783	nd
40-44	648	606	630	nd
45-49	504	543	483	nd
50-54	408	360	414	nd
55-59	306	297	273	nd
60-64	228	219	198	nd
65-69	141	156	114	nd
Total	7,206	7,059	6,060	6,828

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

nd = no data available

<sup>1</sup>Unable to determine the age bracket therefore, this figure is not comparable for this data analysis

**Table 7.26 Percentage change of Tūhoe population (aged 15-69) with no qualifications by five-year age groups, 1991-2006**

Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2006
15-19	5.3	-12.0	n/a
20-24	-18.3	-21.7	n/a
25-29	-12.4	-33.0	n/a
30-34	4.6	-24.0	n/a
35-39	15.6	-5.1	n/a
40-44	-6.5	4.0	n/a
45-49	7.7	-11.1	n/a
50-54	-11.8	15.0	n/a
55-59	-2.9	-8.1	n/a
60-64	-4.0	-9.6	n/a
65-69	10.6	-26.9	n/a
Total	-2.0	-14.2	n/a

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

**Notes:**

n/a = not applicable

*Te reo Māori indicator*

As emphasised in the last three case studies, language is an important aspect of Māori identity. This sub-section examines the composition and intercensal changes of the Ngāti Awa population by two categories – those who spoke te reo versus those who did not speak te reo. Table 7.27 shows the composition of the

Tūhoe population classified into two groups – speakers and non-speakers of te reo.

The data shows that majority of the population did not speak te reo. This is surprising considering that, in general, the people of Tūhoe are known for their strong sense of identity, including the ability to speak te reo, particularly if they are living within their own customary rohe. Although the number of speakers and non-speakers increased over time, the proportion of non-speakers was greater. This suggests that it was mainly non-speakers who were driving growth patterns. This finding is further supported by the data presented in Table 7.28.

**Table 7.27 Number and percentage of Tūhoe population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996	2001	2006
Speak	10,863	11,718	12,693
Not speak	13,536	16,311	18,786
Total <sup>1</sup>	24,396	28,029	31,482
MEG – speak	129,048	130,479	131,613
Total MEG	493,686	501,534	537,681
	%		
Speak	44.5	41.8	40.3
Not speak	55.5	58.2	59.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
MEG	26.1	26.0	24.5

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes *No Language* and *Not Elsewhere Identified*

The main trend is that it was non-speakers who determined most of the population change amongst the Tūhoe population. Between 1991 and 2006, the percentage change of non-speakers was 20.5 percent compared to 7.9 percent of speakers. In the following intercensal period, the growth size had dropped for both groups but, the growth size of non-speakers was still significantly higher than speakers of te reo.

**Table 7.28 Percentage change (%) of Tūhoe population by te reo Māori indicator, 1996-2006**

Te reo Māori indicator	1996-2001	2001-2006
Speak	7.9	8.3
Not speak	20.5	15.2
Total	14.9	12.3
MEG	1.1	1.0

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**Notes:**

No language data was collected in 1991.

*Māori ethnicity indicator*

Previous chapters highlighted that Māori ethnicity is based on the concept of cultural affiliation. Not all of the descent population identify as Māori in term of ethnicity or iwi. On this note, this analysis examines the ethnic profile of the Tūhoe population in three parts. The first part examines the composition of the population by ethnic indicator. The next part then identifies which group was driving the overall population patterns. The third part specifically focuses on the growth patterns within the ethnic group, to identify the age group that is predominantly driving growth changes.

We begin with the examination of the compositional changes in Table 7.29. This data has been grouped into two categories – those who identified Māori ethnicity and those who did not identify Māori ethnicity. There was a very high proportion of the Tūhoe population who identified as Māori ethnic, ranging from 95.2 in 1991 to 96.3 percent in 1996. Although the number of the Māori non-ethnic increased by 2001, the proportion of Māori ethnic grew faster.



**Table 7.29 Number and percentage of Tūhoe population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991	1996	2001
Māori ethnicity	23,340	24,969	27,777
Not Māori ethnicity	1,152	717	1,320
Total <sup>1</sup>	24,498	25,686	29,100
	%		
Māori ethnicity	95.3	97.2	95.5
Not Māori ethnicity	4.7	2.8	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

<sup>1</sup>Total excludes *Not Elsewhere Included*

In terms of intercensal growth patterns shown in Table 7.30, intercensal growth between 1996 and 2001 was predominantly driven by non-ethnic Māori. However, between 1991 and 1996, the ethnic Māori experienced positive growth while non-ethnic Māori experienced significant negative growth in the numbers. This suggests that in the first intercensal period, individuals identifying as Tūhoe also identified as ethnic Māori, whereas in the second period, growth was significantly driven by non-ethnic Māori.

**Table 7.30 Percentage change of the Tūhoe population by Māori ethnicity indicator, 1991-2001**

Māori ethnicity indicator	1991-1996	1996-2001
Māori ethnicity	7.0	11.3
Not Māori ethnicity	-37.8	84.1
Total	4.9	13.3

**Source:** This work is based on/includes Statistics New Zealand's data which are licensed by Statistics New Zealand for re-use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 New Zealand license.

The socio-demographic analyses revealed that majority of the Tūhoe population driving population change lived outside the rohe, did not speak te reo and did not identify as Māori ethnic. Overall, this shows that the proportion of the population who predominantly changed ethnic identification, did not strongly identify as Māori and increasingly identified in response to interest and need.

## 7.4 Summary

This chapter analysed the growth patterns of the Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa populations. These populations were much smaller in size and geographical size

than Ngāi Tahu and Waikato. Ngāti Awa received a reasonably sized settlement in 2003, but Tūhoe have not had a major settlement and are currently involved in the negotiations process. This analysis considered their growth patterns within this context, and in relation to the findings of Ngai Tahu and Waikato.

Both iwi experienced general increases between 1991 and 2006 and showed steady growth patterns. There was a slight difference however, with the Tūhoe population showing slower growth than the Ngāti Awa population. The latter, however, experienced their biggest population increase in 2006, after their settlement period.

In studying the growth patterns of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, there did not appear to be any significant increases around the 1996 or 2001 censuses. This was unusual considering that there were major instrumental changes in 1996. However, I argued that instrumental changes may have had an impact, but not to the same extent as Ngāi Tahu or Waikato because of their different social and political contexts.

Both the cohort component and birth cohort analyses indicated that there were some major increases in the numbers and proportions identifying as Tūhoe and Ngāi Tahu, which varied by age. The analyses confirmed that natural increases had minimal impact on population change, but more so, changing identifications brought about by out-migration and salience of identity.

An analysis of various key socio-demographic variables provided insight into the composition and profile of each population, and identified which sub-group was predominantly driving population growth patterns. For both iwi, majority of those who identified as either iwi, had also identified as ethnic Māori. But, most of the time, those with higher qualifications, females, non-ethnic Māori and non-speakers of te reo, were more likely driving population changes.

The next and final chapter summarises the whole thesis taking into account the theories, historical context, methodology and analyses.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

### 8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the thesis with a general overview of the main themes. This chapter will explore these themes by focussing on the key findings from the data analyses and relate these findings back to theories of ethnic identities and the category of ethnic mobility.

The overall purpose of this thesis was to develop a robust understanding of iwi population growth patterns. This was in response to the following research questions: *What do patterns of iwi growth look like? What is the role of ethnic mobility? What factors drive ethnic mobility? Who changes iwi identification? Why should we care?* In confronting these questions, this thesis attempted to firstly, describe the growth trajectories of the iwi population and, secondly, to identify the key determinants underlying these changes. This was accomplished by obtaining the most recent iwi data from the New Zealand census between 1991 and 2006, and then applying statistical models that would assist in achieving the aims of this thesis. The analysis examined growth patterns of the total iwi identified population but also conducted an in-depth analysis of four iwi groups – Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe. An analysis at the individual-iwi level permitted an understanding of growth dynamics that could not be readily seen at the aggregate level. These findings in combination with the theoretical framework of this thesis were used to develop the following key themes. These themes are that:

- the category of ethnic mobility is mainly contextual;
- individual ethnic identification decisions are for the most part defined by ethnic categories imposed by the State;
- while traditional views suggest ethnicity is fixed, intrinsic and kinship based, this thesis finds significant support for contemporary views that argue ethnicity is fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed.

Thus rather than reject traditional views of Maori identity, this study recognises that ethnic identities are complex, and that shifts in iwi identification is about connecting and reconnecting with whakapapa. Therefore, this thesis argues that

in order to understand individual iwi dynamics both points of view need to be considered.

In order to situate these themes this chapter will provide a brief background contextualising this research and the salience of iwi identity. The chapter will then outline the key findings which informed the themes. Next the chapter will make connections to the theoretical framework and then the chapter will conclude by providing an in-depth explanation of the three themes and identifying areas for future research.

## **8.2 Background**

This research developed from a broader context that considers the resurgence of ethnic and, more specifically, indigenous identities in the post-World War II era beyond levels of natural increase that is fertility, mortality and migration. Researchers have established that a significant portion of this growth was attributed to ethnic mobility or changing ethnic identification patterns. This phenomenon is well documented in North America, however, this perspective on the significance of ethnic mobility has just has much relevance to the New Zealand context. This is because the ethnic identity of the indigenous Māori population has taken on increasing importance in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in relation to iwi identity. In order to explain this change the thesis examined the social, political and economic factors specific to New Zealand in this study of tribal identification. These factors are outlined below.

Essentially, it was the renaissance of Māori culture and identity that fostered the rebuilding of iwi organisations and eventually identity. The renaissance began with a wave of Māori protests in the 1970s. In response to this social and political movement, successive governments made momentous changes to accommodate Māori expectations, which included the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975. The renaissance was also marked by a revitalisation of culture and identity, characterised by a revival of te reo Māori and the establishment of education facilities such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa. However, the turning point for the significance of iwi based identity came when Māori leaders attended the 1984

Hui Taumata. At the hui, it was proposed that Māori, through iwi (tribe/tribal) authorities, deal with their own social and economic issues rather than rely on the Government. The Crown agreed, and in preparation for any settlement of Treaty claims, required iwi authorities to fulfil certain obligations and criteria. In 1990, the Government implemented the Rūnanga Iwi Act, which saw the rebuilding of iwi organisations into corporate-based entities. Iwi were able to exercise greater political leverage through iwi leader forums and Treaty claim processes, particularly for the return of land and financial compensation. Thus, iwi authorities became the core mechanism in which to manage settlement monies, address social and economic disparities, deliver key social services to its registered members, and to achieve Māori aspirations. Subsequently, the need for iwi statistics for policy and planning purposes saw the reinstatement of the iwi question in the 1991 New Zealand census.

### **8.3 Key findings**

#### *Growth trajectories*

Prior to undertaking an indepth analysis, initial observations of the total iwi data since 1991, showed constant growth over time. Furthermore, basic observations of selected iwi, showed extraordinary intercensal growth sizes and significantly different growth patterns between iwi, that only raised further enquiries.

However, these observations were inadequate to address some of the research questions posed earlier. Using basic intercensal methods and annual growth rates, this thesis calculated the size of growth between censuses for the purpose of not only documenting intercensal changes but, also investigating further the significant of ethnic mobility as a key determinant of iwi population change.

At the aggregate level, the iwi population experienced a massive increase of 39 percent between 1991 and 2006. This far exceeded the growth rates experienced by the Māori descent population (26.0 percent) and the MEG (30.0 percent). In contrast, the total New Zealand population only managed an overall growth of 19.4 percent. These differences highlighted two ideas. First, that different ethnic criteria used to define the Māori population, produces different population sizes. Second, different drivers affected the population groups. For the New Zealand

population, natural increase and to some extent, immigration, were the main determinants of growth. Although the mortality and fertility transitions were key drivers of Māori population in the early part of the post-World War II period, this study showed that ethnic mobility was a major factor of iwi population change.

The individual case studies showed very different growth trajectories. Ngāi Tahu experienced the greatest growth trajectory of the four cases, with relatively large positive growth patterns over time. Their largest growth occurred between 1991 and 1996. Based on the analyses, it was clear that instrumental changes and increasing identification brought about by their Treaty settlement determined most of the growth for Ngāi Tahu. Contrariwise, Waikato had a very erratic growth pattern. Initially they experienced slow growth, until their numbers substantially grew in 2001 but, then experienced negative growth in 2006. The experience of Waikato was best understood by also examining the growth patterns of Tainui and the Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (NFD) category. The reason for this was that this thesis argued that the publicity surrounding the Waikato-Tainui raupatu settlement, branded under the name of Tainui waka, would have caused respondents to write-in Tainui, more so, than Waikato as their iwi affiliation. The data observations of the Tainui and the NFD categories confirmed that this was the case and was a major explanation for the slow growth trajectory of Waikato, especially between 1991 and 1996. The substantial growth in the Waikato population in 2001 was explained by the introduction of the supplementary iwi list provided with the 2001 census. In comparison, both Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe had relatively much flatter and stable levels of growth. There was a slight difference however, with the Tūhoe population showing slower growth than the Ngāti Awa population. The latter, however, experienced their biggest population increase in 2006, after their settlement.

Overall, the case studies showed that both instrumental changes in the census *and* the settlements environment had a major impact on individual iwi population growth, but it was more about a matter of timing. Although there were significant increases just prior or after settlement, this varied between the three iwi who already settled. Instrumental effects, such as the change in census question and

the introduction of the supplementary list were more relevant to the growth trajectories of Waikato and Ngāi Tahu.

#### *Key determinants*

Current theoretical understandings in demography emphasise that births, deaths and migration are the direct determinants of population change. However, this thesis found very little reason to believe that these factors were a significant factor in population growth patterns. Firstly this thesis assumed that the Māori population was closed, and therefore, did not consider migration as a major factor in iwi population growth, especially positive growth. Although there was a lack of data of international migratory patterns for the general Māori population, academic studies highlighted the major trend of Māori relocating overseas (see Pool, 1991 and Hamer, 2008). Thus, this thesis, for the most part, ignored migration as a major determinant. However, it was useful for understanding cohort trends, particularly the decreases amongst young adults aged between 15 and 29. This paper also rejects migration as a significant determinant of iwi population growth because the only way for an indigenous population to increase via migration is by indigenous peoples returning to their homelands. However, migration trends of the last 30 years or so indicate more Māori relocating overseas, particularly to Australia.

This thesis cannot outrightly reject natural increase (i.e. births less deaths) as a factor in iwi population growth. The statistical models could only go as far as calculating growth sizes but, could not compute the various components of change. Thus, this thesis can only assume that to some extent, natural increase does have an effect on iwi population growth but, not to the same extent as ethnic mobility. This is evidenced by the relatively low natural increase rates and the cohort analyses showed small mortality effects in the older age groups. Given that these natural demographic factors had little impact, this thesis considered the significant of ethnic mobility.

#### *Significance of ethnic mobility*

Significant evidence from the data analyses reinforced the idea that ethnic mobility is a key factor in iwi population growth. First of all, the case studies

clearly showed the impact of the settlements environment. It was solely natural increase determining their growth patterns but, a combination of changing or new identities, facilitated by the publicity surrounding their settlements, and instrumental changes.

More in-depth analysis provided further support for ethnic mobility as a key determinant of iwi population change. The cohort component analysis showed that the variances between the observed and projected numbers in the iwi population was attributed to parents (presumably mothers) increasingly identifying themselves along with their children with an iwi. However, there was also a noticeable drop in the proportion of young people (15-29 years). This thesis argued that this was likely to be a reflection of the age group travelling overseas but, also an inter-generational ethnic mobility effect where younger adults make different ethnic identification choices to their parents. The birth cohort analysis further strengthened the findings from the cohort component analysis by showing increases in the size of young people, middle-aged (presumably parents), that essentially can only be due to *new* identifications.

The socio-demographic analyses of the iwi identified population showed three important trends: a noticeable shift in the education profile of the iwi identified population, a strong correlation between Māori identity indicators, and iwi population growth driven by persons who did not identify as Māori ethnicity nor spoke te reo Māori. This thesis argued that the change in the education profile could not only be solely explained by new affiliates, but was also a reflection of the general improvement in education levels brought about by the education policies of the 1990s. Majority of the iwi populations (total and individual) did not speak te reo Māori. However, there appeared to be a strong correlation between indicators of Māori identity, that is, those who identify as Māori ethnicity and speak te reo, are more than likely to identify an iwi. An examination of the Māori ethnicity profile of the population, showed a high proportion of the population who did identify as Māori ethnicity. Interestingly, however, the intercensal analyses showed that most of the change was driven by those who did not identify as Māori ethnicity.



### *Implications for theories of ethnicity*

The findings of this thesis raise important implications for theories of ethnicity and the demographic study of ethnic populations. Traditional views suggest ethnicity is fixed, intrinsic and kinship based, but, this thesis finds significant support for contemporary views, that ethnicity is fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed. However, rather than reject traditional views, these findings advocate that notions about ethnic identity are highly complex and studying ethnic population patterns requires a multi-dimensional approach.

## **8.4 Research themes**

Three key themes emerge from this thesis study, as follows:

- that the concept of ethnic mobility is mainly contextual, that is, decisions to change ethnic responses are influenced by the broader political, social and economic contexts;
- that individual ethnic identification decisions are for the most part defined by ethnic categories imposed by the State;
- while traditional views suggest ethnicity is fixed, intrinsic and kinship based, this thesis finds significant support for contemporary views that argue ethnicity is fluid, extrinsic and socially constructed.

Thus, rather than reject traditional views of Maori identity, this study recognises that ethnic identities are complex, and that shifts in iwi identification is about connecting and reconnecting with whakapapa. Therefore, this thesis argues that in order to understand individual iwi dynamics both points of view need to be considered.

## **8.5 Areas for future research**

This thesis is only one study among few, thus the first area that needs to be considered for future research is simply to keep going and to continue to seek to understand the statistical significance of iwi based identity. For example, different statistical categories could be examined including both age and sex.

The second area that could be considered for further research is the more subjective and socially constructed aspect of how shifting identification is about

connecting and reconnecting with whakapapa/genealogy. Current research does not make links between this spiritual aspect of identity and demographic patterns and this thesis contends that this is an area that should not be neglected.

The third area of research that could be considered would be linking this work to international trends such as the UN and including work completed on tribal based identities such as the aboriginal populations of the other settler states.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

While the purpose of this thesis was to develop a robust understanding of iwi population growth patterns, this thesis finishes by re-asking the question *Why should we care?* Despite the gains made in social, cultural and political spheres through the Maori Renaissance, in comparison to the New Zealand European/Pakeha population Maori continue to experience poverty to a higher level. This thesis argues that iwi identity in general should be cared about because it is a key avenue through which Maori can reconnect with whakapapa. However, just as important, it provides access to material wealth and rewards through the government and kinship structures. In this economic sense iwi identity should also be considered in relation to the policy and planning process of the Aotearoa New Zealand government.

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## **Appendix A: Glossary**

This glossary defines Māori terms that have been used in this thesis. The definitions contained herewith are provided in accordance to the context that they are used in this thesis, and therefore these definitions should not be considered conclusive. The source of these definitions are provided by the online tool - *Māori Dictionary* (Moorfield, 2012).

Macrons signify an emphasis of the vowel sounds. The Māori language contains five vowels, eight consonants and two diagraphs<sup>37</sup>. The language does not include the letter ‘s’. Therefore, I have purposely written this thesis to prevent the use of the letter ‘s’, in Māori words, to indicate possession or plural forms.

### **Aotearoa**

The North Island - now used as the Māori name for New Zealand.

### **Hapū**

Kinship group, clan, tribe; subtribe - section of a large kinship group.

### **Hui**

Gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

### **Ira**

Gene

### **Iwi**

Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor.

### **Kāinga**

Home, address, residence, village, habitation, habitat.

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<sup>37</sup> Vowels – a, e, i, o, u; Consonants – h, k, m, n, p, r, t, w; Diagraphs (two letters that combines to form one sound) – ng, wh.

**Source:** Kōrero Māori <http://www.korero.Māori.nz/forlearners/basics/pronunciation.html>

**Kāwanatanga**

Government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship,

**Kīngitanga**

Refers to the King movement which developed in the 1850s.

**Kōhanga Reo**

Māori language preschool.

**Kura kaupapa**

Primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.

**Māori**

Indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

**Māoritanga**

Māori culture, practices and beliefs

**Marae**

Courtyard. The open area in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*.

**Maunga**

Mountain, mount, peak.

**Pākehā**

New Zealander of European descent; exotic - introduced from or originating in a foreign country.

**Papatūānuku**

Personal name of Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui [sky father]. All living things originate from them.

**Rangatahi**

Younger generation, youth.

**Rangatira**

Chief

**Rangatiratanga**

Sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the *rangatira*, noble birth.

**Raupatu**

Conquest, confiscation.

**Rohe**

Boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).

**Rūnanga**

Council, tribal council, assembly, board, boardroom.

**Taonga**

Property, goods, possessions, effects, treasure, something prized.

**Tangata Whenua**

Local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land - people born of the whenua

**Te Reo**

Language, dialect, tongue, speech.

**Tino Rangatiratanga**

Self-determination.

**Waka**

Canoe; allied kinship groups descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand.

**Wānanga**

Seminar, conference, forum, a tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs - established under the Education Act 1990.

**Whakapapa**

Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent

**Whānau**

Extended family or family group

**Wharenui**

Meeting house or large house. The main building of a marae where guests are accommodated. Traditionally the *wharenui* belonged to a *hapū* or *whānau* but modern meeting houses have been built for non-tribal groups, including schools and tertiary institutions.



## Appendix B: Ethnicity, descent and iwi questions

### 1991 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings

**7** Which ethnic group do you belong to?  
*Tick the box or boxes which apply to you*

15 New Zealand European

16 New Zealand Maori

17 Samoan

18 Cook Island Maori

19 Tongan

20 Niuean

21 Chinese

22 Indian

23 Other (such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan)

Please state

**8** Have you any New Zealand Maori ancestry?

24  No → NOW GO TO QUESTION 10

25  Don't know → NOW GO TO QUESTION 10

26  Yes ↓ NOW GO TO QUESTION 9

**9** (a) What is the main iwi (tribe) you belong to?  
*(Please state one iwi only)*

27  Don't know

28  Don't belong to any iwi (tribe)

(b) What other iwi (tribes) do you have strong ties with?  
*(Please state no more than two iwi)*

Source: Statistics New Zealand

*1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*

**10** Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.

NZ Maori  
 NZ European or Pakeha  
 other European → Which of these groups?  
 Samoan       English  
 Cook Island Maori       Dutch  
 Tongan       Australian  
 Niuean       Scottish  
 Chinese       Irish  
 Indian       other  
 other (such as *FUJIAN*, *KOREAN*) → Print your ethnic group(s)

**13** Are you descended from a NZ Maori (that is, did you have a NZ Maori birth parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent, etc.)?

yes → Go to 14  
 no → Go to 15  
 don't know → Go to 15

**14** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

yes → Print the name and region of your iwi  
 no

iwi (tribe)	Region

Source: Statistics New Zealand

**2001 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings**

**11** Which ethnic group do you belong to?  
 Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.

- New Zealand European
- Māori
- Samoan
- Cook Island Maori
- Tongan
- Niuean
- Chinese
- Indian
- other (such as *DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN*). Please state:

**16** Are you descended from a Māori (that is, did you have a Māori birth parent, grandparent or great-grandparent, etc)?

- yes, go to **17**
- no, go to **18**
- don't know, go to **18**

Remember to mark your answer like this:

**17** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

- yes. Print the name and home area, rohe or region of your iwi below:
- no, go to **18**

A list of iwi can be found in the Help Notes.

Iwi	
Rohe <small>(iwi area)</small>	
Iwi	
Rohe <small>(iwi area)</small>	
Iwi	
Rohe <small>(iwi area)</small>	
Iwi	
Rohe <small>(iwi area)</small>	
Iwi	
Rohe <small>(iwi area)</small>	

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

*2006 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*

**11** Which ethnic group do you belong to?  
 Mark the space or spaces which apply to you.

- New Zealand European
- Māori
- Samoan
- Cook Island Maori
- Tongan
- Niuean
- Chinese
- Indian
- other such as *DUTCH, JAPANESE, TOKELAUAN*. Please state:

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**14** Look for the 'go to' instruction after you answer the question.  
 Are you descended from a Māori (that is, did you have a Māori birth parent, grandparent or great-grandparent, etc)?

- yes → mark your answer and go to **15**
- no → mark your answer and go to **16**
- don't know → mark your answer and go to **16**

**15** Do you know the name(s) of your iwi (tribe or tribes)?

A list of iwi can be found on the back of the Guide Notes.


- yes. Mark your answer and print the name and home area, rohe or region of your iwi below:
- no → mark your answer and go to **16**

Iwi	
Rohe (iwi area)	
Iwi	
Rohe (iwi area)	
Iwi	
Rohe (iwi area)	
Iwi	
Rohe (iwi area)	
Iwi	
Rohe (iwi area)	

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

# Appendix C: Iwi list 2001 and 2006

## 2001 Census – Iwi List

		Hauraki (Coromandel) Region	Te Arawa/Taupo (Rotorua/Taupo) Region
<p><i>List of iwi to help answer question 17</i></p> <p><i>Te rārangi ingoa iwi hei āwhina i te whakautu i te pātai 17</i></p>		<p>Ngāti Hako</p> <p>Ngāti Hei</p> <p>Ngāti Maru (Marutauhu)</p> <p>Ngāti Paoa</p> <p>Patukirikiri</p> <p>Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora</p> <p>Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau</p> <p>Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu</p> <p>Ngāti Tai</p> <p>Ngāti Tamaterā</p> <p>Ngāti Tara Tokanui</p> <p>Ngāti Whanaunga</p>	<p>Ngāti Pīkiao (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Ngāti Rangitīhi (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Ngāti Rangiwewehi (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Ngāti Tahu (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Tapuika (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Tarāwhai (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Tūwharetoa</p> <p>Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Waitaha (Te Arawa)</p> <p>Ngāti Whakauae (Te Arawa)</p>
<p><b>Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki Makau Rau (Northland/Auckland) Regions</b></p> <p>Te Aupūiri</p> <p>Ngāti Kahu</p> <p>Te Kawerau</p> <p>Ngāti Kuri</p> <p>Ngāpuhi</p>		<p>Ngāpuhi ki Whāingaroa - Ngāti Kahu ki Whāingaroa</p> <p>Te Rarawa</p> <p>Te Roroa</p> <p>Ngāti Takoto</p> <p>Te Uri-o-Hau</p> <p>Ngāti Wai</p> <p>Ngāti Whātua</p>	<p><b>Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region</b></p> <p>Ngāti Haua (Waikato)</p> <p>Ngāti Maniapoto</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)</p> <p>Waikato</p>
			<p><b>Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region</b></p> <p>Ngāti Awa</p> <p>Ngāti Manawa</p> <p>Ngāti Pūkenga</p>
<p><i>Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua cont'd from p11</i></p>		<p><b>Te Tairāwhiti (East Coast) Region</b></p> <p>Te Atanga-a-Māhaki</p> <p>Ngāti Porou</p> <p>Rongowhakaata</p> <p>Ngāti Tāmanuhiri</p>	<p><b>Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region</b></p> <p>Ngāti Apa ki te Waipounamu</p> <p>Te Atiawa (South Island)</p> <p>Ngāti Koata</p> <p>Ngāti Kūia</p> <p>Kāi Māmoe</p> <p>Mōiōri</p> <p>Ngāti Mutunga (Chatham Islands)</p> <p>Rangitāne (South Island)</p> <p>Ngāti Rārua</p> <p>Ngāti Tahu/Kai Tahu</p> <p>Ngāti Tama (South Island)</p> <p>Ngāti Toarangatira (South Island)</p> <p>Waitaha (South Island)</p>
		<p><b>Te Matau a Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region</b></p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Whanganui a Oroto</p> <p>Rangitāne (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa)</p> <p>Rongomaiwahine (Maha)</p>	<p><b>Whanganui/Rangitīkei Regions</b></p> <p>Ngāti Apa (Rangitīkei)</p> <p>Te Ati Hau Nui-a-Pāpārangi</p> <p>Ngāti Haua (Taumerunui)</p> <p>Ngāti Hauti</p>
		<p><b>Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui a Tara (Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region</b></p> <p>Te Atiawa (Wellington)</p> <p>Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai</p> <p>Muaūpoko</p> <p>Rangitāne (Manawatū)</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū)</p> <p>Ngāti Toarangatira (Wellington)</p>	
<p><b>Taranaki Region</b></p> <p>Te Atiawa (Taranaki)</p> <p>Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)</p> <p>Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)</p> <p>Ngā Rauru</p> <p>Ngā Ruahine</p> <p>Pakakohi</p> <p>Ngāti Ruanui</p> <p>Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)</p> <p>Tangāhoe</p> <p>Taranaki</p>			

cont'd p12

Te rārangi o ngā ingoa me ngā rohe pōtae o ngā iwi  
List of iwi to help answer question 15

**Te Tai Tokerau / Tāmaki-makaurau  
(Northland / Auckland) Region**  
Te Aupōuri  
Ngāti Kahu  
Te Kawerau  
Ngāti Kuri  
Ngāpuhi  
Ngāpuhi ki Whaingaroa-Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa  
Te Rārawa  
Te Roroa  
Ngāti Takoto  
Te Uri-o-Hau  
Ngāti Wai  
Ngāti Whātua

**Hauraki (Coromandel) Region**  
Ngāti Hako  
Ngāti Hei  
Ngāti Maru (Marutuahu)  
Ngāti Paoa  
Patukirikiri  
Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora  
Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiārua  
Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu  
Ngāti Tai (Hauraki)  
Ngāti Tamatera  
Ngāti Tara Tokanui  
Ngāti Whānau

**Waikato / Te Rohe Pōtae  
(Waikato / King Country) Region**  
Ngāti Haua (Waikato)  
Ngāti Maniapoto  
Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)  
Waikato

**Te Arawa / Taupō  
(Rotorua / Taupō) Region**  
Ngāti Pikiao (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Rangitiki (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Rangiwēwhē (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whāoa (Te Arawa)  
Tāpūka (Te Arawa)  
Tāwhāhi (Te Arawa)  
Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Tūwharetoa  
Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)  
Waitaha (Te Arawa)  
Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa)

**Tauranga Moana / Mātautua  
(Bay of Plenty) Region**  
Ngāti Awa  
Ngāti Manawa  
Ngāti Pūkenga  
Ngāterangi  
Ngāti Ranginui  
Ngāti Tai (Tauranga Moana / Mātautua)  
Tūhoe  
Whakatāhea  
Te Whānau-a-Apanui  
Ngāti Whare

**Taranaki Region**  
Te Arawa (Taranaki)  
Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)  
Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)  
Ngā Raua  
Ngā Ruahine  
Pakakohi  
Ngāti Ruani  
Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)  
Tangāhoe  
Taranaki

**Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region**  
Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki  
Ngāti Porou  
Rongowhakaata  
Ngāti Tāmanuhiri

**Te Matau-a-Māui / Wairarapa  
(Hawke's Bay / Wairarapa) Region**  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tānaki-a-Rua  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tāmatea  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa  
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Whanganui-a-Orotu  
Rangitāne (Te Matau-a-Māui / Hawke's Bay / Wairarapa)  
Rongomāwahine (Te Māhia)  
Ngāti Raukawa  
Ngāti Raukapa

**Whanganui / Rangitikei Region**  
Ngāti Apa (Rangitikei)  
Te Ahi Hānui-a-Pāpārangī  
Ngāti Haua (Taumaranui)  
Ngāti Hauti

**Manawatū / Horowhenua /  
Te Whanganui-a-Tara  
(Manawatū / Horowhenua / Wellington) Region**  
Te Arawa (Te Whanganui-a-Tara / Wellington)  
Te Arawa ki Whakarongotai  
Maukōpoko  
Rangitāne (Manawatū)  
Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua / Manawatū)  
Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Whanganui-a-Tara / Wellington)  
Ngāti Tama ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Te Whanganui-a-Tara / Wellington)

**Te Waipounamu / Wharekauri  
(South Island / Chatham Islands) Region**  
Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō  
Te Arawa (Te Waipounamu / South Island)  
Ngāti Koata  
Ngāti Kūia  
Kāi Māmoe  
Moniō  
Ngāti Mutunga (Wharekauri / Chatham Islands)  
Rangitāne (Te Waipounamu / South Island)  
Ngāti Rānua  
Ngāti Tahu / Kāi Tahu  
Ngāti Tama (Te Waipounamu / South Island)  
Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Waipounamu / South Island)  
Waitaha (Te Waipounamu / South Island)

## Appendix D: Census iwi classification standards 1991-2006

These classification standards were downloaded directly from Statistics New Zealand. In some cases, iwi names that are usually have macron's The iwi names are listed as per the information provided.

### 1991

Category Code	Iwi/Category Description	Classification Level
000	Te Aupouri	1
001	Ngati Kahu	1
002	Ngati Kuri	1
003	Ngapuhi	1
004	Whaingaroa	1
005	Te Rarawa	1
006	Ngai Takoto	1
007	Ngati Wai	1
008	Ngati Whatua	1
009	Other (Northland/Auckland/Taitokerau)	1
010	Ngati Hako	1
011	Ngati Hei	1
012	Ngati Maru (Marutuahu)	1
013	Ngati Paoa	1
014	Patukirikiri	1
015	Ngati Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora	1
016	Ngati Pukenga ki Waiiau	1
017	Ngati Rahiri Tumutumu	1
018	Ngati Tai	1
019	Ngati Tamatera	1
020	Ngati Tara Tokanui	1
021	Ngati Whanaunga	1
022	Other (Hauraki)	1
023	Ngati Haua (Waikato/King Country)	1
024	Ngati Maniapoto	1
025	Ngati Raukawa (Waikato/King Country)	1
026	Waikato	1
027	Other (Waikato/King Country/Tainui)	1
028	Ngati Pikia	1
029	Ngati Rangiteaorere	1
030	Ngati Rangitahi	1
031	Ngati Rangiwewehi	1
032	Tapuika	1
033	Tarawhai	1
034	Tuhourangi	1
035	Uenuku-Kopako	1

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
036	Waitaha (Bay of Plenty/Te Arawa)	1
037	Ngati Whakauae	1
038	Other (Te Arawa)	1
039	Tuwharetoa	1
040	Ngati Pukenga	1
041	Ngaiterangi	1
042	Ngatiranginui	1
043	Ngati Awa	1
044	Ngati Manawa-Ngati Whare	1
045	Ngai Tai	1
046	Tuhoe	1
047	Whakatohea	1
048	Te Whanau-A-Apanui	1
049	Other (Bay of Plenty)	1
050	Ngati Porou	1
051	Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki	1
052	Rongowhakaata	1
053	Ngai Tamanuhiri	1
054	Other (East Coast/Te Tairawhiti)	1
055	Ngati Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	1
056	Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	1
057	Ngati Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	1
058	Other (Ngati Kahungunu)	1
059	Rangitane (Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa)	1
060	Other (Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa)	1
061	Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	1
062	Ngati Maru (Taranaki)	1
063	Ngati Mutunga (Taranaki)	1
064	Ngarauru	1
065	Nga Ruahine	1
066	Ngati Ruanui	1
067	Ngati Tama (Taranaki)	1
068	Taranaki	1
070	Ngati Apa	1
071	Te Atihau Nui-A-Paparangi	1
072	Ngati Haua (Taumarunui)	1
073	Other (Whanganui)	1
074	Te Atiawa (Wellington)	1
075	Muaupoko	1
076	Rangitane (Manawatu)	1
077	Ngati Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatu)	1
078	Ngati Toa (Wellington)	1
079	Other (Manawatu/Horowhenua/Wellington)	1
080	Te Atiawa (South Island)	1
081	Ngati Koata	1
082	Ngati Kuia	1



<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
083	Kati Mamoe	1
084	Moriori	1
085	Ngati Mutunga (Chatham Islands)	1
086	Rangitane (South Island)	1
087	Ngati Rarua	1
088	Ngai Tahu	1
089	Ngati Tama (South Island)	1
090	Ngati Toa (South Island)	1
091	Waitaha (South Island)	1
092	Other (South Island)	1
094	Hapu name common to more than one Iwi	1
095	Other (Not Elsewhere Classified)	1
096	Don't know any of my iwi affiliations	1
097	Don't belong to any iwi	1
098	No main iwi given	1
099	Not specified	1
100	Te Atiawa (location not specified)	1
101	Ngati Haua (location not specified)	1
102	Ngati Maru (location not specified)	1
103	Ngati Mutunga (location not specified)	1
104	Rangitane (location not specified)	1
105	Ngati Raukawa (location not specified)	1
106	Ngati Tama (location not specified)	1
107	Ngati Toa (location not specified)	1
108	Waitaha (location not specified)	1

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**1996**

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
01	Northland/Auckland Iwi	1
0100	Northland/Auckland Iwi not further defined	2
0101	Te Aupouri	2
0102	Ngati Kahu	2
0103	Ngati Kuri	2
0104	Ngapuhi	2
0105	Ngapuhi ki Whaingaroa-Ngati Kahu ki Whaingaroa	2
0106	Te Rarawa	2
0107	Ngai Takoto	2
0108	Ngati Wai	2
0109	Ngati Whatua	2
0110	Te Kawerau	2
0111	Te Uri-o Hau	2
0112	Te Roroa	2
02	Hauraki Iwi	1
0200	Hauraki Iwi not further defined	2
0201	Ngati Hako	2
0202	Ngati Hei	2
0203	Ngati Maru (Marutuahu)	2
0204	Ngati Paoa	2
0205	Patukirikiri	2
0206	Ngati Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora	2
0207	Ngati Pukenga ki Waiiau	2
0208	Ngati Rahiri Tumutumu	2
0209	Ngati Tai	2
0210	Ngati Tamatera	2
0211	Ngati Tara Tokanui	2
0212	Ngati Whanaunga	2
03	Waikato/King Country Iwi	1
0300	Waikato/King Country Iwi not further defined	2
0301	Ngati Haua (Waikato)	2
0302	Ngati Maniapoto	2
0303	Ngati Raukawa (Waikato)	2
0304	Waikato	2
04	Te Arawa/Taupo Iwi	1
0400	Te Arawa/Taupo Iwi not further defined	2
0401	Ngati Pikia	2
0402	Ngati Rangiteaorere	2
0403	Ngati Rangitahi	2
0404	Ngati Rangiwewehi	2
0405	Tapuika	2
0406	Tarawai	2
0407	Tuhourangi	2
0408	Uenuku-Kopako	2
0409	Waitaha (Te Arawa)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
0410	Ngati Whakaue	2
0411	Tuwharetoa	2
05	Bay of Plenty Iwi	1
0500	Bay of Plenty Iwi not further defined	2
0501	Ngati Pukenga	2
0502	Ngaiterangi	2
0503	Ngatiranginui	2
0504	Ngati Awa	2
0505	Ngati Manawa-Ngati Whare	2
0506	Ngai Tai	2
0507	Tuhoe	2
0508	Whakatohea	2
0509	Whanau-A-Apanui	2
06	East Coast Iwi	1
0600	East Coast Iwi not further defined	2
0601	Ngati Porou	2
0602	Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki	2
0603	Rongowhakaata	2
0604	Ngai Tamanuhiri	2
07	Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa Iwi	1
0700	Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa Iwi not further defined	2
0701	Rongomaiwahine	2
0702	Ngati Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	2
0703	Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	2
0704	Ngati Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	2
0705	Kahungunu, area unspecified	2
0706	Rangitane (Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa)	2
08	Taranaki Iwi	1
0800	Taranaki Iwi not further defined	2
0801	Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	2
0802	Ngati Maru (Taranaki)	2
0803	Ngati Mutunga (Taranaki)	2
0804	Nga Rauru	2
0805	Nga Ruahine	2
0806	Ngati Ruanui	2
0807	Ngati Tama (Taranaki)	2
0808	Taranaki	2
0809	Tangahoe	2
0810	Pakakohe	2
09	Whanganui Iwi	1
0900	Whanganui Iwi not further defined	2
0901	Ngati Apa	2
0902	Te Ati Hau Nui-A-Paparangi	2
0903	Ngati Haua (Taumarunui)	2
10	Manawatu/Horowhenua/Wellington Iwi	1

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
1000	Manawatu/Horowhenua/Wellington Iwi not further defined	2
1001	Te Atiawa (Wellington)	2
1002	Muaupoko	2
1003	Rangitane (Manawatu)	2
1004	Ngati Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatu)	2
1005	Ngati Toa (Wellington)	2
11	South Island/Chatham Island Iwi	1
1100	South Island/Chatham Island Iwi not further defined	2
1101	Te Atiawa (South Island)	2
1102	Ngati Koata	2
1103	Ngati Kuia	2
1104	Kati Mamoe	2
1105	Moriori	2
1106	Ngati Mutunga (Chatham Islands)	2
1107	Rangitane (South Island)	2
1108	Ngati Rarua	2
1109	Ngai Tahu	2
1110	Ngati Tama (South Island)	2
1111	Ngati Toa (South Island)	2
1112	Waitaha (South Island)	2
1113	Ngati Apa ki te Waipounamu	2
30	Iwi named but area unspecified	1
3001	Te Atiawa, area unspecified	2
3002	Ngati Haua, area unspecified	2
3003	Ngati Maru, area unspecified	2
3004	Ngati Mutunga, area unspecified	2
3005	Rangitane, area unspecified	2
3006	Ngati Raukawa, area unspecified	2
3007	Ngati Tama, area unspecified	2
3008	Ngati Toa, area unspecified	2
3009	Waitaha, area unspecified	2
40	Hapu affiliated to more than one Iwi	1
4000	Hapu affiliated to more than one iwi	2
50	Do not know name of iwi	1
5000	Do not know name of iwi	2
60	Unidentifiable	1
6000	Unidentifiable	2
88	Not applicable	1
8888	Not applicable	2
99	Not specified	1
9999	Not specified	2

Source: Statistics New Zealand

**2001**

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
01	Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki Makau Rau (Northland/Auckland) Region	1
0100	Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki Makau Rau (Northland/Auckland) Region, not further defined	2
0101	Te Aupōuri	2
0102	Ngāti Kahu	2
0103	Ngāti Kurī	2
0104	Ngāpuhi	2
0105	Ngāpuhi ki Whāingaroa-Ngāti Kahu ki Whāingaroa	2
0106	Te Rarawa	2
0107	Ngāi Takoto	2
0108	Ngāti Wai	2
0109	Ngāti Whātua	2
0110	Te Kawerau	2
0111	Te Uri-o Hau	2
0112	Te Roroa	2
02	Hauraki (Coromandel) Region	1
0200	Hauraki (Coromandel) Region, not further defined	2
0201	Ngāti Hako	2
0202	Ngāti Hei	2
0203	Ngāti Maru (Marutuahu)	2
0204	Ngāti Paoa	2
0205	Patukirikiri	2
0206	Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora	2
0207	Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiiau	2
0208	Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu	2
0209	Ngāti Tai	2
0210	Ngāti Tamaterā	2
0211	Ngāti Tara Tokanui	2
0212	Ngāti Whanaunga	2
03	Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region	1
0300	Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region, not further defined	2
0301	Ngāti Haua (Waikato)	2
0302	Ngāti Maniapoto	2
0303	Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)	2
0304	Waikato	2
04	Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region	1
0400	Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region, not further defined	2
0401	Ngāti Pīkiao (Te Arawa)	2
0402	Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)	2
0403	Ngāti Rangitīhi (Te Arawa)	2
0404	Ngāti Rangiwēwhi (Te Arawa)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
0405	Tapuika (Te Arawa)	2
0406	Tarāwhai (Te Arawa)	2
0407	Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)	2
0408	Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)	2
0409	Waitaha (Te Arawa)	2
0410	Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa)	2
0411	Ngāti Tūwharetoa	2
0412	Ngāti Tahu (Te Arawa)	2
05	Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region	1
0500	Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region, not further defined	2
0501	Ngāti Pūkenga	2
0502	Ngaiterangi	2
0503	Ngāti Ranginui	2
0504	Ngāti Awa	2
0505	Ngāti Manawa	2
0506	Ngāi Tai	2
0507	Tūhoe	2
0508	Whakatōhea	2
0509	Whānau-A-Apanui	2
0510	Ngāti Whare	2
06	Te Tairāwhiti (East Coast) Region	1
0600	Te Tairāwhiti (East Coast) Region, not further defined	2
0601	Ngāti Porou	2
0602	Te Aitanga-A-Māhaki	2
0603	Rongowhakaata	2
0604	Ngāi Tāmanuhiri	2
07	Te Matau a Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region	1
0700	Te Matau a Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region, not further defined	2
0701	Rongomaiwahine (Te Māhia)	2
0702	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	2
0703	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	2
0704	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	2
0705	Ngāti Kahungunu, region unspecified	2
0706	Rangitāne (Te Matau a Maui/Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa)	2
0707	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Whanganui a Orotu	2
0708	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea	2
0709	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua	2
08	Taranaki (Taranaki) Region	1
0800	Taranaki (Taranaki) Region, not further defined	2
0801	Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	2
0802	Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)	2
0803	Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
0804	Ngā Rauru	2
0805	Ngā Ruahine	2
0806	Ngāti Ruanui	2
0807	Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)	2
0808	Taranaki	2
0809	Tangāhoe	2
0810	Pakakohi	2
09	Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region	1
0900	Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region, not further defined	2
0901	Ngāti Apa (Rangitīkei)	2
0902	Te Ati Hau Nui-A-Pāpārangi	2
0903	Ngāti Haua (Taumarunui)	2
0904	Ngāti Hauti	2
10	Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui a Tara (Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region	1
1000	Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui a Tara (Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region nfd	2
1001	Te Atiawa (Te Whanganui a Tara/Wellington)	2
1002	Muaūpoko	2
1003	Rangitāne (Manawatū)	2
1004	Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū)	2
1005	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Whanganui a Tara/Wellington)	2
1006	Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai	2
11	Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region	1
1100	Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region, nfd	2
1101	Te Atiawa (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1102	Ngāti Koata	2
1103	Ngāti Kuia	2
1104	Kāti Mamoe	2
1105	Moriori	2
1106	Ngāti Mutunga (Wharekauri/Chatham Islands)	2
1107	Rangitāne (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1108	Ngāti Rārua	2
1109	Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu	2
1110	Ngāti Tama (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1111	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1112	Waitaha (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1113	Ngāti Apa ki te Waipounamu	2
20	Iwi Not Named, but Waka or Iwi Confederation Known	1

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
2001	Tainui	2
2002	Te Arawa	2
2003	Takitimu	2
2004	Aotea	2
2005	Mātaatua	2
2006	Mahuru	2
2007	Māmari	2
2008	Ngātokimatawhaorua	2
2009	Nukutere	2
2010	Tokomaru	2
2011	Kurahaupo	2
2012	Muriwhenua	2
2013	Hauraki / Pare Hauraki	2
2014	Turanganui a Kiwa	2
2015	Te Taihū o Te Waka a Maui	2
2016	Tauranga Moana	2
2017	Horouta	2
21	Iwi Named but Region Unspecified	1
2101	Te Atiawa, region unspecified	2
2102	Ngāti Haua, region unspecified	2
2103	Ngāti Maru, region unspecified	2
2104	Ngāti Mutunga, region unspecified	2
2105	Rangitāne, region unspecified	2
2106	Ngāti Raukawa, region unspecified	2
2107	Ngāti Tama, region unspecified	2
2108	Ngāti Toa, region unspecified	2
2109	Waitaha, region unspecified	2
2110	Ngāti Apa, area unspecified	2
22	Hapū Affiliated to More Than One Iwi	1
2200	Hapū Affiliated to More Than One Iwi	2
44	Don't Know	1
4444	Don't Know	2
55	Refused to Answer	1
5555	Refused To Answer	2
77	Response Unidentifiable	1
7777	Response Unidentifiable	2
88	Response Outside Scope	1
8888	Response Outside Scope	2
99	Not Stated	1
9999	Not Stated	2

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand



**2006**

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
01	Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki-makaurau (Northland/Auckland) Region	1
0100	Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki-makaurau (Northland/Auckland) Region, not further defined	2
0101	Te Aupōuri	2
0102	Ngāti Kahu	2
0103	Ngāti Kurī	2
0104	Ngāpuhi	2
0105	Ngāpuhi ki Whaingaroa-Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa	2
0106	Te Rarawa	2
0107	Ngāi Takoto	2
0108	Ngāti Wai	2
0109	Ngāti Whātua	2
0110	Te Kawerau	2
0111	Te Uri-o-Hau	2
0112	Te Roroa	2
02	Hauraki (Coromandel) Region	1
0200	Hauraki (Coromandel) Region, not further defined	2
0201	Ngāti Hako	2
0202	Ngāti Hei	2
0203	Ngāti Maru (Marutuahu)	2
0204	Ngāti Paoa	2
0205	Patukirikiri	2
0206	Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora	2
0207	Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiiau	2
0208	Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu	2
0209	Ngāi Tai (Hauraki)	2
0210	Ngāti Tamaterā	2
0211	Ngāti Tara Tokanui	2
0212	Ngāti Whanaunga	2
03	Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region	1
0300	Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region, not further defined	2
0301	Ngāti Haua (Waikato)	2
0302	Ngāti Maniapoto	2
0303	Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)	2
0304	Waikato	2
04	Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region	1
0400	Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region, not further defined	2
0401	Ngāti Pīkiao (Te Arawa)	2
0402	Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)	2
0403	Ngāti Rangitīhi (Te Arawa)	2
0404	Ngāti Rangiwēwhi (Te Arawa)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
0405	Tapuika (Te Arawa)	2
0406	Tarāwhai (Te Arawa)	2
0407	Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)	2
0408	Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)	2
0409	Waitaha (Te Arawa)	2
0410	Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa)	2
0411	Ngāti Tūwharetoa	2
0412	Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa (Te Arawa)	2
05	Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region	1
0500	Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region, not further defined	2
0501	Ngāti Pūkenga	2
0502	Ngaiterangi	2
0503	Ngāti Ranginui	2
0504	Ngāti Awa	2
0505	Ngāti Manawa	2
0506	Ngāi Tai (Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua)	2
0507	Tūhoe	2
0508	Whakatōhea	2
0509	Te Whānau-a-Apanui	2
0510	Ngāti Whare	2
06	Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region	1
0600	Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region, not further defined	2
0601	Ngāti Porou	2
0602	Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki	2
0603	Rongowhakaata	2
0604	Ngāi Tāmanuhiri	2
07	Te Matau-a-Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region	1
0700	Te Matau-a-Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region, not further defined	2
0701	Rongomaiwahine (Te Māhia)	2
0702	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	2
0703	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	2
0704	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	2
0705	Ngāti Kahungunu, region unspecified	2
0706	Rangitāne (Te Matau-a-Māui/Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa)	2
0707	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Whanganui-a-Orotu	2
0708	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea	2
0709	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua	2
0710	Ngāti Pāhauwera	2
0711	Ngāti Rākaipaaka	2
08	Taranaki Region	1
0800	Taranaki (Taranaki) Region, not further defined	2
0801	Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
0802	Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)	2
0803	Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)	2
0804	Ngā Rauru	2
0805	Ngā Ruahine	2
0806	Ngāti Ruanui	2
0807	Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)	2
0808	Taranaki	2
0809	Tangāhoe	2
0810	Pakakohi	2
09	Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region	1
0900	Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region, not further defined	2
0901	Ngāti Apa (Rangitīkei)	2
0902	Te Ati Haunui-a-Pāpārangi	2
0903	Ngāti Haua (Taumarunui)	2
0904	Ngāti Hauti	2
10	Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region	1
1000	Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara(Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington)Regionn fd	2
1001	Te Atiawa (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	2
1002	Muaūpoko	2
1003	Rangitāne (Manawatū)	2
1004	Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū)	2
1005	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	2
1006	Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai	2
1007	Ngāti Tama ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	2
11	Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region	1
1100	Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region, nfd	2
1101	Te Atiawa (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1102	Ngāti Koata	2
1103	Ngāti Kuia	2
1104	Kāti Māmoe	2
1105	Moriōri	2
1106	Ngāti Mutunga (Wharekauri/Chatham Islands)	2
1107	Rangitāne (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1108	Ngāti Rārua	2
1109	Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu	2
1110	Ngāti Tama (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1111	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2

<b>Category Code</b>	<b>Iwi/Category Description</b>	<b>Classification Level</b>
1112	Waitaha (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	2
1113	Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō	2
20	Iwi Not Named, but Waka or Iwi Confederation Known	1
2001	Tainui	2
2002	Te Arawa	2
2003	Tākitimu	2
2004	Aotea	2
2005	Mātaatua	2
2006	Mahuru	2
2007	Māmari	2
2008	Ngātokimatawhaorua	2
2009	Nukutere	2
2010	Tokomaru	2
2011	Kurahaupō	2
2012	Muriwhenua	2
2013	Hauraki / Pare Hauraki	2
2014	Tūranganui a Kiwa	2
2015	Te Taihū o Te Waka a Māui	2
2016	Tauranga Moana	2
2017	Horouta	2
21	Iwi Named but Region Unspecified	1
2101	Te Atiawa, region unspecified	2
2102	Ngāti Haua, region unspecified	2
2103	Ngāti Maru, region unspecified	2
2104	Ngāti Mutunga, region unspecified	2
2105	Rangitāne, region unspecified	2
2106	Ngāti Raukawa, region unspecified	2
2107	Ngāti Tama, region unspecified	2
2108	Ngāti Toa, region unspecified	2
2109	Waitaha, region unspecified	2
2110	Ngāti Apa, area unspecified	2
22	Hapū Affiliated to More Than One Iwi	1
2200	Hapū Affiliated to More Than One Iwi	2
44	Don't Know	1
4444	Don't Know	2
55	Refused to Answer	1
5555	Refused To Answer	2
77	Response Unidentifiable	1
7777	Response Unidentifiable	2
88	Response Outside Scope	1
8888	Response Outside Scope	2
99	Not Stated	1
9999	Not Stated	2

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

## Appendix E: Overseas birthplaces

Number of New Zealand population born overseas (top nine countries)<sup>1</sup>, 1956, 1981, 2001, and 2006 censuses

Country	1956	1981	2001	2006
England	144,030	173,181	178,203	202,401
China <sup>2</sup>	3,882	4,269	38,949	78,117
Australia <sup>3</sup>	35,916	43,809	56,259	62,742
Samoa	2,994	24,141	47,118	50,649
India	4,467	6,018	20,892	43,344
South Africa	1,701	3,996	26,061	41,676
Fiji	2,274	6,372	25,725	37,746
Scotland	46,401	39,138	28,680	29,016
Korea	-	87	17,931	28,806

**Source:** Statistics New Zealand

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup>Excludes New Zealand born

<sup>2</sup>1981 figures include Taiwan

<sup>3</sup>Includes Australian External Territories

# Appendix F: Tribal registration forms

Ngāi Tahu/Kāi Tahu



TE RUNANGA O NGĀI TAHU  
WHAKAPAPA



P O Box 13-046  
Christchurch

Phone (03) 366 4344 or 0800 524 8248  
Fax (03) 341 6792

## APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

Attention is drawn to Sections 7, 8, & 13 of the "Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996", together with the 1848 list of Ngai Tahu Kaumatua (generally referred to as the Blue Book)

### NAME:

Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms/ \_\_\_\_\_  
(First Name (s)) (Surname)

### ADDRESS DETAILS:

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Town \_\_\_\_\_ Post Code \_\_\_\_\_

Country: \_\_\_\_\_ Work Ph Number: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

Home ph number: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Mobile number: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_ Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE COMPLETE WHAKAPAPA CHART ON REVERSE SIDE OF FORM:

PLEASE LIST THE 1848 KAUMĀTUA THAT YOU CLAIM YOU NGĀI TAHU DESCENT FROM

1848 Kaumatua	Kaumatua Number	File Number	1848 Kaumatua	Kaumatua Number	File Number
1			9		
2			10		
3			11		
4			12		
5			13		
6			14		
7			15		
8			16		

### DECLARATION:

I do solemnly and sincerely declare:

- That I was born at \_\_\_\_\_ on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ of the year \_\_\_\_\_  
(A **copy** of the applicant's **full birth certificate** must be attached to this application  
Do not send originals, as they will **not** be returned)
- That I am Ngai Tahu in terms of the "Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996"
- That I am a **blood** descendant of the 1848 Kaumatua of Ngai Tahu iwi as listed above
- That the Whakapapa on the reverse side of this form indicating my **blood** descent from the said "1848 Kaumatua" is true and correct

I acknowledge that the information contained in this form provided by me to Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Whakapapa is subject to the Privacy Act 1993; and that by signing this form, I agree that Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu may use this information to maintain its whakapapa records, tribal register, Papatipu Runanga voting rolls, contact databases and any other purpose which Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu considers reasonable, whilst performing its statutory role.

SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
(Parents or Guardians may sign this application on behalf of minors)

### Check List

Check List	Office use Only
Entered <b>FULL NAME</b> and <b>CONTACT DETAILS</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Date Received By
<b>COMPLETED WHAKAPAPA</b> details on the back of this form.	<input type="checkbox"/> ____/____/____
Enclosed a <b>COPY</b> of applicant's <b>FULL BIRTH CERTIFICATE</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>SIGNED</b> and <b>DATED</b> the application.	<input type="checkbox"/> Date Entered By
<b>Post to:</b> Whakapapa Ngai Tahu PO Box 13-046, Christchurch	<input type="checkbox"/> ____/____/____

This Application will **not** be accepted unless **fully completed** and a **copy** of the applicant's **full birth certificate** is attached.  
It is preferred that you complete the required items on this form in black ink/ball point



# TWAIKATO TAINUI

## APPLICATION FOR ENROLMENT ON THE WAIKATO-TAINUI TRIBAL REGISTER

### Criteria for enrolment

1. You must be able to affiliate to one of the 33 Hapuu and one of the 68 Marae listed on page 2 of this form through whakapapa.
2. You must complete all sections of this form and sign it. Incomplete forms will not be accepted.
3. Your application can be validated by a kaumaatua of your nominated Marae/ Hapuu or this part of the process can be arranged by the Tribal Registrations Staff.

### Why should I enrol?

1. It identifies you as a member of Waikato-Tainui.
2. It enables you to vote on tribal matters.
3. It allows you access to funding through a range of grants.
4. It enables the tribe to keep you up-to-date and informed about tribal matters.

### Who should enrol?

1. Any person who is affiliated to one of the 33 Hapuu and one of the 68 Marae listed on page 2 of this form (by whakapapa).
2. Parents may register their children at birth.

### Once I have enrolled, do I need to do anything else?

1. You should notify us when you change your address and / or if any of your contact details change (eg. marriage).
2. You should notify us of any additions to your whaanau, so we can send you a form to enrol them.
3. You should notify us when there is a death in the whaanau so we can update our records.

### Return completed registration forms to:

Tribal Registration, Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc.  
Private Bag 542, Ngaaruawaahia 3742

**ONLY ORIGINAL  
APPLICATIONS  
WILL BE ACCEPTED.  
(No faxes and/or emails)**



## WAIKATO-TAINUI HAPUU & MARAE

To enrol, you **must** be able to whakapapa to **one** of the 33 Hapuu and **one** of the 68 Marae listed below.

### HAPUU

1 Ngaati Aamaru	12 Ngaati Naho	23 Ngaati Taratikitiki
2 Ngaati Aapakura	13 Ngaati Ngutu	24 Ngaati Te Ata
3 Ngaati Hauaa	14 Ngaati Paretauua	25 Ngaati Te Wehi
4 Ngaati Hikairo	15 Ngaati Paretekawa	26 Ngaati Tai
5 Ngaati Hine	16 Ngaati Pou	27 Ngaati Tiipa
6 Ngaati Koheriki	17 Ngaati Puhawe	28 Ngaati Wairere
7 Ngaati Korokii	18 Ngaati Raukawa ki Panehaakua	29 Ngaati Werokookoo
8 Ngaati Kuaarangi	19 Ngaati Ruru	30 Ngaati Whaawaakia
9 Ngaati Maahanga	20 Ngaati Tahinga	31 Ngaitai
10 Ngaati Mahuta	21 Ngaati Tamainupo	32 Tainui
11 Ngaati Makirangi	22 Ngaati Tamaoho	33 Te Aakitai

### MARAE

1 Aaruka	24 Ooraeroa	47 Te Kooraha
2 Aotearoa	25 Owairaka	48 Te Kotahitanga
3 Hiona	26 Poihaakena	49 Te Ohaaki
4 Horahora	27 Poohara	50 Te Papa-o-Rotu
5 Hukanui	28 Pukerewa	51 Te Papatapu
6 Kahotea	29 Puukaki	52 Te Poho o Tanikena (Opuatia)
7 Kai a te Mata	30 Puurekireki	53 Te Puea
8 Kaitumutumu	31 Raakaunui	54 Te Taumata (Paaraawera)
9 Makaurau (Inumatao)	32 Raungaiti	55 Te Tihi o Moerangi (Makomako)
10 Maketuu	33 Rereteewhioi	56 Te Tokanganui a Noho
11 Mangatangi	34 Rukumoana	57 Tikirahi
12 Mangatootoa	35 Taahunakaitoto	58 Tuurangawaewae
13 Matahuru Papakainga	36 Taniwha	59 Umupuia
14 Maungatautari	37 Tauhei	60 Waahi
15 Maurea	38 Taupiri	61 Waikare
16 Mookai Kainga	39 Tauranganui	62 Waikaretuu (Weraroa)
17 Mootakotako	40 Te Aakau	63 Waikeri
18 Ngaa Hau e Wha	41 Te Awamaarahi	64 Waimakariri
19 Ngaatira	42 Te Hoe o Tainui	65 Waingaro
20 Ngaa Tai E Rua	43 Te Iiti O Hauaa	66 Waipapa
21 Okarea	44 Te Kaharoa (Aramiro)	67 Waitii
22 Oomaero	45 Te Kauri	68 Whaataapaka
23 Ookapu	46 Te Koopua	

### PRIVACY STATEMENT IN RELATION TO APPLICATION TO BE ENROLLED ON WAIKATO-TAINUI TRIBAL REGISTER

The information is obtained principally for:

- the purpose of distribution of settlement proceeds;
- to assist in the administration of tribal matters, including elections to Te Arataura and Te Kauhanganui;
- to assist in the governance and administration of the Marae named in the fifth schedule and any Marae that have joined thereafter;
- the identification through whakapapa of tribal members entitled to settlement benefits.

### Use of the Information

1. Applications for registration on the tribal register must be verified by a nominated kaumaatua from the Marae/Hapuu named on the registration form. For validation purposes, the application forms will be sighted by these kaumaatua. No copies will be made. Validation can be arranged by Waikato-Tainui Registration Staff.
2. A printout of the persons registered to each of the 68 Marae will be supplied once annually to each Marae Committee. You should advise Waikato-Tainui in writing if you do not wish your information to be supplied to your nominated marae.
3. The details supplied to each Marae must only be used for the purposes the information was collected. This includes advising Marae members about Annual General Meetings and other Marae matters. The information must not be used for any other purpose or shared with any other agency, organisation, body or individual, private or Crown.
4. Enquiries regarding registration and information from the register should be made to the Tribal Register, Private Bag 542, Hopuhopu, Ngaaruwaahia or by **freephone 0800 104 412 during the hours of 9am to 5pm** weekdays. The tribal register is available for inspection at the Tribal Development Unit Offices, Hopuhopu, Ngaaruwaahia, during the hours of 9am to 5pm weekdays. An appointment is necessary. The register may also be available for inspection at tribal events such as Poukai and Koroneihana.

RETURN THIS COMPLETED FORM TO: Tribal Registration, Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc., Private Bag 542, Ngaaruwaahia 3742

# WAIKATO-TAINUI TRIBAL REGISTER

TRIBAL REGISTRATION NUMBER:

Principle Hapuu \_\_\_\_\_  
NOTE: only Hapuu from the list on page 2 are acceptable

Principle Marae \_\_\_\_\_  
NOTE: only Marae from the list on page 2 are acceptable

Surname \_\_\_\_\_

Maiden name \_\_\_\_\_ (if applicable)

First Name \_\_\_\_\_

Middle Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Other Info      Male    Female      Married    Single    De facto    Other

Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Work Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ Mobile \_\_\_\_\_

Email Address \_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Number \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_ RD (if applicable) \_\_\_\_\_

Suburb \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

Country \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Please indicate type of employment (ie. plumber, lawyer, builder, nurse etc)

Qualification \_\_\_\_\_  
Please indicate type of qualification (ie. degree, phd, certificate etc)

I declare that the information given in this application is true and correct. I undertake to update this information if and when my circumstances change. I have read the privacy policy for the information I have supplied. I consent to the Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc. accessing my information and details from other agencies, government departments and learning institutions for:

- the purpose of distribution of settlement proceeds;
- to assist in the administration of tribal matters, including elections to Te Arataura and Te Kauhanganui;
- to assist in the governance and administration of the Marae named in the fifth schedule and any Marae that have joined thereafter.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE TICK THIS BOX IF YOU DO NOT WANT YOUR CONTACT DETAILS TO BE RELEASED TO YOUR NOMINATED MARAE COMMITTEE.

**OFFICE USE ONLY – Data input completed on \_\_\_\_\_**

**Kaumatua Validation:** This person has been validated as a eligible member of Hapuu and Marae specified by kaumatua or whakapapa details already on the tribal register.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

RETURN THIS COMPLETED FORM TO: Tribal Registration, Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc., Private Bag 542, Ngauruwaahia 3742

# WAIKATO-TAINUI WHAKAPAPA

Full Name of Applicant
------------------------

**Please provide information regarding Waikato-Tainui lineage.**

Full name of both parents should be provided if known, Grandparents names (if known), should also be provided.

Paternal Great-Great-Grandfather	Paternal Great-Great-Grandmother	Paternal Great-Grandfather	Paternal Great-Grandmother	Paternal Grandfather	Paternal Grandmother	Father	Paternal Grandmother
Maternal Great-Great-Grandfather	Maternal Great-Great-Grandmother	Maternal Great-Grandfather	Maternal Great-Grandmother	Maternal Grandfather	Maternal Grandmother	Mother	Maternal Grandmother

Once completed, return this form to:

Tribal Registration - Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc., Private Bag 542, Ngaaruaaahia 3742  
**FOR ANY ENQUIRIES FREEPHONE 0800 104 412**



TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI AWA

**Personal Details**

Legal first names			
Legal surname			
Maiden Name or other names			
Date of Birth		Occupation	
Street Address			
Suburb			
City			Post code:
Country			
Home Phone		Mobile	
Email address			

**Hapu Affiliations**

Voting Hapū	Please indicate which hapu you wish to be registered to vote for:
Other Hapū	Other Ngāti Awa Hapū you affiliate to:

**Family Information**

Name of spouse	
Iwi of spouse	

**Children (children over 18 should register as an adult member)**

Full Legal Name	DOB	M/F	Address (if different to yours)

*Use separate sheet for any additional children.*

Please complete the following whakapapa. Your full name should be given and the names of both parents. You only need to complete your Ngāti Awa whakapapa

YOU

**TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI AWA REGISTRATION**

Matua/Father		Whaea/Mother (Maiden Name)	
Koroua/Paternal Great Grandfather	Koroua/Paternal Grandfather	Koroua/Maternal Great Grandfather	Koroua/Maternal Grandfather
Kuia/Paternal Great Grandmother	Kuia/Paternal Grandmother	Kuia/Maternal Great Grandmother	Kuia/Maternal Grandmother

<p><i>Whakapuakitanga/Declaration and Statement to comply with the provisions of the Privacy Act 1993:</i></p> <p><i>I hereby declare that:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>I am a blood descendant of Ngāti Awa, that is I am an "uri o ngā hapū o Ngāti Awa".</i></li> <li>2. <i>All the information contained in this registration form and whakapapa is true and correct.</i></li> <li>3. <i>I understand that the information I provide will be held by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa to process this registration.</i></li> <li>4. <i>Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, or agents appointed by it, may use this information from time to time to contact me in relation to elections and other matters of importance that may be of interest to me.</i></li> <li>5. <i>I have the right to access and correct the information held by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa.</i></li> <li>6. <i>I authorise Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa to collect information about me that may be relevant to processing this application including those noted on this whakapapa.</i></li> </ol>		
Signed: _____	Date: _____	
Date Received: _____	Date Reviewed: _____	Reviewed by: _____
Status: Approved / Denied / More Information		Date Entered: _____
Comments: _____		



# Ngāi Tūhoe

## Registration Form

22 Tūhoe St, PO Box 56  
Tāneatua 3123  
Ph. +64 7 3129 659  
[www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz](http://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz)

Registering descendants of the Tūhoe tipuna Tūhoe or Pātiki and those who affiliate to a Tūhoe Marae and Tūhoe Hapū

### DESCENDANTS OF TŪHOE

Your registration information will be provided to the Tūhoe entities; Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe, Tūhoe – Te Uru Taumatua, Tūhoe Fisheries Charitable Trust and the Tūhoe Waikaremoana Māori Trust Board.

Why should you register?

To participate in iwi elections and to be involved in shaping Ngāi Tūhoe direction and future and to be eligible for any sponsorship or any other assistance that may be available.

Privacy of information

Personal information to Tūhoe entities and their successor shall be held securely and will not be disclosed to any other person or organisation unless authorised by you. This information will only be used for the lawful and appropriate purposes of Tūhoe entities and successor. You also have the right to see and correct your information.

### YOUR PERSONAL DETAILS

Title (please circle)	Mr	Mrs	Ms	Miss	If "Other" please specify		
Name(s)	Ingoa Tuatahi		Ingoa Tuarua		Ingoa Whānau		
Gender (please circle)	M	F	Date of Birth (DD/MM/YYYY)				/ /
Qualification(s)	Ou Pakenga						
Your Occupation	Tō Mahi		Spouse		Tō Hna Rangatira		
Home Address	Nama/Tiiti/Roia rānei/		Tāone iti		Tāone/Whenua Postcode		
Postal Address	if different						
Phone(s)	Telephone				Mobile		
Email Address	Imēra						

### YOUR MARAE AND HAPŪ

<p><b>Ruatāhuna</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Mātaatua Te Urewera</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōhāua Ngāti Rongo</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōpūtao Ngāti Tāwhaki</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōtekura Tamakaimoana</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pāpueru Ngāti Tāwhaki</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tātāhoata Ngāi Te Riu</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Umuroa Ngāti Manunui</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Wai-iti Ngāti Kuri Kino</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tipapa Kākahu Tāpiki</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Uwhiārae Ngāi Te Paena</p> <p><b>Te Whāiti</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Waikotikoti Te Karaha, Warahoe</p> <p><b>Waikaremoana</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Kūhā Tārewa Ngāti Ruapani ki Waikaremoana, Ngāti Hinekura</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Waimako Te Whānau Pani</p>	<p><b>Rūātoki</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ngāhina Ngāti Tāwhaki</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōhotu Te Whānau Pani</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōtenuku Ngāti Kōura</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōwhakatoro Ngāti Rongo</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Paneteure Ngāti Rongo</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Papakāinga Ngāti Kōura</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Rewarewa Te Māhurehure</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tauarau Ngāti Rongo</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Poho o te Rangimonoa Ngāti Mura</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Tōtara Te Urewera</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Waikirikiri Hāmua, Ngāti Mura</p> <p><b>Waiōhau</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Waiōhau Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu</p> <p><b>Maungapōhatu</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Maungapōhatu Tamakaimoana Ngāti Huri</p>	<p><b>Waimana</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Matahi Ngāi Tamatuhirae</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ōmuriwaka Ngāi Tamatuhirae</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Piripari Ngāi Tātua, Tamakaimoana</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Rāhiri Ngāti Rere</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Rāroa Tamaruarangi</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tanatana Ngāti Rere</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tātaiāhape Ngāti Raka</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tauanui Te Whakatāne</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tāwhana Ngā Maihi</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Te Pou ā Hināu Tūranga Pikitoi</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tuapō Tamakaimoana</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Whakarae Te Whakatāne</p> <p><b>Ōhiwa</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Kahikatea Ngāti Kōura</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Kutarere Tūranga Pikitoi</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Maromahue Ngāi Tamatea</p>
Other affiliated Marae		



### YOUR PRIMARY MARAE

Indicating your Primary Marae helps with verification and voting divisions for the purposes of the Tūhoe Waikaremoana Māori Trust Board.

Primary Marae	Tō Marae Ake	Are you a whāngai?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
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### YOUR WHAKAPAPA

	Father's Name		Mother's Name	
	Father's Father	Father's Mother	Mother's Father	Mother's Mother
	Father's Grandfather	Father's Grandmother	Mother's Grandfather	Mother's Grandmother
Father's details	Marae		Hepū	Iwi
Mother's details	Marae		Hepū	Iwi
Verification	For Tūhoe entities who require affiliation to a Tūhoe land block, this information will be provided by your verifying whākapapa committee.			

CHILDREN	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5
First Name					
Surname					
Date of Birth	/ /	/ /	/ /	/ /	/ /
Gender (please tick)	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F

Please attach any other children on a separate piece of paper if required.

### YOUR DECLARATION

- I do solemnly declare that the information provided in this registration form is true and correct, and I understand that it is my responsibility to ensure my private contact details are current.
- I agree to share my contact information only with my primary marae and Tribal Authority for the purpose of ensuring I receive information about upcoming Tūhoe events.  Yes, I agree  No, I do not agree or  I require further information.
- I wish to receive private notices relating to Tūhoe Fisheries Trust General Meetings and Postal Ballots.  Yes  No
- I understand that the Tūhoe – Te Uru Taumatua Trust will send confirmation of my registration.

Name	Signature	/ /
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#### OFFICE USE ONLY

Date Received	Info Complete	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Provisional ID #
Data Entry Date	Whākapapa Complete	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Registration #

