

Some emerging demographic and socio-economic features of the Pacific population in New Zealand

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Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a brief set of background data on the Pacific population living in New Zealand. This helps contextualise other chapters that focus on a broad range of Pacific economic and social issues. However, to set the New Zealand data in a wider context, the chapter begins with a brief overview of the relative population sizes of island nations within the Pacific. It then uses census data to show changes through to 2006 in the size of the New Zealand Pacific population. This includes some data on the age structure of the New Zealand born versus the overseas born Pacific people.

We then provide some wider socio-economic and demographic data, including employment and house ownership, of the Pacific population. The data are drawn primarily from the 2006 census. This information helps set the scene for Jean-Pierre De Raad's chapter.

Three other important issues are then examined. First, there is a short section on changing ratio of Pacific men and women, popularly known as the "Pacific man drought". Some of the possible causes and implications of these changes are canvassed. The second issue briefly canvassed is emerging trends in the gender balance in educational participation and attainment for Pacific people living in New Zealand. Finally, there is an exploration of the levels of ethnic intermarriage within the Pacific community and, as a result of this intermarriage, the growing number of Pacific people who record more than one ethnic group. The analysis of intermarriage relies on 2006 census data, while the data on multiple ethnicities are drawn from birth registrations. Some of the possible implications of intermarriage are noted.

Much of this overview focuses on recent trends. For those with wanting a longer term understanding of trends, there has been a growing literature on Pacific migration to New Zealand and life in New Zealand for Pacific people (Cook, Didham and Khawaja, 1999, Fairburn-Dunlop and Makisi, 2003, McPherson, 2004, 2006, Anae, Iuli and Burgoyne 2006).

¹ The opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the authors, and do not necessarily, nor are intended to, reflect those of the organisations to which the authors are affiliated.

Population

When Australia and New Zealand are included, there is quite a major difference in population sizes amongst countries in the Pacific. Table 1 sets out the population sizes, ranked from largest to smallest, of the main countries New Zealand has connections with.

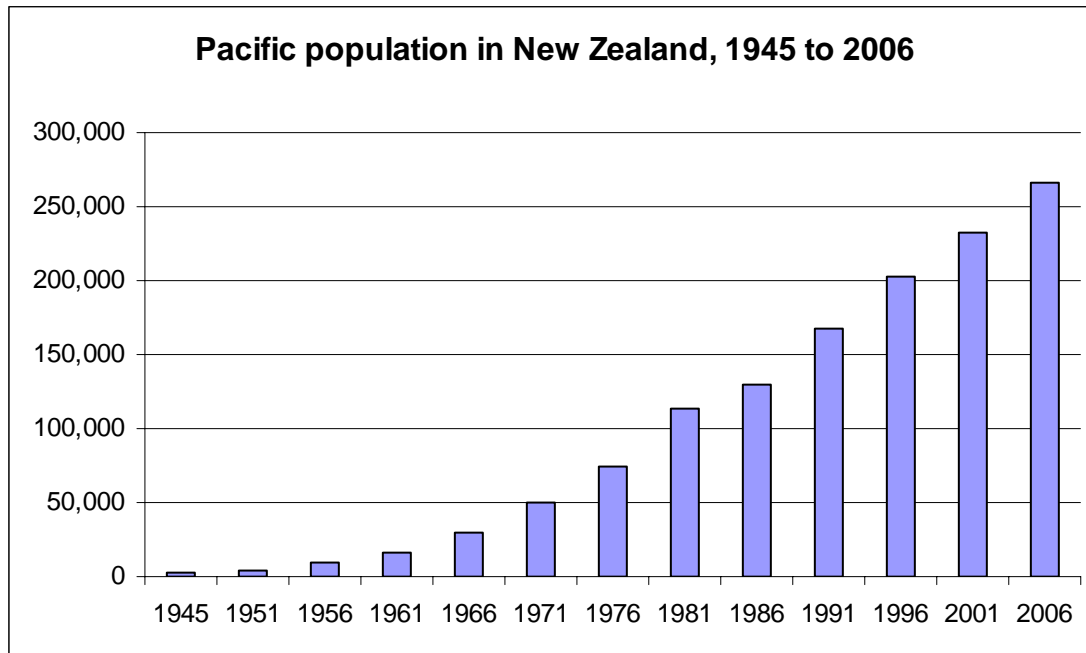
Table 1: Estimated resident populations

	Estimated resident population
Australia	20.6 million
Papua New Guinea	5.6 million
New Zealand	4.14 million
Fiji	836,000
Solomon Islands	460,100
New Caledonia	219,246
Vanuatu	215,800
Western Samoa	182,700
Tonga	98,300
Kiribati	93,100
Cook Islands	14,000
Tuvalu	9,600
Niue	1,600
Tokelau	1,392

Source: New Zealand data sourced from Statistics New Zealand estimated resident population estimates and Australian data sourced from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The data for New Caledonia and Tokelau are from <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/countrylisting.html>, while the remaining data are taken from the Pacific Forum website <http://www.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/about-us/member-countries/>. Some data are for 2004 and some for 2006.

The data shown in Table 1 are for the total resident population and do not differentiate between ethnic groups living in each nation. Figure 1 shows the size of the Pacific population, based on ethnicity, living in New Zealand from 1945 until 2006.

Figure 1



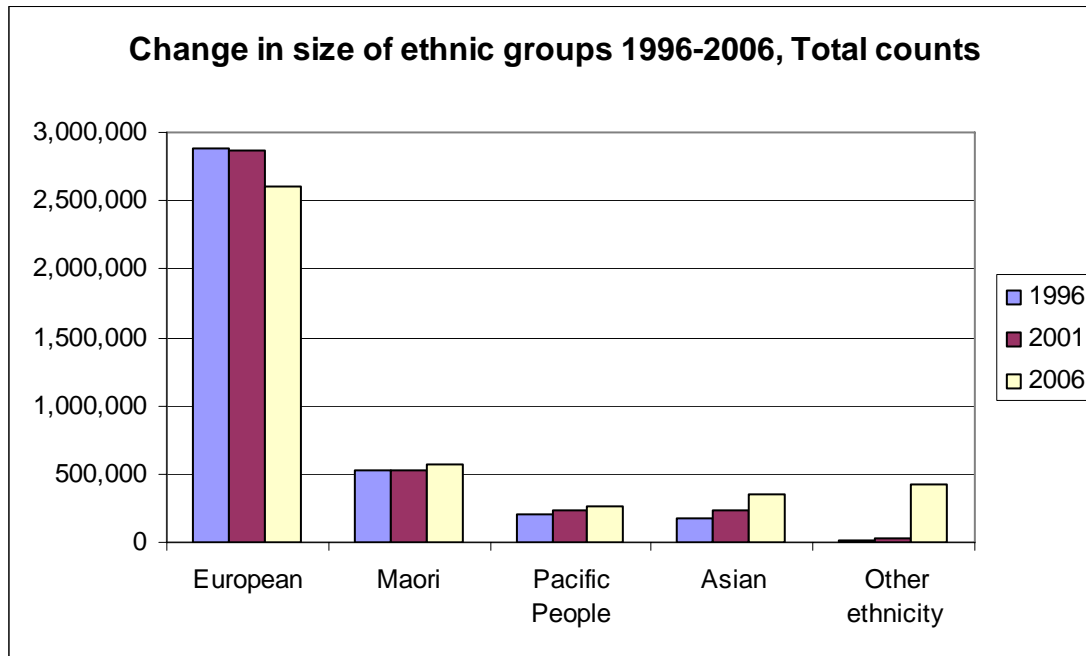
Source: Statistics New Zealand.

In 1945 the Pacific population was just over 2,000 people but has been rapidly increasing since the 1960s. In recent times, the population was 202,233 in 1996, rising to 231,801 in 2001 and increasing further to 265,974 in March 2006. It is worth noting that the data represent the population at one point in time. As will be shown in other chapters, there is much mobility of people between Pacific nations and New Zealand so the actual long-term resident population in New Zealand will fluctuate around census night numbers.

Figure 2 shows the size of the Pacific population in New Zealand relative to the other main ethnic groups in 1996, 2001 and 2006.² These data are based on total counts so there is some overlap between groups. After the Asian group, the Pacific ethnic group had the second-largest increase from the 2001 Census. In 2006, Pacific people represented 6.9% of the New Zealand population.

² The "Other" category in 2006 includes those who gave a "New Zealander" type ethnic response along with those who were classified as "Other" in 1996 and 2001 and make up the largest proportion of the group in 2006.

Figure 2



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 2 focuses on the size of the main ethnic groups within the wider New Zealand Pacific community. It shows that Samoans continue to be the largest single group and, in absolute terms, showed the strongest growth between 2001 and 2006. The Tongan group showed strong growth from 1996 to 2006 rising from just over 31 thousand to over 50 thousand. However, in percentage terms the strongest growth was amongst ethnic Fijian's with a 40% rise in numbers between 2001 and 2006. In the census this group excludes Fijian Indians who are counted within the Asian group. When Table 1 and Table 2 are compared, it can be seen that New Zealand based Tokelauans and Niueans substantially outnumber those living in Tokelau and Niue. A comparison of Table 1 and Table 2 also shows that, despite Melanesia having by far the highest populations, there has historically been little migration from this part of the Pacific to New Zealand. This issue will be revisited in a number of chapters of this book.

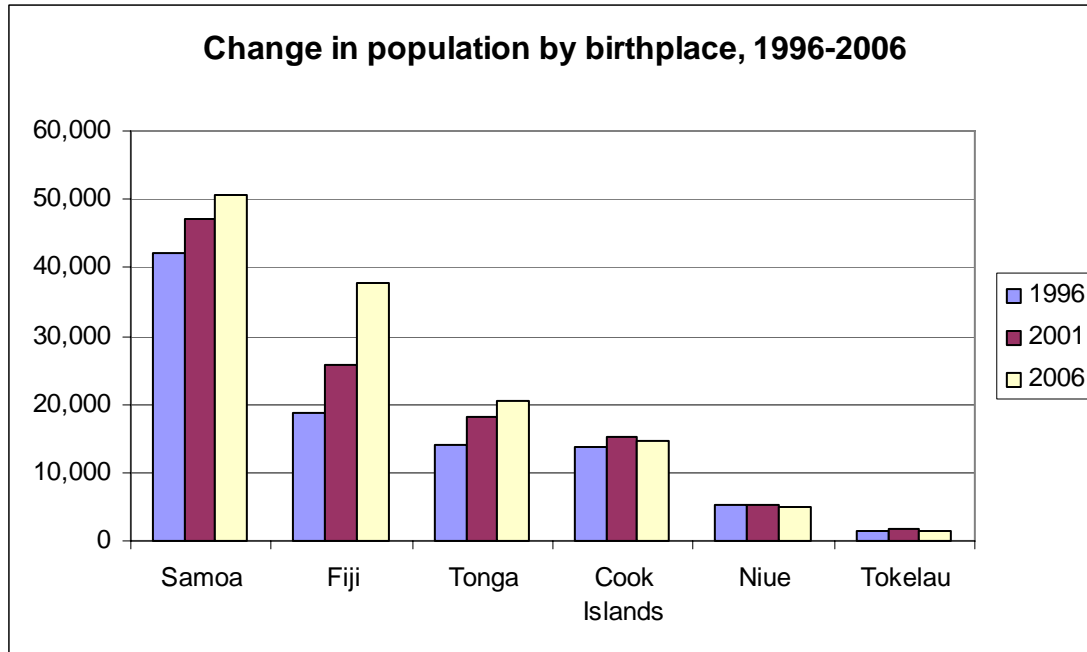
Table 2: Size of main Pacific ethnic groups, 1996 to 2006, Total counts

	1996	2001	2006	Change 2001-2006
Samoan	101,754	115,026	131,103	16,077
Cook Islands Maori	47,019	51,486	58,008	6,522
Tongan	31,392	40,716	50,481	9,765
Niuean	18,477	20,154	22,476	2,322
Fijian	7,695	7,041	9,861	2,820
Tokelauan	4,917	6,198	6,822	624

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Figure 3 switches the focus to changes in population by country of birth. It demonstrates that the Samoan population is also the largest when birthplace is considered. But second place goes to those born in Fiji, with very strong growth between 1996 and 2001 and again through to 2006. However, well over 85 percent of those born in Fiji identify as Indian and so this does not represent a strong growth in Melanesian migration. Much of this migration has been prompted by political events in Fiji.

Figure 3



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

The numbers in Figure 3 are significantly smaller than in Figure 2. This reflects that 60% of Pacific people living in New Zealand were born on New Zealand. The proportion of the Pacific population born in New Zealand has been steadily increasing. In 1976, 38% were born in New Zealand, by 1991 this had reached 50% and by 2006 60%. But as Table 3 shows there are differences in the proportion born in New Zealand when specific groups are looked at. The ethnic group with the highest proportion born in New Zealand is Niueans at 74%, the lowest Fijian at less than half (44%).

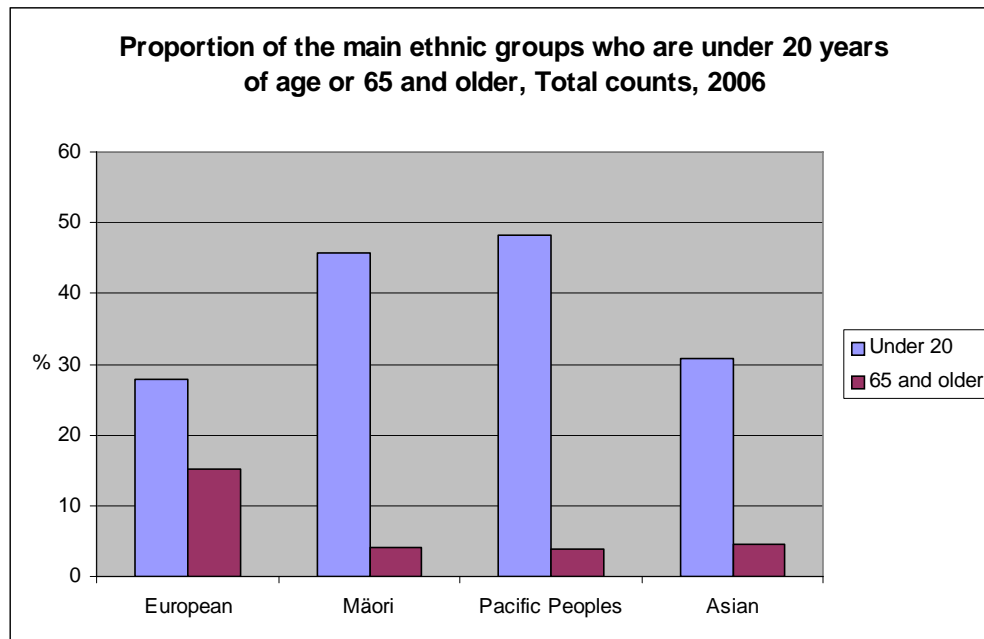
Table 3: % of each Pacific group who were born in New Zealand, 2006, Total counts

	% New Zealand born
Niuean	74.1
Cook Islands Maori	73.4
Tokelauan	68.9
Samoan	59.7
Tongan	56.0
Fijian	43.6
Total Pacific ethnic group	60.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

The Pacific population living in New Zealand, and particularly those born in New Zealand, is young. Figure 4 shows that of the main ethnic groups, Pacific people have the greatest proportion of their population aged under 20. Like Maori and Asians, Pacific people have a much lower proportion of their population aged 65 or older. There are some small differences in age structures between Pacific groups. For example, 53% of the Tokelauan population was under 20 years of age in 2006, but this reduces to 42% for Fijians.

Figure 4



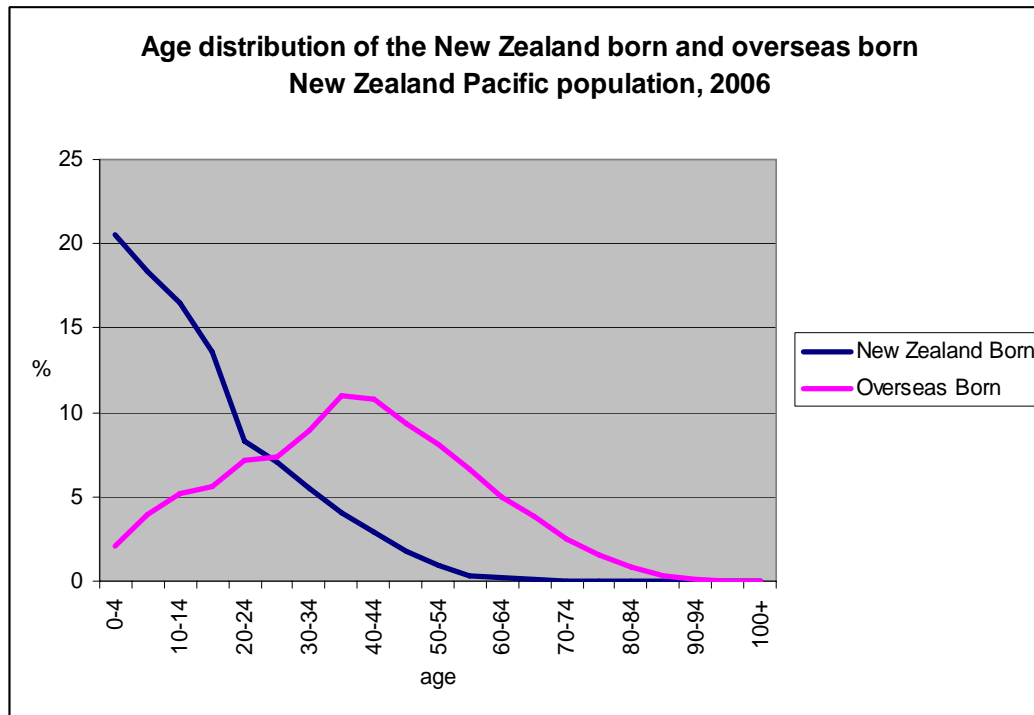
Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Figure 5 shows there are marked differences in age structures between those Pacific people born in New Zealand and those born outside New Zealand.³ Just under 70% of the

³ A small number of those born outside New Zealand will also be born outside of Pacific countries. Examples will include those Pacific people born in Australia.

New Zealand born Pacific population was under 20 as against just 17% of those born overseas. However, it is worth noting that these are not two separate populations. In many households there will be parents or grandparents who were born overseas and children or grandchildren born in New Zealand.

Figure 5



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Some socio-economic indicators of the New Zealand Pacific population

After each census Statistics New Zealand publishes detailed information about Pacific peoples including profiles of Cook Island Maori, Fijian, Niuean, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and Tuvaluan peoples. These profiles contain a wide range of information including language, religion, structure of families and households, education attainment, work and income, housing, and access to amenities such as cars and the Internet. The 2006 profiles are available via Statistics New Zealand's website.⁴ Given that such detailed information is available, the following graphs and tables simply provide some key demographic data for the Pacific population living in New Zealand. The indicators shown are education, employment, personal income, and home ownership. There is also some brief information on fertility. All the data are drawn from the 2006 census and all tables and graphs are for those aged 15 and older. No breakdown is given between those Pacific people born in New Zealand and those born overseas. However, other researchers have shown some differences between the two groups, for example

⁴ <http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/pacific-profiles-2006/default.htm>

New Zealand born Pacific people have higher median incomes than those born overseas. In part, differences in outcomes for New Zealand born and overseas born reflect the very different age structures of the two groups.

Table 4 shows the highest educational qualification achieved within each main ethnic group. The table shows that, like Maori, Pacific people are over-represented amongst those with no formal educational qualifications. Of all groups, Pacific people have the lowest proportion with degrees or higher qualifications. Given that higher education is closely linked to income earning potential, this places the Pacific population at a disadvantage.

Table 4: Proportion of each ethnic group with formal educational qualifications (highest qualifications), Total counts, 2006

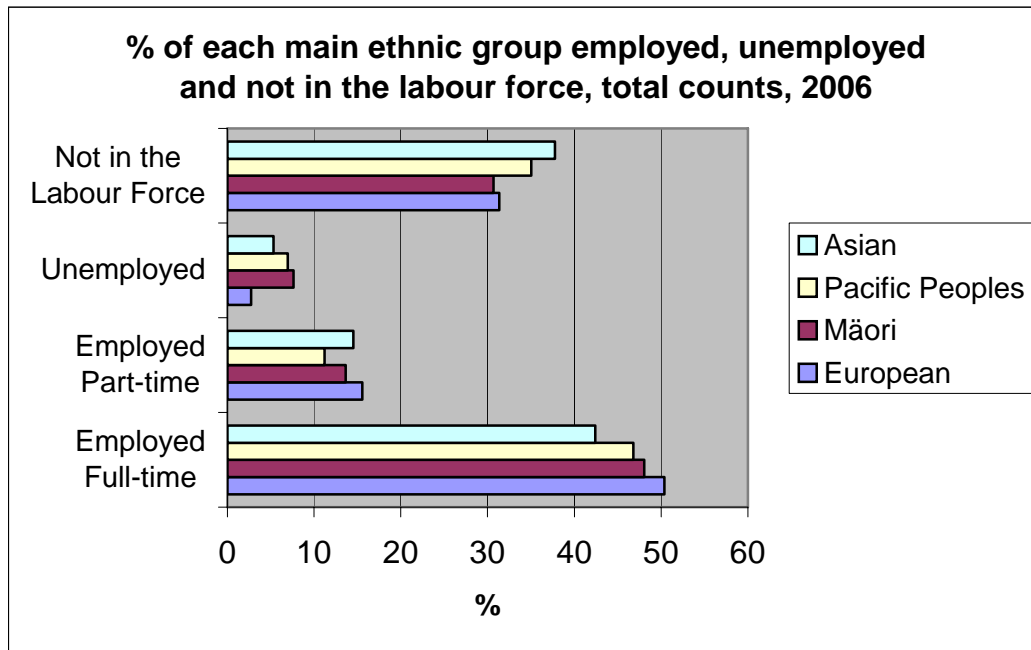
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian
No Qualification	23	36	31	11
Level 1 certificate to level 6 diploma	53	47	42	33
Bachelors degree or higher	15	7	4	28
Overseas Secondary School Qualification	4	0	9	23
Other	6	11	13	7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Again there are some differences in qualifications between Pacific groups. For example 27% of Samoans had no formal qualifications as against 39% of those recording Cook Island ethnicity. The group with the lowest proportion having no qualifications was Fijians at 16%.

Figure 6 shows overall employment patterns of Pacific people. Rates of both full-time and part time work are higher for Europeans and Maori than for Pacific people. However, Pacific people have a higher full time employment rate than for the Asian group. Both Maori and Pacific people have higher rates of unemployment than Europeans and Asians. In terms of those not in the labour force, a group that includes mothers looking after children full time at home but also those who cannot work for various reasons, the Pacific community have rates higher than Maori or Europeans. Some of the poorer outcomes for Pacific people in the labour market can be linked back to lower levels of qualifications.

Figure 6

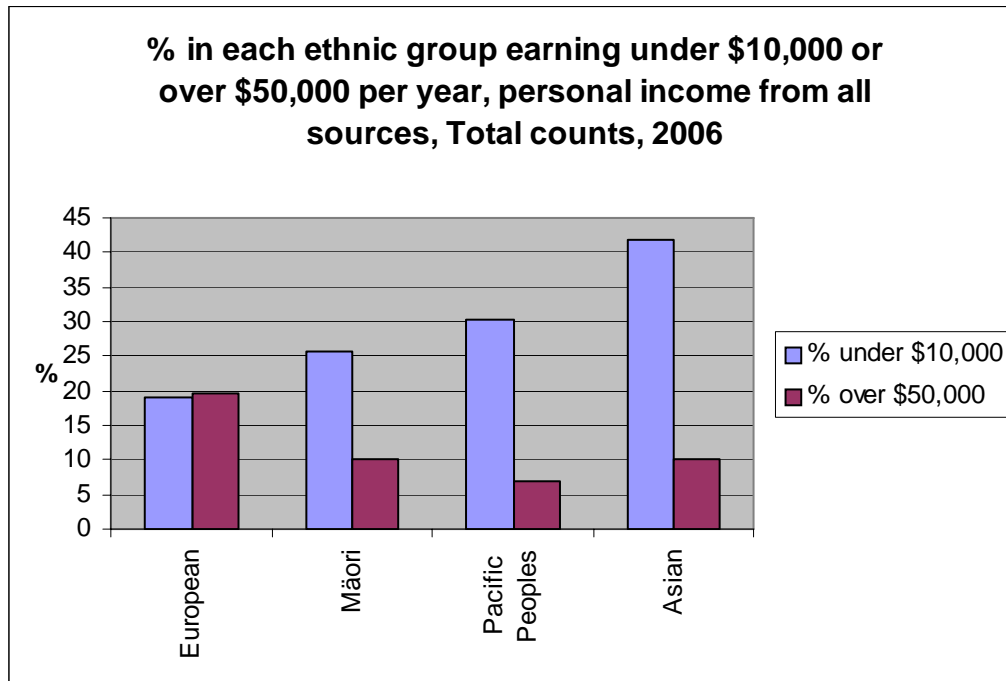


Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Again, there are some small differences in employment patterns between Pacific groups. For example, while 52% of Fijians worked full time, this is lower for Samoans at 48% and even lower for Tongans at 44%.

Figure 7 shows personal income from all sources. This includes incomes from employment, investment and any benefit income. When main ethnic groups are considered, Pacific people have the second highest proportion earning under \$10,000 per year. Further emphasising that Pacific people are over-represented among New Zealand's lower income earners, Pacific people have the lowest proportion earning more than \$50,000.

Figure 7

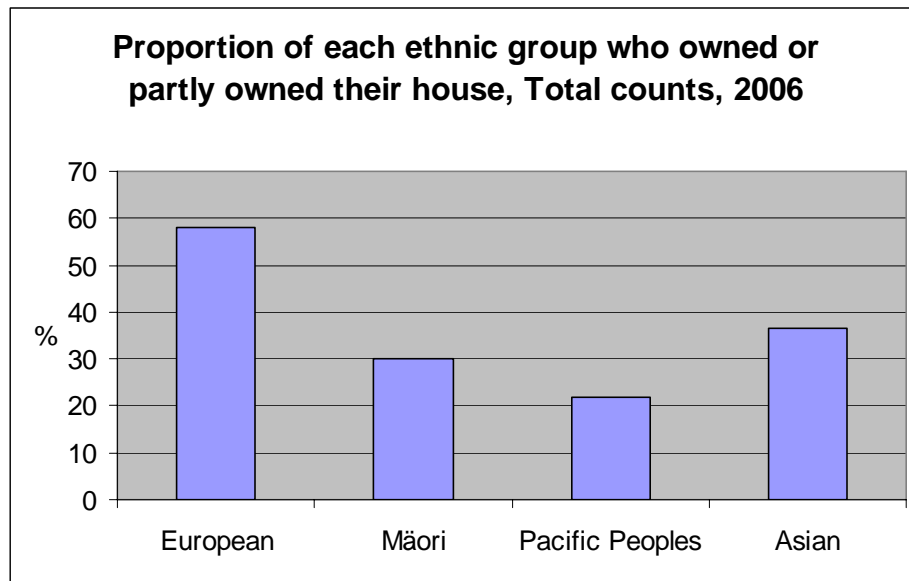


Source: Statistics New Zealand.

In terms of individual Pacific groups, Fijians have the lowest proportion earning under \$10,000 and also the highest proportion earning \$50,000 or more per annum. Tongans have the highest proportion earning low incomes followed by Samoans.

Figure 8 shows the proportion of each main ethnic group who owned or partly owned their house. Of the main ethnic groups shown, Pacific people have the lowest rate of home ownership. As will be shown in the following chapter, home ownership is an important component of personal wealth and the low level of Pacific home ownership has meant that a small proportion of the Pacific population have gained benefits from the recent increase in housing prices.

Figure 8



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Again, there are some differences in home ownership within the Pacific group. Of the main groups, Tongans have the lowest ownership (19%) while Fijians have the highest (28%). However, the Fijian rate is still below that of Maori and Asians and significantly lower than for Europeans.

These key indicators have been examined individually. However, there are clearly linkages between factors such education, income and home ownership. In addition, as already discussed, differing age structures between ethnic groups are a factor in some of the differences in ethnic outcomes.

The Pacific ‘man drought’

Over the last two years there has been much discussion about the possible existence of a ‘man drought’ in New Zealand (Callister, Bedford and Didham, 2005; Laugesen and Courtney 2005; Salt, 2006). While this has involved much media hype, including the misleading name given to the phenomenon, there are nevertheless some important underlying issues.

In New Zealand historically there have been more men than women in all age groups under 20. This reflects a naturally occurring ratio by which the number of boys born is about 5% higher than the number of girls.⁵ However, census data from the early 1980s shows that among prime working-age groups this ratio has reversed, with an apparent increasing imbalance between the numbers of women and men in the age group 20-49

⁵ This ratio holds across all ethnic groups, except in places such as China and India where there are significantly more boys born than girls

years (Callister et al., 2005). This is the age group where couple formation and childbearing/rearing most commonly take place.

Table 5 shows the ratio of Pacific women to men in five yearly age groups from birth to 64. As is the expected pattern, in the younger age groups there are about 5% more boys than girls. By age 15-19 there are about equal numbers, but by the early 20s census data suggest there are more Pacific women than men. For example, in the 25-29 age group there were 17% more women than men in 1991 with 12% more women in 2006. In the older age groups, the greater number of women is due primarily to differences in life expectancy between women and men, with women living longer. However, the reasons for the greater number of women in the 20-49 age group are more complex.

Table 5: Sex ratios of Pacific people, 1991-2006, Total counts (ratio of females to males)

	1991	1996	2001	2006
0-4	94	93	97	95
5-9	94	94	94	97
10-14	98	97	95	96
15-19	101	100	101	99
20-24	114	106	108	107
25-29	117	117	109	112
30-34	109	113	114	109
35-39	101	110	110	111
40-44	99	102	108	108
45-49	100	100	100	107
50-54	102	104	103	102
55-59	104	102	106	104
60-64	112	110	109	108

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 6 looks at sex ratios within the main Pacific ethnic groups. It suggests some major differences between groups. For instance, while in the 30-34 age group there were 11% more Samoan women than men in 2006, and 18% more Cook Island women, there appears to be about 5% more Tongan men than women.

Explaining census-based ratios favouring women over men in the 20-49 age group requires consideration of the following: 1) differential mortality between men and women, 2) emigration from New Zealand of more Pacific men than women, 3) a higher number of female Pacific immigrants, or 4) a trend towards larger undercounts of Pacific men in censuses and other key statistical series. While some exploratory research on the total New Zealand population suggests that mortality and migration appear to be having an influence on sex ratios, there seems to have been a growing undercount of men amongst some New Zealand populations. It seems undercount of men may be important

in the Pacific population.⁶ This undercount creates a number of problems. First, it simply means that there may a larger Pacific population that the data suggests. Second, if those not completing their census forms have different characteristics to those who do then we will have an incomplete understanding of the Pacific population. It is important that Statistics New Zealand work closely with the Pacific community to ensure that the Pacific population is well represented in official statistics.

Table 6: Sex ratios of main Pacific groups, 2006, Total counts (female to male) 2006

	Samoan	Cook Islands Maori	Tongan	Niuean	Tokelauan	Fijian
0-4	0.95	0.93	0.93	1.01	0.86	1.03
5-9	0.95	0.94	0.97	1.04	0.97	0.93
10-14	0.97	0.92	1.00	0.94	0.99	0.90
15-19	1.01	0.99	0.92	0.99	1.12	0.99
20-24	1.08	1.06	1.07	1.00	1.36	0.97
25-29	1.13	1.12	1.08	1.14	1.05	1.03
30-34	1.11	1.18	0.95	1.11	1.07	0.91
35-39	1.14	1.16	1.00	1.09	1.14	1.15
40-44	1.08	1.12	0.99	1.13	1.10	1.08
45-49	1.03	1.18	1.01	1.11	1.05	1.07
50-54	1.01	1.09	0.94	1.02	1.23	0.97
55-59	1.01	1.07	0.95	1.25	1.38	1.20
60-64	1.04	1.09	1.08	1.08	1.15	1.17

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

An initial analysis of 2006 data indicates that there are some differences in ratios when overseas born are compared with New Zealand born, perhaps reflecting gendered migration flows. More research is needed to understand why there appear to be a greater number of Pacific women than men living in New Zealand.

Educational enrolment and attainment

Despite some impressive gains in recent years, there continues to be attention given to the need to increase the levels of participation and attainment in education by Pacific people. For instance, the Ministry of Education has published a Pacific educational plan and now monitors progress towards reaching specified goals (Ministry of Education, 2007). The call for more qualified Pacific people also comes from particular sectors of the economy. For instance, there has been identified a need to increase the number of Pacific health professionals in New Zealand (Goodyear-Smith, Nosa and Aper-Esera, 2006). However, another important social trend that was identified in 2006 was the significant imbalance

⁶ However, even when official undercount data are factored into calculations of New Zealand's resident population in 2006, there remains more Pacific women than Pacific men in the overall 15-39 age group, see: <http://www.stats.govt.nz/tables/population-estimates.htm>

between educational participation and attainment of New Zealand women and men (Callister et al, 2006). While historically more men than women have participated in tertiary education, this has now reversed. This reversal has been particularly strong within the Pacific population.

Differences in the educational performance of women and men begins in school. For example, Table 7 shows retention rates at age 16 for the total population as well as for Maori and Pacific peoples. Two key issues stand out. First, Pacific retention rates are significantly higher than Maori retention rates at age 16. But secondly, while even in 1996 the retention rates for Pacific young women were higher than Pacific young men, by 2005 the gap between Pacific women and men has increased. In 2005 nearly 90% of Pacific females had stayed at school to age 16 where it was just under 80% for boys. The reasons why a group of boys are not doing as well as girls are not yet fully understood.

Table 7: Retention at age 16 as a % of those enrolled at age 14

	Total male	Total female	Maori male	Maori female	Pacific male	Pacific female
1996	81.7	85.8	64.1	67.3	79.2	83.5
1997	80.9	86.6	60.6	68.0	81.8	87.5
1998	83.6	88.6	67.2	74.8	83.5	86.8
1999	82.1	87.2	66.7	70.9	84.1	86.7
2000	79.7	85.0	63.9	69.0	80.5	86.2
2001	76.5	83.2	59.8	65.5	80.1	88.1
2002	76.5	83.3	57.9	65.2	79.2	83.7
2003	78.6	85.5	59.3	66.1	79.8	88.5
2004	77.9	84.6	59.7	67.7	78.5	86.1
2005	77.1	83.9	59.2	66.2	78.2	89.6

Source: Ministry of Education

As a background to the differences between Pacific women and men in tertiary education, Table 8 shows how the participation in schooling translates into participation in tertiary education.⁷ Table 6 shows participation rates for Pacific people have been increasing. This includes older people returning to education or upgrading their qualifications. The table also shows that in some, but not all, age groups and years, Pacific participation rates were behind those of Europeans and Maori. In particular older Maori are participating in tertiary education at a much higher rate than older Pacific people. The participation of older people in education is an important factor in the upgrading of skills across the whole of the population. One of the factors behind the higher rates for older Maori appears to have been the growth of Wananga.⁸

⁷ These data do not include Modern Apprenticeships where male participation is significantly higher than female. However, while important, Modern Apprenticeships represent only a small part of over tertiary education.

⁸ However, a significant number of Pacific people are enrolled in Wananga courses.

Table 8: Percentage of each age and ethnic group participating in tertiary education, 2001-2006

		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
European	18-24	35.9	37.1	37.0	36.9	37.2	37.2
	25-39	11.9	13.2	13.7	14.2	14.6	14.4
	40+	3.7	4.4	4.9	5.2	5.8	6.1
Maori	18-24	30.6	34.3	33.7	33.6	32.0	30.9
	25-39	20.1	26.4	26.8	26.8	25.2	22.6
	40+	10.0	15.4	16.5	16.7	16.6	15.6
Pacifica	18-24	26.5	29.2	30.0	30.7	30.8	31.1
	25-39	12.0	14.3	15.5	17.2	16.6	15.2
	40+	4.8	6.3	6.9	8.9	8.7	7.5

Source: Ministry of Education

Not all those participating in tertiary education complete their qualification with, overall women more likely to complete than men. Both differences in participation and completion show up in Table 9. This table shows completions by domestic Pacific students (i.e foreign students are removed) in each level of qualification from 1999 through to 2005. First it shows an increase by both men and women in tertiary education completions. But it also shows that in all areas there are now more Pacific women than Pacific men completing tertiary qualifications. For example, nearly two thirds of Pacific degree graduates are female.

**Table 9: Tertiary sector qualification completions 1999 to 2005– Domestic students
– Total Pacific students**

		Level 1-3 Certificate	Level 4 Certificate	Level 5-6 Diploma	Level 7 Bachelors	Level 8 Honours/ Postgrad Cert/Dip	Level 9 Masters
Pacific female	1999	590	48	228	413	40	34
	2000	1,113	205	265	438	75	34
	2001	1,491	212	259	482	99	29
	2002	1,520	272	355	455	89	44
	2003	1,682	713	437	503	100	40
	2004	2,168	557	442	537	109	45
	2005	2,060	535	362	551	116	42
Pacific male	1999	466	27	85	217	37	23
	2000	719	103	164	224	59	28
	2001	977	105	172	255	52	16
	2002	1,027	191	225	230	47	21
	2003	944	258	261	264	56	24
	2004	1,107	274	274	313	45	20
	2005	1,297	348	258	296	67	27
Females as a % of total completions*	1999	56	64	73	66	52	60
	2000	61	67	62	66	56	55
	2001	60	67	60	65	66	64
	2002	60	59	61	66	65	68
	2003	64	73	63	66	64	63
	2004	66	67	62	63	71	69
	2005	61	61	58	65	63	61

Source: Ministry of Education

As an indication of how education enrolments and completions, both in New Zealand and in overseas educational institutions, flow through to the education level of the overall population, Table 10 uses 2006 census data to show Pacific women as a proportion of each qualification level. There are only three areas where men outnumber women. These are no qualifications, level 4 certificates and doctorates. In terms of level 4 certificates, these are traditionally male qualifications such as mechanics and builders.

Table 10: Number of Pacific men and women in each qualification group (highest qualified attained) and women as a % in each group, 2006

	Male	Female	Female as a %
No Qualification	26,628	23,946	47
Level 1 Certificate	10,488	12,270	54
Level 2 Certificate	7,851	9,156	54
Level 3 Certificate	6,483	9,213	59
Level 4 Certificate	4,677	3,309	41
Level 5 Diploma	1,401	1,992	59
Level 6 Diploma	1,293	2,382	65
Bachelor Degree and Level 7 Qualification	2,598	3,909	60
Post-graduate and Honours Degrees	309	474	61
Masters Degree	372	381	51
Doctorate Degree	57	39	41
Overseas Secondary School Qualification	6,603	7,533	53
Other	10,953	11,310	51

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

What effects might these changes in education have? First, it needs to be kept in mind that if Pacific people are to increase their participation in the labour market and, as importantly, increase earnings, participation in tertiary education for both men and women needs to continue to increase. But we can speculate on the long-term changes the differing educational outcomes for women and men might have

- Outcomes in the labour market. Increasingly it will be Pacific women rather than men who can fill the higher income jobs that require higher level qualifications.
- Decisions about ethnic intermarriage. As will be shown, education influences partner choice.
- Choices about the number of children to have or whether to not have children at all.
- Migration (out of New Zealand). Well educated people have more choice as to where to work in the world.
- Power balances within marriages
- Who fills leadership positions in Pacific institutions

Ethnic intermarriage

Throughout history when previously isolated ethnic groups have come into contact with each other there is some amount of ethnic intermarriage (Leroi 2005).⁹ Historically, there have been, and continue to be, at least three potential impacts of ethnic intermarriage: genetic mixing, cultural mixing and resource mixing. This mixing can occur at any one point and can also continue intergenerationally. Resource mixing may be an important factor in determining future outcomes for Pacific people.

At times ethnic intermarriage has been used as an indicator of “social distance” between groups (Bogardus 1925, Muttarak 2003). Muttarak suggests the study of ethnic intermarriage is of importance because intermarriage is an important measure of intergroup relations, and it acts simultaneously as both a primary cause and an indicator of social and cultural integration.

Ethnic intermarriage has also sometimes been seen as a site through which future generations become either assimilated into a dominant culture or acculturated.¹⁰ It has been described as both an indicator, and a final outcome, of acculturation (Blau et al. 1982, Pagnini and Morgan 1990). While this contact with others can occur in a variety of ways, intermarriage provides a particularly intense and intimate site for potential cultural exchange. While it is often considered that the acculturation will ultimately be assimilation to the dominant culture, intermarriage research has already shown that intermarriage often has complex outcomes in terms of cultural sharing and ethnic identity.

A number of factors influence intermarriage rates, with many of these interconnected. Level of education is important, with better-educated people more likely to marry outside their group (but more likely within their educational group). Other factors include attitudes, time in a country, level of residential segregation, relative sizes of ethnic groups, and whether there is an imbalance between the number of men and women in the main couple forming age groups. All of these factors will be influencing marriage choices by Pacific people in New Zealand. While there has been no detailed study of Pacific intermarriage in New Zealand, Keddell (2006) touches on this topic in relation to Samoan identity.

Table 11 uses 2006 census data to show the ethnic group of the partners of men from each main ethnic group. Given that these are total counts (where a person records more than one ethnic group is counted in each of those groups) row totals add to more than 100. An example of this is where a male records a Pacific ethnic group as well as a

⁹ This section of the paper draws heavily on Callister, Didham and Potter (2005).

¹⁰ Acculturation is the process of acquiring a second culture. Assimilation is the process of replacing one's first culture with a second culture. Assuming that cultures are dynamic rather than static, the process of acculturation may nevertheless alter original cultures.

European group. They will be counted as a Pacific male as well as a European male.¹¹ Table 12 shows ethnic marriage patterns for women.

Table 11 shows that 69% of Pacific males had a partner who recorded a Pacific ethnicity, while Table 12 shows a slightly higher rate for Pacific women at 73%. Twenty five percent of Pacific men had a European partner, as against 21% of Pacific women. In terms of partnerships with Maori, 16% of Pacific men had a Maori partner and a lower 10% of Pacific women.

Table 11: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

		Female						Total %
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA*	Other	
Male	European	89	7	1	2	0	6	107
	Maori	56	52	5	2	0	5	120
	Pacific Peoples	25	16	69	2	0	2	114
	Asian	6	1	1	92	0	1	102
	MELAA	26	3	2	4	67	3	105
	Other	43	4	1	2	0	58	109

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

* MELAA is "Middle Eastern/Latin American/African"

Table 12: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

		Male						Total %
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA	Other	
Female	European	87	7	2	1	0	9	106
	Maori	51	50	8	1	0	7	117
	Pacific Peoples	21	10	73	2	0	3	109
	Asian	16	2	1	80	0	3	103
	MELAA	27	2	1	1	68	5	105
	Other	35	4	1	1	0	67	108

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Tables 13 and 14 give some indication whether intermarriage is increasing for Pacific men and women. While the numbers are small in the youngest age group, the data indicate that intermarriage is much more common amongst young people suggesting that as this group ages overall rates will become higher over time. For example, among the 45 and older age group 77% of Pacific men had a Pacific partner, while for women this

¹¹ For more discussion around issues of using total counts when studying ethnic intermarriage see Callister, Didham and Potter (2005).

was 75%. But in the 15-24 age group, within group marriage rates are just under half for men (48%) and 64% for women. This suggests that Pacific men are out-marrying at a faster rate than Pacific women. The rates of marriage between Pacific people and Maori increase amongst younger age groups, especially for men. In the 15-24 age group the proportion of Pacific women who has a Maori partner (22%) is not that much lower than the percentage who has a European partner (25%).

Table 13: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men by age of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

Male	<i>Female</i>							% of total	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA	Other			
15-24	43.6	35.1	47.8	3.8	0.2	2.1	133	2,661	
25-44	28.2	18.1	65.0	2.7	0.2	2.5	117	20,460	
45+	16.4	9.2	77.0	1.5	0.1	2.1	106	15,027	

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 14: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women by age of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

Female	<i>Male</i>							% of total	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA	Other			
15-24	25.2	22.4	64.3	4.5	0.6	2.1	120	2,961	
25-44	20.5	10.9	72.4	2.7	0.4	2.8	110	20,202	
45+	20.8	4.9	74.6	1.7	0.1	2.8	105	12,870	

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Higher levels of education are associated with higher rates of intermarriage, and it is likely that both age and changes in education are influencing the patterns shown in Tables 13 and 14. Tables 15 and 16 show the effect of education on its own.

Tables 15 and 16 show that half of Pacific men and just over a half of Pacific women who hold a degree or higher qualification have a Pacific partner. This contrasts with over 70% for those with no formal qualifications. However, there is some complexity in these data. For instance a poorly educated Pacific male is more likely to have a Maori partner than if they were well educated, but the opposite pattern is evident for Pacific women.

Table 15: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men by qualifications of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

Male	<i>Female</i>							% of total	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA	Other			
No Quals	19.9	17.6	71.7	1.3	0.1	1.6	112	14,424	
School	28.3	16.2	65.6	2.8	0.2	2.7	116	19,752	
Vocational	35.5	14.4	58.7	4.7	0.2	3.8	117	1,953	
Degree	43.8	12.2	50.4	4.7	0.7	4.5	116	2,382	

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 16: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women by qualifications of females, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

Female	<i>Male</i>							% of total	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA	Other			
No Quals	17.5	9.1	76.1	1.7	0.2	2.0	107	10,494	
School	22.1	10.7	71.4	2.9	0.4	2.9	110	18,849	
Vocational	28.4	11.0	65.1	2.3	0.1	4.6	112	2,472	
Degree	36.4	12.0	54.4	3.3	0.7	5.4	112	2,730	

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Earlier research shows that country of birth, which at times can be linked to education and attitudes, but also potentially to where the partnership was formed, has a strong association with rates of intermarriage. Marriage outside of the Pacific group is much stronger for those born in New Zealand (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005).

Tables 17 and 18 focus on the main populations within the wider Pacific People group. Using the more detailed level 3 ethnic groups, the two tables explore how likely is it that a person will form a partnership with someone from their own ethnic group, such as a Samoan marrying a Samoan (these again are total count data, so the person may have also recorded other ethnicities as well). The tables also show, if the person does not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, how likely is it that their partner will also be from the wider Pacific ethnic group.

Tongans and Samoans are the most likely to have a partner from the same ethnic group as themselves. But for Tongans and Samoans, if a person from these groups does not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, it is more likely that the partner will have an ethnicity from outside of the Pacific group than within it. There are also gender differences underlying these data. For instance, Tongan and Samoan women are more likely to have a partner from their same ethnic group than are men (i.e. men are less likely to have a partner from their own group).

The within-group marriage pattern, but also the pattern of marrying outside the wider Pacific ethnic group, does not show up strongly amongst Tokelauans. This may reflect the very small group size and therefore limited numbers of potential marriage partners within their own group but greater choice within the wider Pacific population.

These data indicate some considerable variation in ethnic intermarriage rates within the wider Pacific ethnic group. But the intermarriage data also indicate there is some social distance between the subgroups within the wider Pacific Peoples ethnic group, for example some distance between Samoans and Tongans.

Table 17: Partners of Pacific women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

	Males						Total couples
	Same ethnic group#	Other Pacific	European	Maori	Asian	MELAA	
Tongan female	74.6	8.8	12.8	5.0	1.3	0.1	6,711
Samoan female	70.4	5.9	18.5	7.2	2.2	0.3	18,150
Tokelauan female	44.0	33.2	17.9	6.3	2.2	0.4	804
Cook Island Maori female	40.9	15.3	28.5	20.6	2.0	0.4	6,825
Niuean female	38.1	26.5	25.8	14.7	2.7	0.5	2,535
Fijian female	38.2	8.6	38.2	8.8	13.2	0.4	1,569

but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 18: Partners of Pacific men – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2006

	Females						Total couples
	Same ethnic group#	Other Pacific	European	Maori	Asian	MELAA	
Tongan male	67.6	11.0	15.8	11.3	1.2	0.2	7,407
Samoan male	65.5	6.5	23.1	12.5	2.2	0.2	19,512
Tokelauan male	40.5	26.5	26.8	22.3	1.7	0.0	873
Cook Island Maori male	41.2	8.5	34.0	29.4	1.8	0.2	6,780
Niuean male	35.2	21.2	31.8	23.6	2.7	0.1	2,748
Fijian male	40.0	12.8	35.0	12.8	13.4	0.2	1,500

but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

One of the outcomes of ethnic intermarriage is complexification of ethnicities among their children. Using the data of the 42,160 Pacific children for the period 2000-2004, we can see that over half (54%) of all Pacific children have at least one other ethnicity. While over half (53%) of the births report only Pacific ethnicities (22,605 out of 42,160), 30 percent report Maori as their ethnicity and 27 percent report at least one European ethnicity. These are, of course, not additive, with nearly half (48%) of the Pacific/Maori children also having a European ethnicity.¹²

¹² In the past, dual and multiple ethnicities amongst Pacific people led to some undercount of the Pacific population (see Appendix).

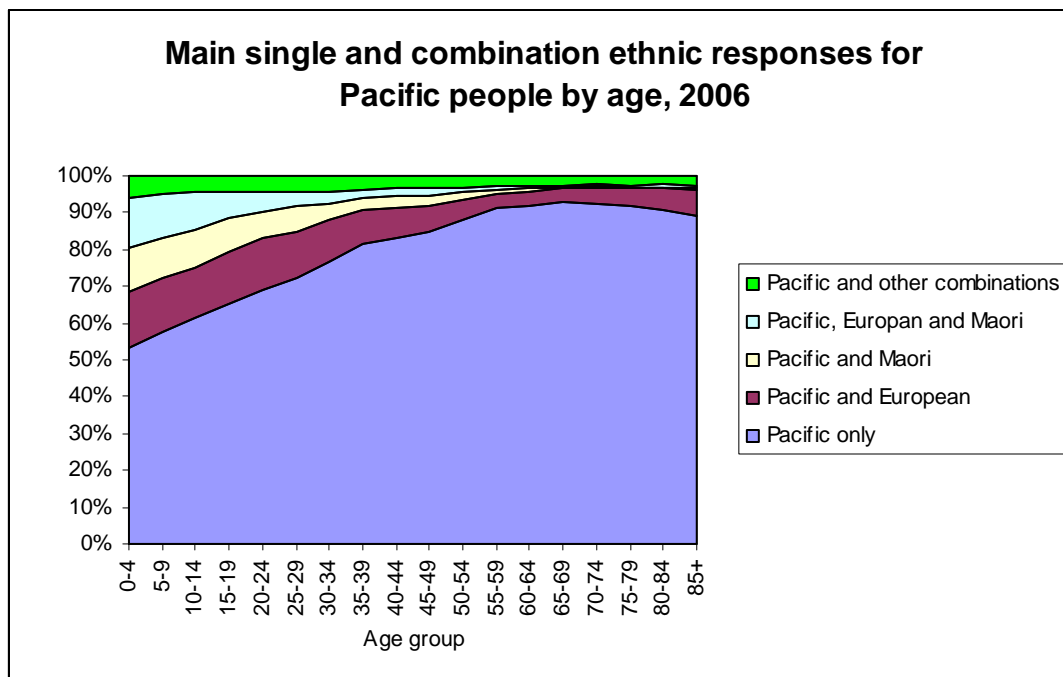
Table 16: Ethnicities of Pacific children born 2000-2004.

	Number of births	Percent with more than one ethnicity	Percent with more than one Pacific ethnicity
Samoan	21,194	53.6	19.4
Cook Island	9,890	72.0	25.5
Tongan	9,624	45.8	23.5
Niuean	3,722	84.8	48.6
Tokelauan	1,128	75.7	49.1
Fijian	1,481	84.2	28.4
Total Pacific	42,160	54.0	23.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

While it is far more common amongst young people to have multiple ethnicities reported in official surveys, Figure 9 shows that in all age groups there are Pacific people who record more than one ethnic group. Particularly common amongst you Pacific people is a combination with Maori, either as one of two combinations or part of the combination Pacific/Maori/European. How young people themselves view these dual or multiple ethnicities is only just starting to be researched (e.g. Keddell, 2006). However, in some areas of research and policy making, those with Pacific and Maori ethnicities ‘disappear’ from Pacific statistics if the data has been recorded using the old prioritisation system (Statistics New Zealand 2007)) which results in this group being included within the Maori ethnic group but not in the Pacific group.

Figure 9



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

One of the common themes of intermarriage among Pacific is that this has historically tended to occur primarily, though not exclusively, in New Zealand. When we look at selected Pacific ethnicities, we can see that the size of the community affects the degree of connectivity between communities. While not explored here, it can be shown that subnational distribution of communities, birthplace, the number of years since arrival in New Zealand for those born overseas, and the ethnicities of mother and father are all significant to these outcomes.

One of the challenges that ethnic intermarriage and complex ethnicities of children provides for researchers and policy makers is the targeting of services. For example, when thinking about immunisations for Pacific infants, some of the mothers who need to be targeted are Maori or European not Pacific. Therefore ideas such as “by Pacific, for Pacific”, while clearly having strengths in many situations, may not always work. In addition, the mixing creates challenges in defining what might be a Pacific family (Callister, Didham, Newell and Potter, 2007).

Conclusion

When the wider Pacific is considered, Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea are the largest centres of population. But a small, and growing, proportion of the New Zealand population are migrants, or children of migrants, from a wide range of Pacific island nations. However, as yet, there has been little migration from Melanesia to New Zealand. Historically, the majority of the Pacific population living in New Zealand were born overseas. Now the majority were born in New Zealand.

The Pacific population in New Zealand is a young population. When key indicators of outcomes of the adult Pacific population are considered, the data show that too many Pacific people are on low incomes, have low level of formal education and do not own their houses. It is important that the young Pacific population improves outcomes in all these areas.

Increased participation and achievement in schooling and tertiary education will a critical factor in changing employment outcomes, income generation and the creation of wealth, a topic addressed more fully in the following chapter. There have been impressive gains in educational participation by Pacific people in recent decades. This includes a major increase in ‘second chance’ education of older Pacific people. However, as indicated it is important that there further strong gains are needed. As part of this process, more research is needed as to how to lift Pacific educational participation and achievement.

The chapter then explored issues that have less commonly been considered by researchers and policy makers. We show that there is an imbalance between women and men in the Pacific population, the reasons for which we do not fully understand. We also show that Pacific women are participating at a higher rate than Pacific men in education. While it is clear that Pacific educational outcomes need to improve for both women and men, there do seem to be some additional barriers facing men. Again we do not fully understand the reasons for this.

Finally we have shown that ethnic intermarriage is important in the Pacific community. Our data suggests that this is likely to increase. We are seeing the traditional pattern of marriage between Pacific people and the European population, but also of increasing importance is marriage with Maori and with the Asian population. One result is an increasing number of children who can potentially not only be proud of their Pacific cultures but can also draw on a number of other cultures. But, again, we have little understanding of the changing identities of Pacific youth.

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Accessed 20/08/07

Appendix

In the recent past researchers and policy makers have often used a system of ethnic prioritisation when counting people belonging to ethnic groups. Under this system, Maori had priority coding, followed by Pacific peoples, then Asian, then other ethnic groups besides European, followed by “Other European” and, finally, New Zealand European. This prioritisation system meant that, for example, if a person recorded himself or herself as belonging to both Māori and Samoan ethnic groups, they were classified as belonging only to the Maori ethnic group. Given the significant number of young Pacific people also recording Maori ethnicity, this resulted in a significant loss of numbers of Pacific people (see table below). Statistics New Zealand no longer recommends the use of prioritised data.

Ethnicity - Percentage decline of Pacific population by prioritisation of ethnicity: 1991, 1996 and 2001 censuses

	Under								
	15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+	Total
1991	18.4	9.5	5.0	4.4	4.1	2.5	1.7	1.0	9.2
1996	30.0	20.9	12.8	8.7	7.8	7.8	5.6	4.4	16.8
2001	29.5	18.5	14.4	9.1	6.4	6.4	5.8	2.6	15.8

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand