

Some emerging demographic features of the Pacific population in New Zealand

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Paul Callister, IPS
&
Robert Didham, Statistics New Zealand¹

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a brief set of background New Zealand demographic data to help inform discussions around a wider set of papers that focus on Pacific economic and social issues. To set the New Zealand data in a wider context, the paper 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 Pacific population within New Zealand. Wider socio-economic and demographic characteristics, such as employment or housing tenure, of the Pacific population drawn from the 2006 census will become available in the first half of 2007. However, some of these characteristics, based primarily on 2001 census data, are available in other papers prepared within the wider Pasifika project (Bedford 2007; De Raad 2007)

Three issues are then examined. First, there is a short section on changing sex ratios amongst Pacific peoples and the possible implications of these changes. The second issue briefly canvassed is emerging trends in the gender balance in educational participation and attainment for Pacific people living in New Zealand and some possible implications of this change. 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 primarily on 2001 data, while the data on multiple ethnicities are drawn from birth registrations.

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.

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

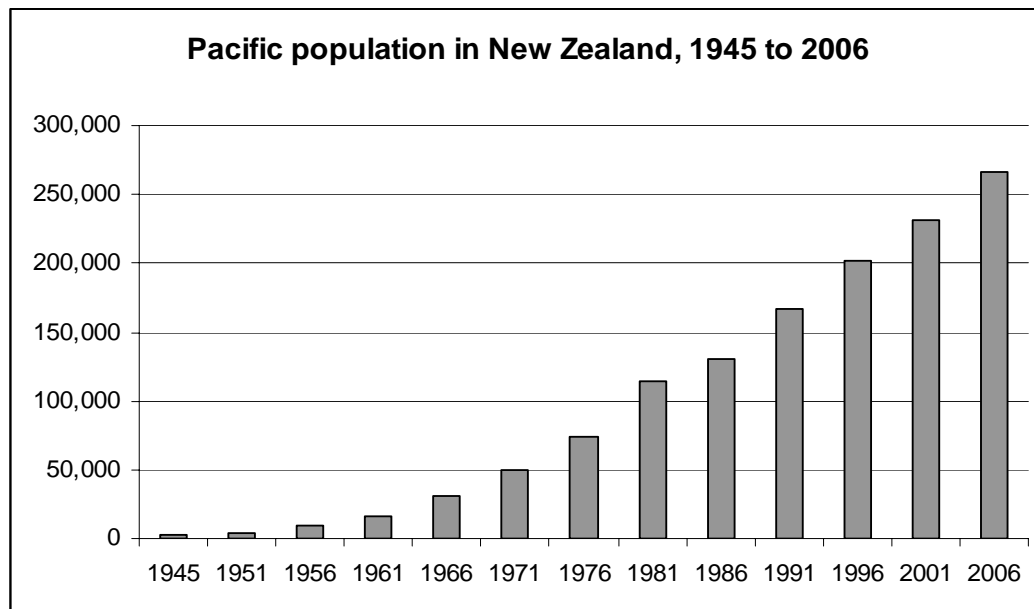
Table 1: Estimated resident populations

| | Estimated resident population (June or July 2006 estimates) |
|------------------|---|
| Australia | 20.6 million |
| Papua New Guinea | 5.6 million |
| New Zealand | 4.14 million |
| Fiji | 905,949 |
| Solomon Islands | 552,438 |
| New Caledonia | 219,246 |
| Vanuatu | 208,869 |
| Western Samoa | 176,908 |
| Tonga | 114,689 |
| Kiribati | 105,432 |
| Cook Islands | 21,388 |
| Tuvalu | 11,810 |
| Niue | 2,160 |
| Tokelau | 1,392 |

Source: Except for New Zealand and Australia the source of the data is <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/countrylisting.html>, New Zealand data sourced from Statistics New Zealand estimated resident population estimates and Australian data sourced from the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

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 living in New Zealand from 1945 until 2006.

Figure 1

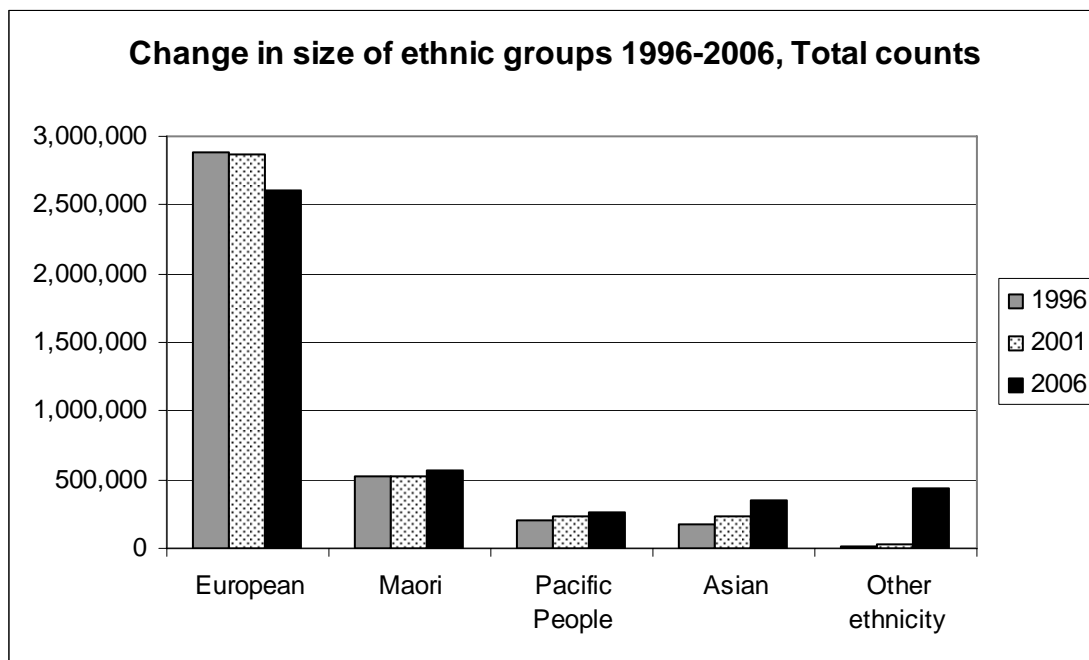


Source: Statistics New Zealand.

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 2006

Figure 2 shows the size of the Pacific population in New Zealand relative to the other main ethnic groups in 1996, 2001 and 2006. 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.

Figure 2



Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 2 focuses on the size of the main ethnic groups within the wider Pacific group. 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.

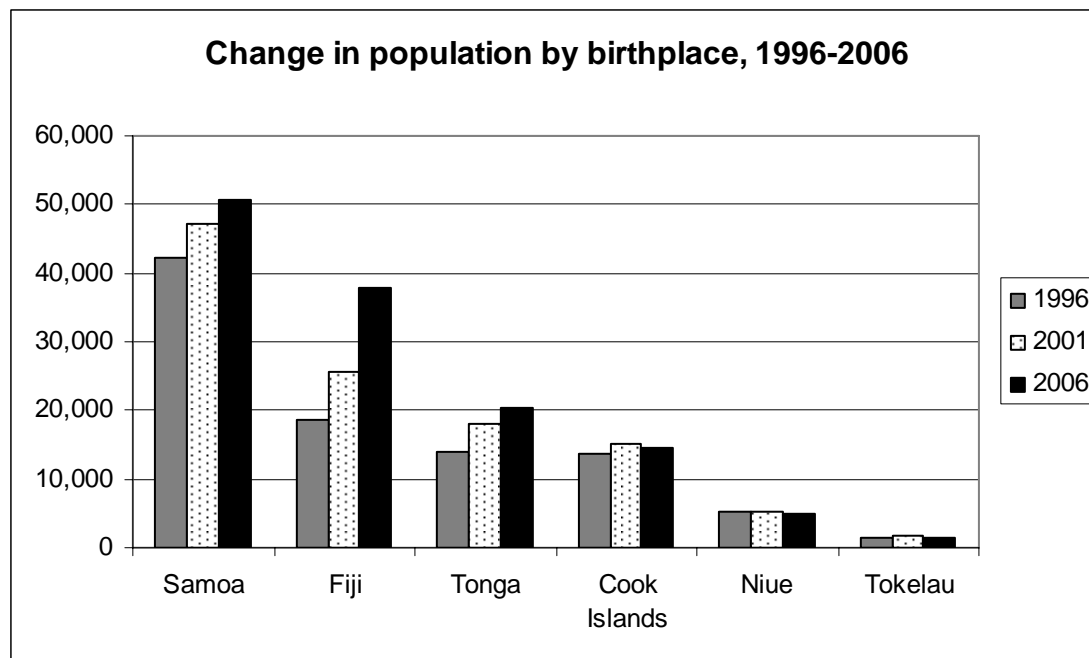
Table 2: Size of main Pacific ethnic groups, 1996 to 2006, Total counts

| | 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. Many of those born in Fiji identify as Fijian Indian and so do 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.

Changing sex ratios

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.² 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 years (Callister et al., 2005). This is the age group where couple formation and childbearing/rearing most commonly take place.

Table 3 shows the ratio of Pacific women to men in five yearly age groups from 0 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 there are more 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 is more complex.

² This ratio holds across all ethnic groups, except in places such as China and India where there are significantly more boys born than girls

Table 3: 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 4 looks at sex ratios within the main Pacific ethnic groups. It shows 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. 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. Third, many important social policy measures such as unemployment rate or tertiary education participation rates (see next section) depend in having an accurate count of the population.

Table 4: 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

Another important social trend that was identified in 2006 was the significant imbalance 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 5 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.

Table 5: 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 6 shows how the participation in schooling translates into participation in tertiary education.³ The table shows that in most, but not all, age groups and years, Pacific participation rates were behind those of Europeans and Maori. One of the factors behind the higher rates for Maori has been the growth of Wananga.⁴

Table 6: % of each age and ethnic group participating in tertiary education, 2001-2004

| | | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
|----------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| European | 18-24 | 35.9 | 36.7 | 37.6 | 38.2 |
| | 25-39 | 12.0 | 13.4 | 14.2 | 15.2 |
| | 40+ | 3.8 | 4.5 | 5.1 | 5.7 |
| Maori | 18-24 | 30.8 | 33.9 | 34.2 | 34.3 |
| | 25-39 | 20.3 | 26.6 | 27.3 | 27.7 |
| | 40+ | 10.1 | 15.8 | 17.0 | 17.6 |
| Pacifica | 18-24 | 26.5 | 28.4 | 30.1 | 31 |
| | 25-39 | 12.0 | 14.2 | 15.7 | 18.0 |
| | 40+ | 4.9 | 6.3 | 7.0 | 9.4 |

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

³ 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.

⁴ However, a significant number of Pacific people are enrolled in Wananga courses.

completion show up in Table 7. This table shows completions by domestic Pacific students (ie foreign students are removed) in each level of qualification from 1990 through to 2004. Table 7 shows that only within honours completions, and only in 1999, were there more men than women. In all other areas there are now more women completing tertiary qualifications. For example, nearly 70% of Pacific honours and masters graduates are female compared just over 30% being male.

Table 7: Tertiary sector completions 1999 to 2004– 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 |
|--|------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|--------------------|
| Female | 1999 | 614 | 33 | 220 | 404 | 48 | 34 |
| | 2000 | 1,091 | 78 | 351 | 437 | 83 | 32 |
| | 2001 | 1,545 | 63 | 334 | 477 | 103 | 31 |
| | 2002 | 1,689 | 138 | 386 | 469 | 92 | 45 |
| | 2003 | 1,817 | 475 | 532 | 510 | 107 | 37 |
| | 2004 | 2,966 | 568 | 421 | 533 | 110 | 43 |
| Male | 1999 | 477 | 23 | 80 | 198 | 57 | 23 |
| | 2000 | 765 | 51 | 153 | 215 | 63 | 26 |
| | 2001 | 1,058 | 30 | 157 | 256 | 51 | 15 |
| | 2002 | 1,196 | 98 | 200 | 254 | 52 | 19 |
| | 2003 | 998 | 231 | 255 | 268 | 56 | 26 |
| | 2004 | 1,702 | 265 | 239 | 318 | 49 | 19 |
| Females as a % of total completions* | 1999 | 56 | 59 | 73 | 67 | 46 | 60 |
| | 2000 | 59 | 60 | 70 | 67 | 57 | 55 |
| | 2001 | 59 | 68 | 68 | 65 | 67 | 67 |
| | 2002 | 59 | 58 | 66 | 65 | 64 | 70 |
| | 2003 | 65 | 67 | 68 | 66 | 66 | 59 |
| | 2004 | 64 | 68 | 64 | 63 | 69 | 69 |

* areas where more men than women completed are shown in bold

Source: Ministry of Education

What effects might this change have? At this stage we can only speculate on the long-term changes but some areas this change may affect include:

- Outcomes in the labour market
- Decisions about ethnic intermarriage
- Migration (out of New Zealand)
- 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).⁵ 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.

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.⁶ 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 8 uses 2001 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 recorded 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 European group. They will be counted as a Pacific male as well as a European male.⁷ Table 9 shows ethnic marriage patterns for women.

⁵ This section of the paper draws heavily on Callister, Didham and Potter (2005).

⁶ 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.

⁷ For more discussion around issues of using total counts when studying ethnic intermarriage see Callister, Didham and Potter (2005).

Table 8 shows that 70% of Pacific males had a partner who recorded a Pacific ethnicity, while Table 9 shows a slightly higher rate for Pacific women at 73%. Twenty five percent of Pacific men had a European partner, as against 23% of Pacific women. In terms of partnerships with Maori, 15% of Pacific men had a Maori partner and a lower 9% of Pacific women.

Table 8: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Female | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific Peoples | Asian | Other | Total % |
| Male | European | 96 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 | <i>104</i> |
| | Maori | 58 | 53 | 4 | 1 | 0 | <i>117</i> |
| | Pacific Peoples | 25 | 15 | 70 | 2 | 0 | <i>112</i> |
| | Asian | 9 | 2 | 2 | 90 | 0 | <i>102</i> |
| | Other | 36 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 60 | <i>107</i> |
| | | | | | | | |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 9: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Male | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific Peoples | Asian | Other | Total % |
| Female | European | 96 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | <i>104</i> |
| | Maori | 53 | 52 | 7 | 1 | 0 | <i>114</i> |
| | Pacific Peoples | 23 | 9 | 73 | 2 | 0 | <i>108</i> |
| | Asian | 20 | 2 | 1 | 78 | 0 | <i>102</i> |
| | Other | 33 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 68 | <i>106</i> |
| | | | | | | | |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Tables 10 and 11 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 78% of Pacific men had a Pacific partner, while for women this was 75%. But in the 15-24 age group, within group marriage rates are just over half for men (52%) and 68% 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 men who has a Maori partner is not that much lower than the percentage who has a European partner.

Table 10: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men by age of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Female | | | | | | |
|------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific Peoples | Asian | Other | % of total specified | Total specified |
| Male | | | | | | | | |
| | 15-24 | 38.9 | 32.5 | 52.3 | 3.2 | 0.3 | 127.2 | 2,373 |
| | 25-44 | 28.3 | 16.6 | 66.6 | 1.9 | 0.2 | 113.6 | 17,898 |
| | 45+ | 17.6 | 8.6 | 77.8 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 105.5 | 11,412 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 11: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women by age of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Male | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific Peoples | Asian | Other | % of total specified | Total specified |
| Female | | | | | | | | |
| | 15-24 | 24.3 | 19.3 | 68.1 | 3.6 | 0.7 | 116.0 | 2,829 |
| | 25-44 | 23.0 | 10.5 | 72.1 | 2.3 | 0.3 | 108.2 | 17,841 |
| | 45+ | 23.7 | 4.0 | 75.0 | 1.8 | 0.1 | 104.5 | 9,645 |

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 10 and 11. Tables 12 and 13 show the effect of education on its own.

Tables 12 and 13 show that under half of Pacific men and women who hold a degree or higher qualification have a Pacific partner as against 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 12: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men by qualifications of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Female | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific peoples | Asian | Other | Total specified | Total specified |
| Male | No qualification | 21.1 | 17.6 | 70.9 | 1.2 | 0.1 | 110.8 | 10,065 |
| | School qualification | 26.1 | 13.5 | 71.1 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 112.9 | 11,790 |
| | Vocational | 43.9 | 18.7 | 51.0 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 116.8 | 3,321 |
| | Degree or higher | 50.0 | 10.7 | 47.2 | 4.8 | 0.8 | 113.5 | 1,176 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 13: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women by qualifications of females, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Female | | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------|--------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific peoples | Asian | Other | Total specified | Total |
| Female | No qualification | 20.8 | 8.8 | 74.7 | 1.4 | 0.2 | <i>106.0</i> | 8,289 |
| | School qualification | 23.8 | 9.7 | 72.3 | 2.8 | 0.2 | <i>108.8</i> | 12,426 |
| | Vocational | 32.5 | 12.3 | 63.2 | 2.3 | 0.3 | <i>110.5</i> | 3,585 |
| | Degree or higher | 46.2 | 13.7 | 47.9 | 4.2 | 1.1 | <i>113.2</i> | 1,071 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Country of birth, which can be linked to education and attitudes, but also potentially to where the partnership was formed, has a strong association with rates of intermarriage. As Table 14 and 15 show, marriage outside of the Pacific group is much stronger for those born in New Zealand.

Table 14: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific men by age and country of birth of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Female | | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific peoples | Asian | Other | Total | Total specified |
| Male | 25-29 | | | | | | | |
| | NZBorn | 52.7 | 32.0 | 40.4 | 3.9 | 0.3 | 129.3 | 1,788 |
| | OSBorn | 18.6 | 12.8 | 78.0 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 111.5 | 2,016 |
| | 30-34 | | | | | | | |
| | NZBorn | 55.7 | 34.7 | 32.8 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 126.0 | 1,599 |
| | OSBorn | 15.1 | 9.6 | 81.7 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 107.9 | 3,192 |
| | 35-39 | | | | | | | |
| | NZBorn | 60.1 | 33.0 | 29.5 | 2.6 | 0.2 | 125.4 | 1,392 |
| | OSBorn | 13.7 | 7.9 | 83.8 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 106.6 | 3,594 |
| | 40-44 | | | | | | | |
| | NZBorn | 65.5 | 32.4 | 20.5 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 121.0 | 834 |
| | OSBorn | 13.9 | 7.5 | 83.7 | 1.4 | 0.1 | 106.6 | 3,303 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 15: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for Pacific women by age and country of birth of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | | Male | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| | | European | Maori | Pacific peoples | Asian | Other | Total | Total specified | |
| Female | 25-29 | | | | | | | | |
| | | NZBorn | 36.8 | 24.7 | 53.5 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 118.2 | 1,884 |
| | | OSBorn | 13.3 | 4.3 | 84.1 | 2.7 | 0.7 | 105.1 | 2,091 |
| | | 30-34 | | | | | | | |
| | | NZBorn | 44.4 | 25.6 | 45.5 | 2.0 | 0.6 | 118.1 | 1,629 |
| | | OSBorn | 12.9 | 3.6 | 85.3 | 2.0 | 0.4 | 104.2 | 3,399 |
| | | 35-39 | | | | | | | |
| | | NZBorn | 46.8 | 26.5 | 41.6 | 1.7 | 0.2 | 116.8 | 1,269 |
| | | OSBorn | 12.9 | 3.4 | 84.1 | 2.7 | 0.2 | 103.3 | 3,501 |
| | | 40-44 | | | | | | | |
| | | NZBorn | 53.0 | 28.0 | 33.7 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 115.5 | 792 |
| | | OSBorn | 15.1 | 2.6 | 83.3 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 103.5 | 3,099 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Tables 16 and 17 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 exactly the same ethnic group (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. 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. However, this pattern does not show up strongly amongst groups such as Tokelauan. This may reflect the very small group size and therefore limited numbers of potential marriage partners within the group but wider choice within the wider Pacific population. These data indicate that, based simply on ethnic intermarriage data, there is some social distance between the subgroups within the wider Pacific Peoples ethnic group.

Table 16: Partners of Pacific women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | Total number of couples | Same ethnic group# | Same ethnic | | Pacific | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | | European | Maori | Peoples | Asian | Other |
| Tongan | 5,394 | 74.0 | 15.0 | 4.6 | 81.0 | 1.5 | 0.2 |
| Samoan | 15,681 | 69.8 | 19.9 | 6.5 | 74.9 | 2.2 | 0.2 |
| Tokelauan | 741 | 47.8 | 17.4 | 7.7 | 78.1 | 1.2 | 0.4 |
| Cook Island Maori nfd | 6,108 | 44.2 | 29.3 | 18.4 | 57.7 | 2.0 | 0.3 |
| Niuean | 2,262 | 43.0 | 26.4 | 13.0 | 65.3 | 2.5 | 0.1 |
| Fijian* | 1,113 | 31.8 | 50.9 | 10.5 | 41.0 | 8.4 | 0.5 |

*except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian

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

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

Table 17: Partners of Pacific men – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001

| | Total number of couples | Same ethnic group# | Same ethnic | | Pacific | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | | European | Maori | Peoples | Asian | Other |
| Tongan | 5,925 | 67.3 | 16.8 | 10.5 | 77.8 | 1.1 | 0.1 |
| Samoan | 16,428 | 66.7 | 23.0 | 11.5 | 72.7 | 1.9 | 0.2 |
| Cook Island Maori nfd | 5,895 | 45.8 | 33.6 | 26.8 | 52.6 | 1.4 | 0.2 |
| Tokelauan | 777 | 45.6 | 23.6 | 18.5 | 67.6 | 2.3 | 0.0 |
| Niuean | 2,475 | 39.3 | 32.1 | 20.7 | 57.5 | 2.5 | 0.2 |
| Fijian* | 996 | 35.5 | 44.0 | 13.9 | 49.1 | 8.7 | 0.3 |

*except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian

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.⁸

⁸ In the past, dual and multiple ethnicity amongst Pacific people led to some undercount of the Pacific population (see Appendix).

Table 18: 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.

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.

Conclusion

The paper touches on a number of important social and demographic changes taking place within the Pacific community. Some of the changes are little understood, such as why the gender transition has taken place within tertiary education and why there appears to be 'missing' Pacific men. Further research will be carried out on these issues once 2006 census data becomes more widely available.

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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, Māori 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 prioritization 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 Māori ethnic group. Given the significant number of young Pacific people also recording Māori 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 prioritization 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