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Maori Internal and International Migration at the Turn of the Century: An Australasian Perspective

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Abstract

At the beginning of the twenty-first century there were two major national clusters of Maori: New Zealand, the ancestral home for Maori, and Australia, home to a much smaller Maori population from the early years of the nineteenth century. In the 2001 censuses of New Zealand and Australia, the usually resident Maori populations were, respectively, 526,281 (ethnic group classification) and 72,956 (ancestry classification). In this paper we examine four dimensions of Maori population movement between 1996 and 2001 using the census data from New Zealand and Australia: 1) internal migration between rural and urban areas in New Zealand; 2) internal migration between rural and urban areas in Australia; 3) migration into New Zealand of Maori resident overseas in 1996; 4) migration into Australia of Maori resident overseas in 1996. There has never been a comprehensive assessment of Maori migration in an Australasian context before, but in the light of developments in population exchanges between New Zealand and Australia this sort of analysis is critical if one wishes to understand contemporary Maori population dynamics.

A statistical and demographic challenge faced by many small island nations in the 21st century is that significant shares of the people with rights to residence are living overseas. This is the case for indigenous populations as much as the later waves of settlers and their descendants. In this paper we present some preliminary findings from an analysis of the populations of New Zealand's indigenous Maori peoples who

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were living in New Zealand and Australia at the time of their last population censuses in 2001. The focus of attention is on the mobility status of the population in 2001 as this can be defined by comparing their places of usual residence at the time of the last two censuses. In both New Zealand and Australia censuses are held every five years, so the mobility status relates to the period 1996 to 2001.

Maori are defined in this paper on the basis of responses to a question on ethnicity in New Zealand's census and a question on ancestry in Australia's census. Both questions allow for multiple responses. In the case of the New Zealand data cited in this paper all people who indicated that one of their ethnicities was New Zealand Maori are included. In the case of the Australian data, only the first two ancestry responses have been coded, so the Maori population (which could also include "Cook Island Maori" as well as "New Zealand Maori") is more narrowly defined. The data on Australia's Maori population have been drawn from two series of unpublished tables produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for Robert Didham in August 2002 and Graeme Hugo in April 2005.

The problem of inclusion of "Cook Island Maori" in the Australian data for "Maori" in 2001 is not addressed in this paper. Jeremy Lowe (1990:7), in the only substantive published discussion of the Maori in Australia to date, has discussed this issue with regard to Australia's 1986 Census of Population and Buildings that also allowed Maori to be identified in the resident population. He found that there were some Cook Island Maori included in the "Maori" ancestry data for that year, but their numbers were not large. It can be noted in passing, that all Cook Island Maori are entitled to New Zealand citizenship, and in this context Cook Island Maori tend to be regarded as "New Zealanders" in Australia.

In the first section we establish the size of the Maori populations in Australia and New Zealand, and outline some of their basic characteristics. The second section uses a simple mover-stayer framework to identify the main groups in the populations in terms of their mobility status in 2001, and comments briefly on the changing spatial distribution of Maori within and between the two countries. In the concluding section we introduce an analysis of labour force characteristics of the adult Maori populations in Australia and New Zealand, noting that the data we currently have available are incomplete for this purpose.

Notwithstanding the limited data available for this analysis, we consider that further examination of New Zealand's Maori population in its trans-Tasman context will yield useful insights into the contemporary demography of an indigenous population that is rarely examined outside of its national setting. Echoing Ward's (1997:10) observations about the need for a more holistic analysis of urbanization of Pacific peoples (see Bedford and Didham 2005), we argue that studies of indigenous peoples generally need to consider the spread of people beyond national boundaries. New Zealand Maori have their "diaspora" and have been settling in Australia and other parts of the world for over two centuries (Bedford and Pool 2004)

Dimensions of a Trans-National Population

In 2001 New Zealand's indigenous Maori population probably numbered somewhere between 680,000 and 700,000 if both the New Zealand resident and the overseas resident Maori are taken into consideration. The New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings in March of that year recorded 526,281 people who recorded "NZ Maori" as one of their ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand 2002). Allowing for under-enumeration, and the absence of some people temporarily overseas, the estimated total Maori population in New Zealand in March 2001 was around 586,000 (Didham April 2005:personal communication).

The Australian Census of Population and Buildings in August 2001 recorded a total of 90,350 people who had recorded "Maori" as one of their responses to the ancestry question (Didham April 2005:personal communication). However, as noted above, only the first two responses to the ancestry question were actually coded, and the number of Maori given in the published census data for Australia is 72,956.¹ Allowing for some under-enumeration of Maori in Australia, and for the fact that some Cook Island Maori will be included in both the 90,350 and the 72,956 totals, we can probably assume that there were at least 90,000 New Zealand Maori in Australia in August 2001.

When this population is added to the estimated Maori population in New Zealand of 586,000 (allowing for post-census adjustments for under-enumeration and temporary absence overseas), then the total in the two countries was around 676,000. If we allow for a further 15,000 to be resident in all other countries (and there are likely to be several thousand Maori in the United Kingdom and Ireland, as well as some hundreds of people who

might claim Maori ethnicity in the Pacific Islands), then the global total in 2001 comes close to 700,000. The proportion of Maori living overseas in 2001 could have been as high as 16 per cent – a significant “diaspora” by international standards.

Table 1: The Maori population in New Zealand and Australia, 2001

Birthplace	New Zealand	Australia	Total
New Zealand	513,126	49,241	562,367
Australia	4,932	20,596	25,528
Other countries	2,493	1,023	3,516
Not stated	5,730	2,110	7,840
Total	526,281	72,970	599,251

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Amongst the New Zealand-resident Maori in 2001, the great majority (97.5 per cent) had been born in New Zealand (Table 1). Only 4,932 of the 526,281 (0.9 per cent) gave Australia as their birthplace, with a further 2,493 citing birthplaces in the Pacific, UK and Ireland and other countries (Statistics New Zealand 2002). Just over 5,700 (1.1 per cent) of Maori in New Zealand did not record a birthplace in the 2001 census. In the case of the Australia-resident Maori, 67.5 per cent had been born in New Zealand. A significant Australia-born Maori population has evolved with over 20,000 (28.2 per cent) recording Maori as their first or second ancestries. This Australia-born Maori population is heavily weighted towards the younger age groups, with two thirds aged under 15 years. However, the long history of trans-Tasman migration of Maori is reflected in the fact that there were over 400 Australia-born Maori aged 60 years and over. There were just over 1,000 Australia-resident Maori born in countries other than the two Tasman neighbours and a further 2,110 did not record a birthplace in the 2001 census (Table 1).

The gender balance in the New Zealand population has attracted some media attention on both sides of the Tasman in recent weeks (Laugesen and Courtney 2005:A5; Leys 2005:8). A surplus of 53,000 females in the total New Zealand population aged 20-49 years (or just under seven per cent of all people in this age group) is matched by a similar shortfall of males in the Maori population in the same age group (Table 2). There are 13,000 more

Maori females than males aged 20-49 years in New Zealand – the equivalent of six per cent of Maori in this age group (Table 2). Not all of the “lost manhood” is in Australia, however, notwithstanding Nick Ley’s (2005:8) suggestion that “going on a pub crawl around Bondi and Manly with a clipboard” would be “not a bad way to start” trying to find New Zealand’s adult male deficit. In fact, in the Australia-resident Maori population aged 20-49 there were still more females than males (albeit only 193 more, or 0.5 per cent of all Maori in the age group). It is going to take more than a search of Sydney pubs to find the missing men (Table 3).

Table 2: The Maori population in New Zealand by broad age groups, 2001

Age group	Male	Female	Total
0-14	100,653	95,829	196,482
15-29	63,342	68,444	131,786
30-44	51,636	58,796	110,432
45-59	28,266	30,127	58,393
60-74	11,734	12,826	24,560
75+	1,852	2,776	4,628
Total	257,483	268,798	526,281
Total 20-49	102,427	115,356	217,783
More females		12,929	5.94%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Table 3: The Maori population in Australia by broad age groups, 2001

	Male	Female	Total
0-14	11,597	10,879	22,476
15-29	9,871	10,347	20,218
30-44	9,531	9,695	19,226
45-59	4,806	4,120	8,926
60-74	958	922	1,880
75+	95	149	244
Total	36,858	36,112	72,970
Total 20-49	18,663	18,856	37,519
More females		193	0.51%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Figure 1: Age-sex structure of Maori populations in New Zealand and Australia, 2001 (percentages of total)

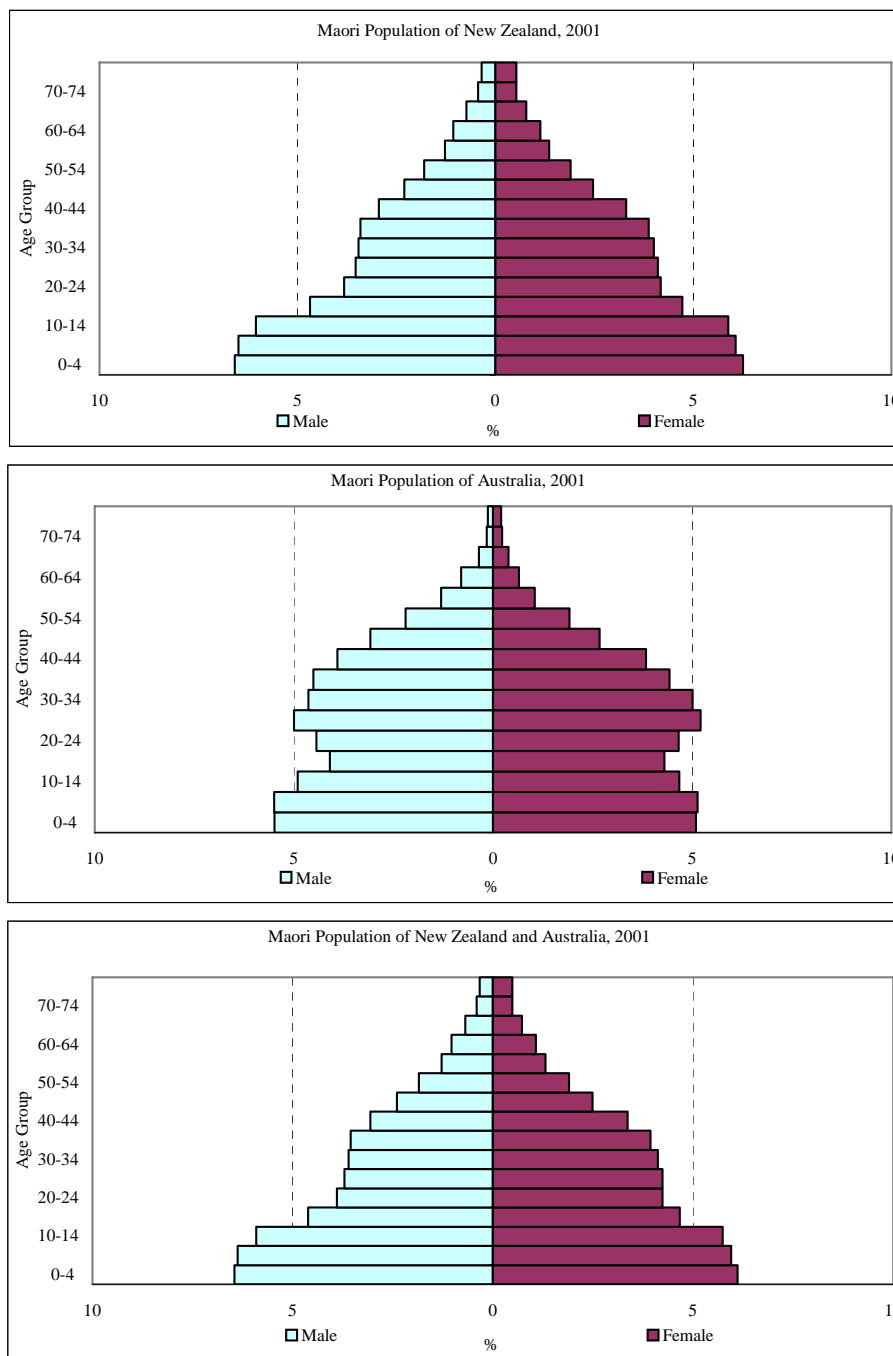
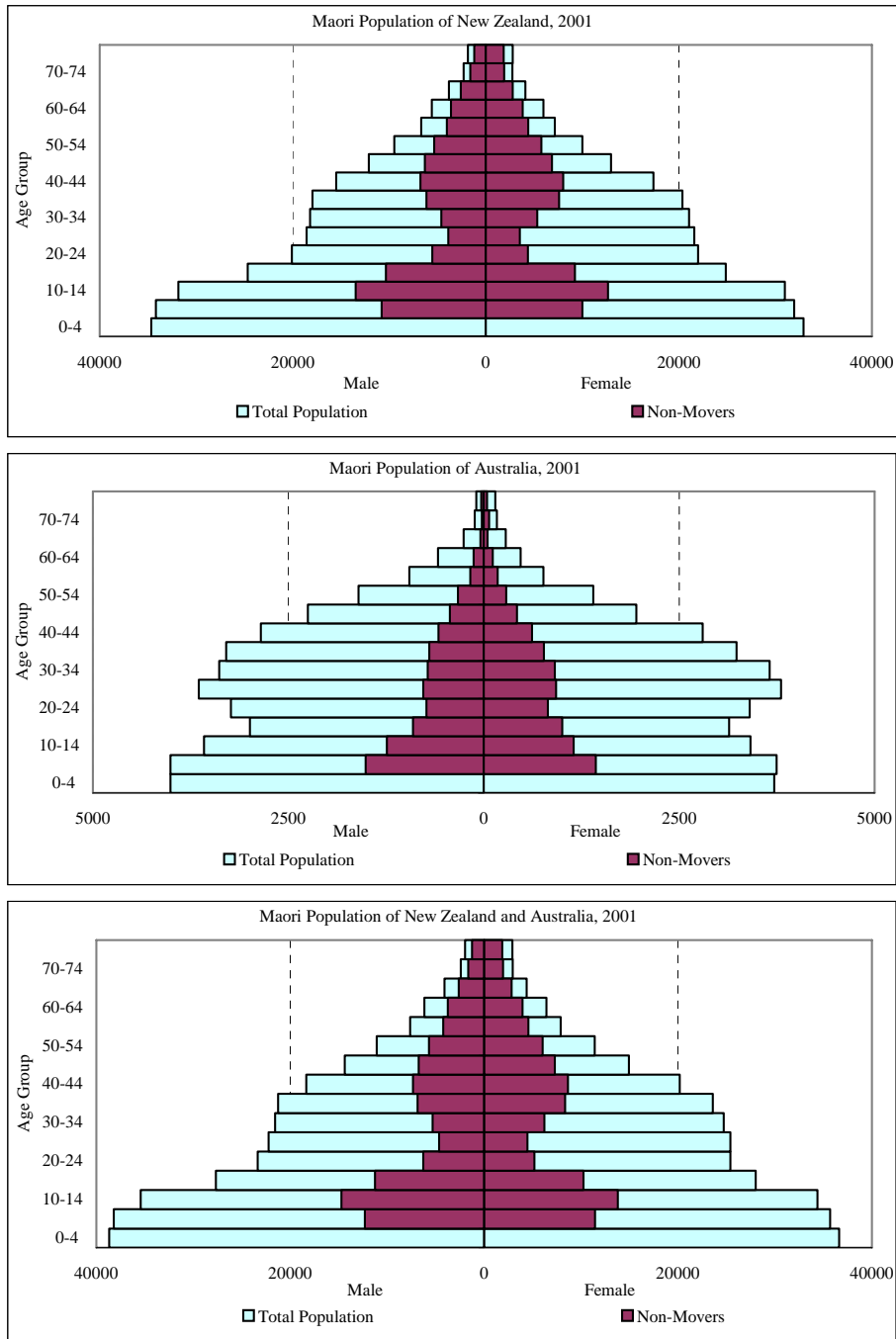


Figure 2: Age-sex structure of “stayers” and total Maori populations in New Zealand and Australia, 2001 (numbers)



The age structures of the two populations reflect the comparative “youthfulness” of the Maori populations in both countries (Figure 1). Over 30 per cent of the Maori in New Zealand and Australia are under 15 years of age (with this share reaching 37 per cent in the case of the New Zealand residents), and both have around 15-16 per cent aged over 45 years. The major differences are in the populations aged 15-44 years: 46 per cent for the New Zealand-resident Maori and 54 per cent for Maori in Australia (Figure 1). The largest variation for a single five year age group is found in the 25-29 year old Maori: 7.6 per cent of the total in New Zealand and 10.2 per cent in Australia.

With regard to population distribution, a higher proportion of Maori in Australia are concentrated into the eight major metropolitan areas (72.6 per cent) than into New Zealand's 15 main urban areas (63.7 per cent). Sydney is the place of residence for 30 per cent of Australia's Maori while Auckland accounts for 22 per cent of those usually resident in New Zealand. The Maori population in Australia is distributed across all of the major metropolitan areas and States, while in New Zealand Maori comprise highly variable shares of the regions and major cities across the country. Maori are less concentrated in the major metropolitan areas than many migrant groups in Australia; their distribution in both countries reflects their willingness to work in a wide range of semi-skilled and labouring jobs in rural as well as urban areas.

Movers and Stayers, 1996-2001

The Maori populations of New Zealand and Australia are highly mobile. Only 38 per cent of the New Zealand-resident Maori aged five years and over were living at the same address in 1996 and 2001, while in Australia the share of “stayers” was only 26 per cent (Table 4). In the case of the total New Zealand resident population in 2001, around 50 per cent were living at the same address in the two censuses.

The shares of the population who moved within the same Regional Council Areas (New Zealand) or State (Australia) are shown in Table 5 as percentages of all Maori (including those not born in 1996). The largest group of movers is the intra-regional migrants, accounting for more than one third of Maori in both countries. Much smaller shares moved between regions/states. The biggest difference in the shares of movers was in the Maori population that was living overseas in 1996. In the case of New

Zealand, only 1.5 per cent of the Maori resident in 2001 were in this category, while in Australia 23 per cent were overseas immigrants. Unfortunately the Australian census data do not permit any analysis by country of residence for those living overseas in 1996; in the case of New Zealand, 5,342 of the Maori classed as overseas immigrants in 2001 had been living in Australia in 1996. The other 34 per cent had been usually resident in other countries in that year. Overseas migration of Maori clearly has more than just a trans-Tasman dimension.

Table 4: The Maori population, 2001: Mover-stayer groups

Regional migration	In NZ	In Australia	Total
Stayers: (same res 96/01)	174,419	17,199	191,618
Movers:			
Intra-State/Region	177,840	25,063	202,903
Inter-State/Region	71,733	3,681	75,414
Total internal migration	249,573	28,744	278,317
Overseas in-migrants	8,105	16,767	24,872
Total movers	257,678	45,511	303,189
Not born	67,561	7,724	75,285
Not otherwise defined	26,623	2,536	29,159
Total	526,281	2,970	599,251
Total pop aged 5 years and over	458,720	65,246	523,966
% stayers of populations 5+	38.0	26.4	6.6

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Another perspective on Maori mobility within Australia and New Zealand is gained from an assessment of the movement into and out of metropolitan areas (Australia's eight major cities) and main urban areas (New Zealand's 15 cities with populations in excess of 30,000). The "metropolitan" classifications are not consistent, but these two categories are at the apex of the urban hierarchy in the two countries. Differences in the spread of movers across the various categories of Metro/MUA and "other" (minor urban and rural) areas are more apparent in this classification than was the case for the region/state classification (Table 6). Maori in Australia have been more involved in intra-metropolitan migration than is the case in New Zealand (intra-MUA migration). Movement between urban areas and to and from rural areas is more apparent in the New Zealand data.

This is hardly surprising given the fact that Maori, while very heavily urbanised, still have significant resources in rural areas. Interestingly, in Australia, the second largest share of internal movers was found in the intra-other category: movement within smaller urban places and rural areas.

Table 5: The Maori population, 2001: Mover/stayer groups (% total)

Regional migration	In New Zealand	In Australia	Total
Stayers: (same res 96/01)	33.1	23.6	32.0
Movers:			
Intra-State/Region	33.8	34.3	33.9
Inter-State/Region	13.6	5.0	12.6
Total internal migration	47.4	39.4	46.5
Overseas in	1.5	23.0	4.0
Total movers	49.0	62.4	50.6
Not born	12.8	10.6	12.6
Not otherwise defined	5.1	3.5	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6: The Maori population, 2001: Mover/stayer groups in metropolitan and main urban areas (% total)

Metropolitan migration	In New Zealand	In Australia	Total
Stayers: (same res 96/01)	33.1	23.6	32.0
Movers:			
Intra-metro/MUA	17.4	21.3	18.4
Inter-metro/MUA	6.9	1.8	6.2
Metro/MUA-other	4.3	2.9	4.0
Other-Metro/MUA	5.0	3.0	4.6
Intra-other	6.6	9.2	7.0
Inter-other	3.0	1.2	2.7
Total internal migration	43.2	39.4	42.9
Overseas in	1.5	23.0	4.0
Total movers	44.7	62.4	46.9
Not born	12.8	10.6	12.6
Not otherwise defined	9.3	3.5	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

There is a lot more that can be done with these data, especially with the characteristics of the different components of the population: the stayers, the

internal movers, the overseas movers. This is not the place for an extended analysis, but the pyramids showing the total numbers of Maori by age and sex in Australia and New Zealand, and the stayer components of these populations, give an indication of the differences between the movers and stayers (Figure 2). As expected, in both countries the movers have higher shares in the younger working population by comparison with the stayers, and lower shares in some of the younger and older age groups.

The other area of analysis that is currently underway, but for which we need further Australian census data, relates to the labour force characteristics of the mover/stayer Maori populations in the two countries. One interesting dimension of this is shown in Table 7. Maori male internal migrants are more heavily involved in the full-time workforce, and are more likely to be employed, in New Zealand than in Australia. In the case of female migrants, the situation with regard to unemployment is different. Both the internal and international Maori female migrants aged 15 years and over in Australia had lower proportions unemployed than was the case in New Zealand (Table 7).

Table 7: Maori labour force participation, 2001: Migrant groups aged 15+

	In NZ		In Australia	
	Internal	Overseas	Internal	Overseas
Males				
Employed Full-time	72.7	75.1	70.8	71.7
Employed Part-time	11.2	11.1	18.0	18.8
Unemployed	16.1	13.8	11.2	9.5
Females				
Employed Full-time	52.4	56.1	49.9	54.3
Employed Part-time	26.6	26.8	37.7	30.7
Unemployed	21.1	17.1	12.4	15.1

Conclusion

New Zealand's Maori population in the twenty-first century will become more "international" in its distribution and, in common with the situation relating to other "small" populations, it will be necessary to examine their characteristics in an international as well as a national context. There are significant challenges to the official statistical agencies in this regard,

especially in ensuring greater consistency in data bases so that trans-national, as well as national populations can be defined and analysed. This project on the Maori populations of New Zealand and Australia is a beginning of such an analysis; hopefully such an analysis will provide some insights into New Zealand's indigenous population in its broader Australasian context.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- 1 New Zealand census data is rounded to base three and Australian data is randomly adjusted to prevent release of confidential information. For this reason, data may vary slightly between tables. For example the Australian tables used for this paper consequently add to 72,970 and we have not adjusted the data to match the total of 72,956 people. These differences are not statistically significant.

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