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Tūhoe on the Move: Regional Mobility

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Abstract

Academic interest in geographic mobility of indigenous peoples has increased in recent years with a corresponding growth in the literature relating to Māori mobility more specifically. With this greater acknowledgement of Māori issues has also come an awareness of the need for iwi-specific research because of the diversity within and between Māori and iwi. The present research contributes to a larger project exploring Tūhoe regional mobility. In this paper, we analyse published data and unpublished census data from 2001 that relate specifically to Tūhoe regional mobility and the relationship between mobility and language. Region of residence in 1996 and 2001 were analysed in relation to age, sex, and broad language groups. Overall, this analysis found important and diverse relationships between age, sex, language, and region of residence in New Zealand among Māori who identify as Tūhoe. For example, patterns of mobility for different age groups and sex had some similarities with other research, such as a higher proportion of "stayers" in older age groups, but differences were also found, such as higher proportions of "movers" among females in some age groups. Interestingly, we found that language between "movers" and "stayers" differed depending on the region of residence. A greater proportion of "movers" were able to converse in Māori in Auckland and the Waikato, but a slightly greater proportion of "stayers" could converse in Māori in the Hawke's Bay and Bay of Plenty. These results suggest that geographic mobility among Māori, and Tūhoe more specifically, are complex and should not be overly-simplified in more aggregate analyses.

Geographic mobility of indigenous peoples has received growing academic interest. In New Zealand, this was highlighted by the April 2005 International Association for Official Statistics (IAOS) Satellite Meeting on Measuring Small and Indigenous Populations held at

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Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington and the publication of a major edited book by Taylor and Bell (2004). There is also a small but growing body of literature relating to Māori migration (eg. Barcham 2004; Bedford & Pool 2004; Nikora, Rua, Te Awekotuku, Guerin & McCaughey, submitted; Nikora, Guerin, Rua & Te Awekotuku 2004; Scott & Kearns 2000). The literature relating to Māori migration and geographic mobility has drawn mostly on data from Statistics New Zealand, particularly census data (eg. Bedford, Didham, Ho & Hugo 2005; Sin & Stillman 2005), but others have used in-depth interview studies to explore mobility among particular iwi and hapu (Nikora *et al.* submitted; Nikora *et al.* 2004; Scott & Kearns 2000). Māori mobility has political, social, economic, and cultural implications (Barcham 2004) which can only be fully understood using a variety of methods and, minimally, consultative interpretation of data with those who are affected.

Bedford, Didham, Ho and Hugo (2005) examined 2001 census data of Māori internal and international migration. Bedford *et al.* (2005) found that of Māori in New Zealand aged five years and older, only 38 per cent had the same residence in 1996 and 2001. In Australia, only 26 per cent of Māori aged five years and older lived in the same place in 1996 and 2001. With roughly 50 per cent of the total New Zealand population living in the same residence, this is "high mobility". Bedford *et al.* (2005) also showed that one-third of the Māori movement was intra-regional and a smaller proportion had moved between regions (New Zealand -- 13.6 per cent) or states (Australia -- 5.0 per cent). Bedford *et al.* (2005) also found that, overall, internal migration of Māori in Australia and New Zealand was within major urban areas.

Sin and Stillman (2005) explored geographic internal mobility of Māori in New Zealand between 1991 and 2001. Based on the assumptions that Māori are less mobile than other ethnic groups due to attachments to geographic locations (Walker 1990) and that less mobility could economically disadvantage Māori, they examined mobility of Māori and Europeans in the same areas. They found that, in this context, Māori were generally more mobile than Europeans and that Māori mobility increased in the late 1990s. However, when they explored mobility in roughly the iwi takiwā (tribal region), they found the opposite to be true: that is, higher mobility of Europeans compared with Māori. They also found that Māori

with higher qualifications were more mobile than similarly qualified Europeans. They suggest, based on these data, that social ties are more important than land ties to explain decreased mobility of Māori in their own iwi regions but that "land-based attachment is also an important impediment to mobility" (Sin & Stillman 2005:3).

In the Bedford, Didham, Ho and Hugo (2005) study, high mobility of Māori was emphasized, but no judgement was made as to whether this mobility was a positive or negative finding. On the other hand, Sin and Stillman (2005) began with an exploration of Māori mobility based on data showing lower mobility of Māori compared with non-Māori and that, for economic reasons, this is problematic. While analysing Māori mobility in general provides us with a better understanding of issues relating to mobility that may impact on Māori, there are differences between iwi that will likely be lost in such general analyses.

Nikora *et al.* (2004) explored, through intensive interviews, the mobility of Tūhoe out of the Bay of Plenty region (which is broadly the iwi takiwā for Tūhoe) to the Waikato region (which is generally the iwi takiwā for Tainui). Overall, Nikora *et al.* (2004) found that most Tūhoe who migrated to the Waikato wanted to eventually return to their "home"; that their Tūhoe identity had increased as a result of migration; and that many developed an appreciation of other Māori iwi and traditions. Nikora *et al.* (submitted) found even more complex relationships concerning mobility when they interviewed Tūhoe still living in the iwi takiwā. Many were keen for the young people to move away for education and employment but clearly believed that they would return.

Both of these studies (Nikora *et al.*, submitted; Nikora *et al.*, 2004) reported a lack of detailed statistics about Tūhoe mobility in New Zealand, which hampered efforts to make full sense of the movements and the reasons for moving. The purpose of the present paper, therefore, is to extend the findings of the Nikora *et al.* (2004 and submitted) studies with an analysis of published and unpublished data available from the 2001 Census specific to Tūhoe (Statistics New Zealand). We first present some general data for Tūhoe such as areas of residence in New Zealand and age and sex distribution. We then present data relating to Tūhoe "movers" and "stayers" and provide an initial analysis of related characteristics such as language,

sex and age. One aspect that has not been explored previously is if and how language might interact with regional mobility.

Method

We first sourced previously published data relevant specifically to Tūhoe and provide a brief summary. We then obtained unpublished data tables from the 2001 Census from Statistics New Zealand that included usual residence in 2001 for New Zealand residents who identified as Tūhoe and usual residence "five years ago" (based on 2001 area definitions). "Movers" and "stayers" were defined regionally and therefore are reflective of mobility between regions and do not reflect intra-region or international mobility. "Movers" were identified as those people who lived in a different region "five years ago" compared to 2001 and "stayers" were those who lived in the same region in 2001 and "five years ago". Within these data we also obtained sex (male, female and total), age (in broad age groups: 0-4, 5-14, 15-24, 25-44, 45-64, and 65+), and language information. For clarity, we only present language information in terms of English Only and Māori + (which includes those who could speak Māori only, Māori and English, Māori and Other (not English) and Māori, English and Other). This question in the census form asks "In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?" All data were rounded to base three in Census data and therefore do not necessarily add up between and across cells.

Results and Discussion

Some Demographics of Tūhoe

Statistics New Zealand (2002a, b) showed that there were 25,917 Tūhoe in 1996 and 29,259 in 2001; a 13 per cent increase compared with an average increase of 4 per cent for all Māori. This is a large increase whether it is due to actual increase in numbers or propensity to report affiliation with Tūhoe. Overall, Tūhoe were reported to have the youngest population out of the ten largest iwi with 42 per cent under the age of 15 compared with 37 per cent under the age of 15 for all Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2002a). Tūhoe were also more likely than other iwi to indicate that they belonged to the Māori ethnic group (95 per cent) as opposed to the Non-Māori ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand 2002a). Of the ten largest iwi, Tūhoe also had the

largest proportion who could converse in Māori (42 per cent) compared with only 21 per cent of all Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2002a).

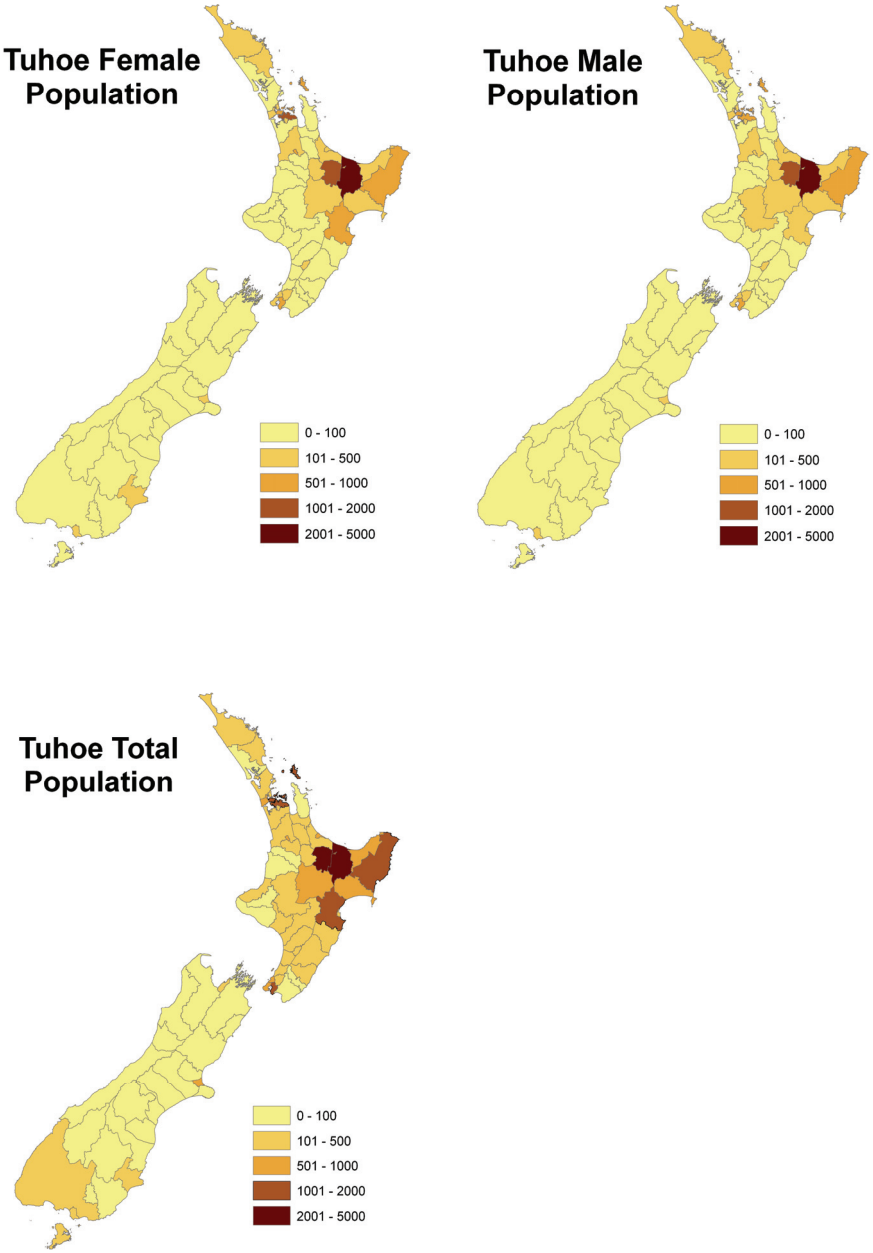
Economically, Tūhoe had the lowest median total personal income ($13,600 compared with $15,600 for all Māori) and were the least likely to own or partly own their home (27 per cent compared with 35 per cent for all Māori) among the ten largest iwi (Statistics New Zealand 2002a). Compared with other iwi in the ten largest iwi and the Māori total, Tūhoe were also the least likely to have household access to a telephone (84 per cent compared with 90 per cent of all Māori), the Internet (20 per cent compared with 29 per cent of all Māori), and to a fax machine (12 per cent compared with 18 per cent of all Māori). A larger proportion of Tūhoe did not have access to a motor vehicle (17 per cent compared with 12 per cent of all Māori) (Statistics New Zealand 2002a, b).

Statistics New Zealand (2002a, b) also found a slight increase in 2001 (81 per cent) in the proportion of Tūhoe living outside the iwi takiwā (tribal region) compared with 1996 (79 per cent). Statistics New Zealand (2003) also reported that the majority of Tūhoe (81 per cent) lived in urban areas (ie. towns or cities with 1,000 or more people) and that living in urban areas was age-related, with more than 80 per cent of those younger than 34 living in urban areas while only 69 per cent of people 65 years or older were living in urban areas.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of males, females and total Tūhoe living in New Zealand in 2001 by territorial authority (see Appendix 1 for full data table of these statistics). This figure clearly illustrates the concentration of Tūhoe in the Tūhoe takiwā and surrounding areas (Rotorua and Whakatane districts).

Table 1 shows the number of males, females, and total living in various regions in 2001 and "five years ago". The percentage of the total living in each of these regions is presented in brackets. The "five year ago" percentages exclude those who were not born "five years ago". The distribution of Tūhoe throughout New Zealand only changed slightly from "five years ago" to 2001, with a slightly greater proportion of Tūhoe living in Auckland and the Waikato in 2001 compared with "five years ago". Approximately 15 per cent of those in 2001 were not born "five years ago", which did not differ between regions. Overall, Table 1 shows that the highest proportions (35 per cent) of Tūhoe lived in the Bay of Plenty,

Figure 1: Tūhoe Female, Male and Total population distribution in New Zealand by territorial authority (2001 Census)



followed by Auckland, the "Rest of the North Island", Wellington and the Waikato. Only one per cent of Tūhoe indicated being overseas "five years ago". The vast majority of Tūhoe lived in the North Island, with only six per cent living in the South Island "five years ago" and seven per cent in 2001.

Table 1: Number (proportion) of Tūhoe living in selected regions "five years ago" and in 2001, in the 2001 Census

	"five years ago"			2001		
Region	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)*	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (% of total)
Auckland	1836 (15)	2100 (15)	3939 (15)	2412 (16)	2775 (17)	5187 (17)
Waikato	1032 (8)	1176 (9)	2208 (8)	1431 (10)	1527 (10)	2961 (10)
Bay of Plenty	4203 (34)	4656 (34)	8859 (34)	5220 (36)	5583 (35)	10803 (35)
Hawke's Bay	897 (7)	1032 (7)	1929 (7)	1041 (7)	1221 (8)	2262 (7)
Wellington	1272 (10)	1452 (11)	2724 (10)	1629 (11)	1692 (11)	3321 (11)
Rest of North Island	1401 (11)	1731 (13)	3135 (12)	1839 (13)	2139 (13)	3978 (13)
Total North Island	10644 (86)	12144 (88)	22791 (87)	13575 (93)	14934 (93)	28509 (93)
South Island	816 (7)	864 (6)	1680 (6)	1068 (7)	1077 (7)	2148 (7)
Overseas	150 (1)	153 (1)	300 (1)			
NEI	771 (6)	648 (5)	1416 (5)			
Not born five years ago				2268	2208	4479
Total	12378	13812	26187	14646	16020	30666

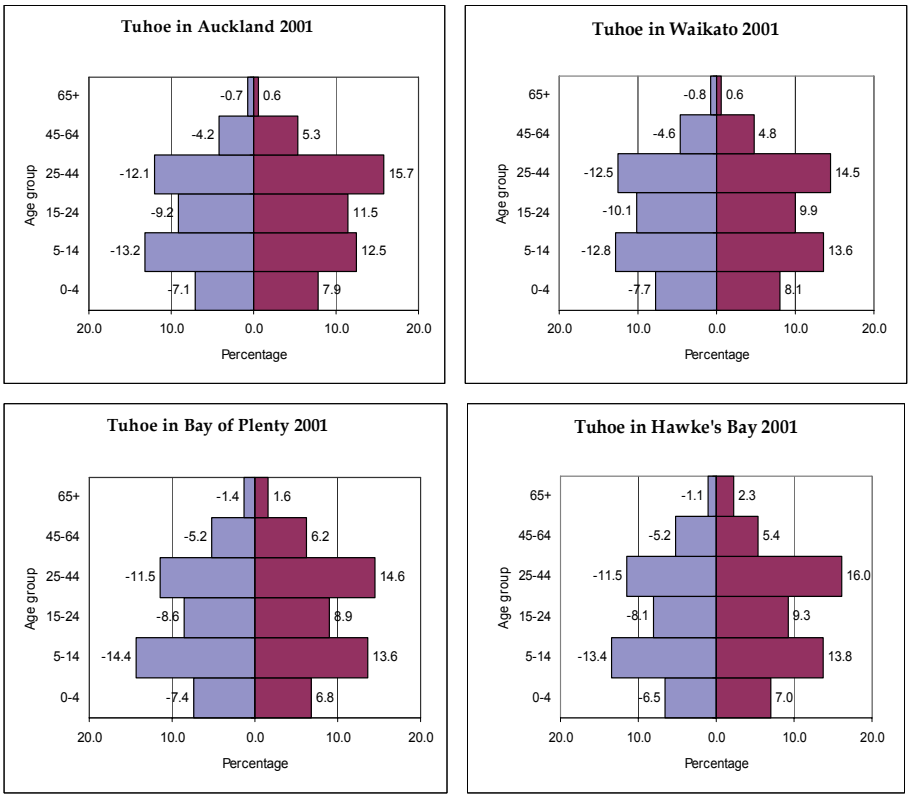
Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data.

Notes: The per cent of total "five years ago" excludes those who were not born five years ago. Note that the totals in these tables include everyone who indicated belonging to the Tūhoe iwi in the 2001 census (including both Māori and no- Māori descent and Not Elsewhere Indicated). This explains the differences in total counts of Tūhoe in the data presented in this report and the numbers presented in published tables by Statistics New Zealand.

Figure 2 illustrates the age and sex distribution of Tūhoe in selected regions in New Zealand in 2001, broken into broad age groups. These data show that the highest proportion of 15-24 year old males was in the Waikato and females were in Auckland, while the lowest proportions of males were in the rest of the North Island and Hawke's Bay and females in the Bay of Plenty. Hawke's Bay had the highest proportion of females in the 25-44 age group and the South Island had the highest proportion of males. The lowest

proportions in the 25-44 age group for males were in the Bay of Plenty and Hawke's Bay and for females, in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty. The highest proportions of males and females aged over 45 lived in Bay of Plenty and Hawke's Bay. These data support concerns by Nikora, *et al.* (submitted) about the lower proportions of youth and higher proportions of elderly in the Tūhoe takiwā and the social consequences that can result from this pattern. There were, however, very little regional differences in the younger age groups (0-4 and 5-14).

Figure 2: Age-sex pyramids for Tūhoe living in selected regions in New Zealand in 2001. Proportions of males are depicted on the left and females on the right



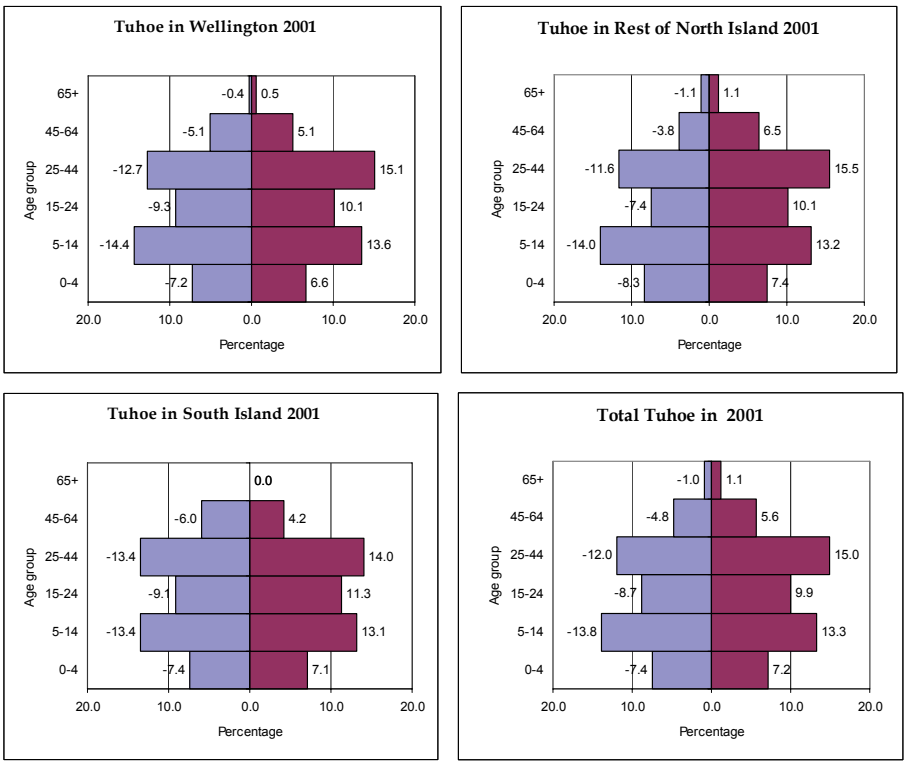


Table 2 shows the numbers (top section) and percentages (bottom section) of Tūhoe "stayers" and "movers" who were living in various regions in 2001 and their usual residence "five years ago". For example, we see that 82 per cent of Tūhoe living in the Bay of Plenty in 2001 also lived in the Bay of Plenty "five years ago" (ie. "stayers", in bold type and underlined) and that 12 per cent of Tūhoe who lived in the Waikato in 2001 lived in the Bay of Plenty "five years ago" (ie. "movers"). The Hawke's Bay and Wellington regions also had high proportions of "stayers" (78 per cent and 79 per cent, respectively). The Waikato region, however, had the highest mobility with only 68 per cent living there in 2001 compared with "five years ago". Of Tūhoe living in the Auckland and Waikato regions in 2001, 10 per cent and 12 per cent (respectively) came from the Bay of Plenty. Of Tūhoe living in Hawke's Bay in 2001, five per cent had lived in the Bay of Plenty "five years ago" and four per cent lived elsewhere in the north island. Crothers (2002) also reported a high proportion (85 per cent) of "stayers" in the Auckland region for all Māori from 1991-1996 and similar patterns of exchange between Auckland, Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions.

Table 2: Number and Percentages of Tūhoe "Stayers" (in bold type and underlined) and "Movers" aged five years and over in selected regions in New Zealand

	2001 Residence						
	Auckland	Waikato	Bay of Plenty	Hawke's Bay	Wellington	Rest of NI	South Island
Residence "five years ago"	Actual Number						
Auckland	**3219**	96	285	42	60	192	42
Waikato	126	**1689**	198	27	39	93	36
Bay of Plenty	447	303	**7575**	105	123	225	78
Hawke's Bay	51	45	108	**1515**	69	111	33
Wellington	57	45	186	39	**2253**	05	39
Rest of NI	183	111	228	87	93	**3093**	69
South Island	36	39	81	18	66	42	**1404**
Other*	297	165	612	123	159	216	138
Total	4416	2493	9273	1956	2862	4077	1839
	Percentages						
Auckland	**73**	4	3	2	2	6	2
Waikato	3	**68**	2	1	1	3	2
Bay of Plenty	10	12	**82**	5	4	7	4
Hawke's Bay	1	2	1	**78**	2	3	2
Wellington	1	2	2	2	**79**	3	2
Rest of NI	4	4	2	4	3	**71**	4
South Island	1	2	1	1	2	1	**76**
Other*	7	6	7	7	7	6	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data.
*Overseas and Not Elsewhere Indicated

Table 3 depicts the inter-regional net gains and losses of Tūhoe, showing that, overall, inter-regionally, Auckland had the greatest net gain of 183 Tūhoe and that the Bay of Plenty had the greatest overall loss (195) due to inter-regional mobility. Table 3 shows that the Bay of Plenty lost 162 Tūhoe to Auckland and 105 to the Waikato from 1996 to 2001, but gained 72 in total from Hawke's Bay, Wellington, the Rest of the North Island and from the South Island. Auckland"s greatest gains were from the Bay of Plenty and the Waikato. Overall, Auckland and the Bay of Plenty had the greatest gains (183 and 120, respectively) and the Bay of Plenty and the Hawke's Bay had the greatest losses (195 and 99, respectively). This contrasts with 1991-1996 data for all Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri 2001) in which the Bay of Plenty had the highest net gain of Māori (1011 people) with the

highest net gains from the Waikato and Wellington and the greatest net loss to Auckland, but of only 57 people. This either suggests that the overall pattern changed from 1996 to 2001, or that the mobility patterns of Tūhoe are different compared with Māori more generally.

Table 3: Inter-Regional Net Gain/Loss of Tūhoe aged five years and over in selected regions in New Zealand

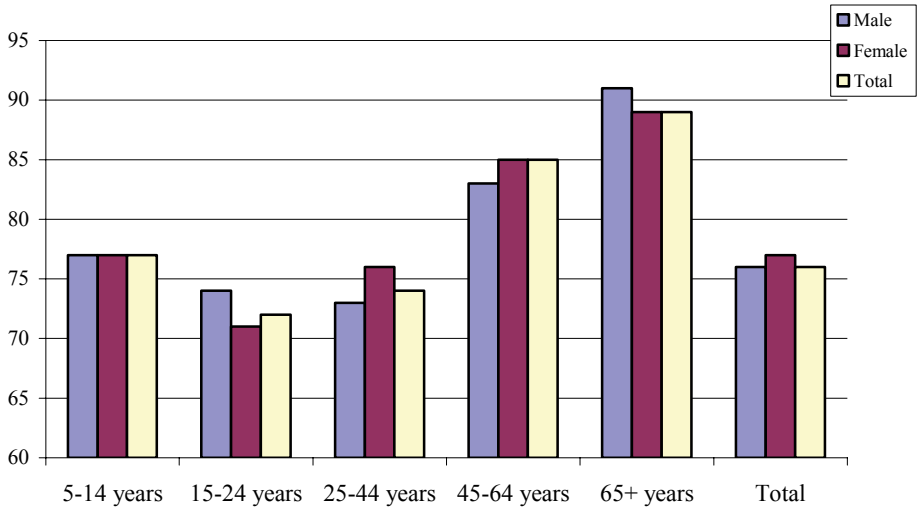
	Inter-Regional Net Gain/Loss							
	2001 Residence							
Residence "five years ago"	Auckland	Waikato	Bay of Plenty	Hawke's Bay	Wellington	Rest of NI	South Island	5yr ago Total
Auckland	0	-30	-162	-9	+3	+9	+6	3936
Waikato	+30	0	-105	+18	-6	-18	+3	2208
Bay of Plenty	+162	+105	0	-3	-63	-3	-3	8856
Hawke's Bay	+9	-18	+3	0	+30	+24	+15	1932
Wellington	-3	+6	+63	-30	0	+12	-27	2724
Rest of NI	-9	+18	+3	-24	-12	0	+27	3864
South Island	-6	-3	+3	-15	+27	-27	0	1686
Inter-regional Gain/Loss	+183	+78	-195	-63	-21	-3	+21	
2001 Total**	**4119**	**2328**	**8661**	**1833**	**2703**	**3861**	**1701**	**25206**
Total Gain/ Loss from 1996-2001	+183	+120	-195	-99	-21	-3	+15	

** Does not include Overseas and Not Elsewhere Indicated

Figure 3 illustrates the proportion of "stayers" by age and sex. The figure shows that, overall, a higher proportion of females were "stayers" compared to males, but that this pattern differed depending on the age group. Specifically, a higher proportion of females were "stayers", particularly in the 25-44 and 45-64 age groups, and there were no sex differences in the 5-14 age group. Interestingly, although other research found that young males are more mobile (and not "stayers") compared to females, these data show that for two age groups, 15-24 and 65+, a higher proportion of *males* were "stayers" compared with females. This finding may reflect mobility due to educational and employment differences shown in other data for Tūhoe (Statistics New Zealand 2003). Specifically, Tūhoe women were found to be more likely than Tūhoe males to have a formal educational qualification (61 per cent compared with 53 per cent) and a post-school qualification (24 per cent compared with 21 per cent). Other contributing factors may be the higher proportions of part-time or unemployed Tūhoe women, which would

enable greater mobility, and the occupational differences between Tūhoe women and men (Statistics New Zealand 2003). For example, while Tūhoe men within the iwi takiwā were mostly agriculture and fishery workers (26 per cent) and plant and machine operators and assemblers (24 per cent), outside the iwi takiwā they were plant and machine operators and assemblers (23 per cent) and lower proportions across a range of occupations. Interestingly, for both men and women, a higher proportion of professionals were employed inside the iwi takiwā than outside (20 per cent of women professionals were employed inside the iwi takiwā and 15 per cent outside and for men, 10 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively). The higher proportion of Tūhoe women employed in jobs such as service and sales workers, clerks and professionals may also contribute to higher mobility in the 15-24 age group and decreased mobility in the 25-64 age groups.

Figure 3: Proportion of "stayers" by age and sex



Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data

Table 4 shows the number and proportion of Tūhoe "stayers" in the selected regions (Auckland, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, Hawke's Bay, Wellington, Rest of the North Island and the South Island) by broad age groups (5-14, 15-24, 25-44, 45-64, and 65+) and sex. Overall, a slightly higher proportion of females were "stayers" than males in each of the regions, and that, regionally, the Bay of Plenty had the highest proportion of "stayers" (82 per cent) and the Waikato had the lowest (68 per cent). The highest proportions

of "stayers" were among 65+ year old males in the Hawke's Bay (100 per cent) and in the total for the South Island (100 per cent). The lowest proportion of "stayers" was among females (58 per cent) and males (63 per cent) aged 15-24 in the Waikato. This pattern is consistent with qualitative data indicating movement away from the iwi takiwā to the Waikato and Auckland for education and employment opportunities in this age group (Nikora *et al.* 2004; submitted) and as indicated above.

Table 4: The number of "Stayers" (proportion) in selected regions by age group and sex

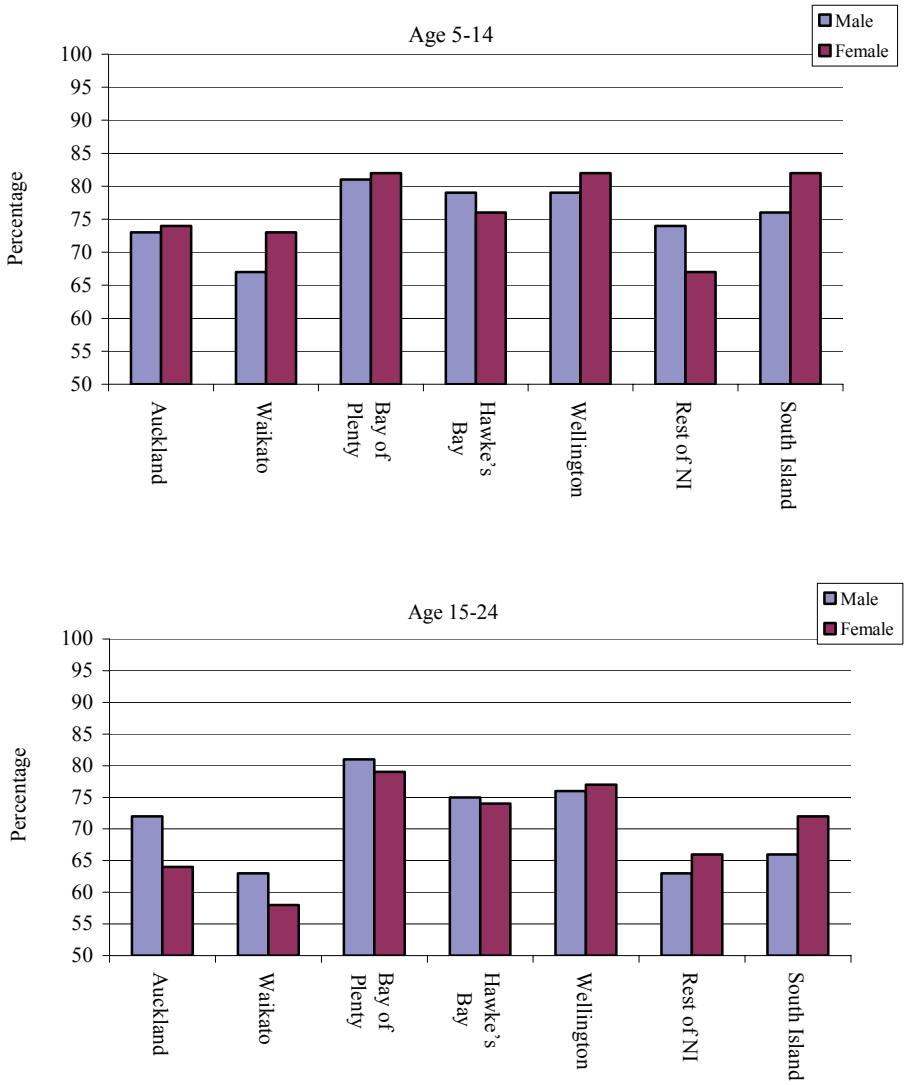
Age	Auckland	Waikato	Bay of Plenty	Hawke's Bay	Wellington	Rest of NI	South Island	Total
5-14	987 (74)	549 (70)	2457 (81)	477 (77)	747 (81)	765 (71)	453 (79)	6435 (77)
Male	504 (73)	252 (67)	1257 (81)	240 (79)	378 (79)	411 (74)	219 (76)	3216 (77)
Female	480 (74)	294 (73)	1200 (82)	237 (76)	369 (82)	354 (67)	231 (82)	3165 (77)
15-24	726 (68)	357 (60)	1512 (80)	294 (74)	492 (76)	453 (65)	303 (70)	4137 (72)
Male	345 (72)	189 (63)	750 (81)	138 (75)	234 (76)	186 (63)	129 (66)	1971 (74)
Female	381 (64)	171 (58)	762 (79)	156 (74)	258 (77)	267 (66)	174 (72)	2169 (71)
25-44	1038 (72)	534 (67)	2241 (80)	471 (75)	702 (76)	741 (69)	426 (72)	6153 (74)
Male	444 (71)	240 (65)	975 (79)	192 (74)	315 (74)	300 (65)	201 (70)	2667 (73)
Female	597 (73)	294 (69)	1266 (81)	276 (76)	387 (77)	441 (71)	225 (75)	3486 (76)
45-64	414 (84)	213 (78)	1074 (87)	207 (85)	288 (86)	321 (78)	201 (91)	2718 (85)
Male	174 (79)	96 (71)	480 (86)	96 (82)	141 (84)	120 (78)	120 (93)	1227 (83)
Female	237 (86)	114 (81)	591 (88)	108 (88)	144 (86)	198 (77)	81 (90)	1473 (85)
65+	54 (82)	36 (86)	291 (91)	69 (92)	27 (90)	81 (93)	21 (100)	579 (89)
Male	30 (83)	--	138 (94)	24 (100)	--	--	--	270 (91)
Female	27 (82)	--	153 (88)	45 (88)	--	--	--	312 (89)
Total	3219 (73)	1689 (68)	7575 (82)	1515 (78)	2253 (79)	2367 (71)	1404 (76)	20022 (65)
Male	1497 (73)	798 (66)	3600 (81)	690 (77)	1077 (78)	1059 (70)	684 (75)	9405 (64)
Female	1722 (73)	891 (69)	3975 (82)	822 (77)	1176 (80)	1305 (71)	720 (79)	10611 (66)

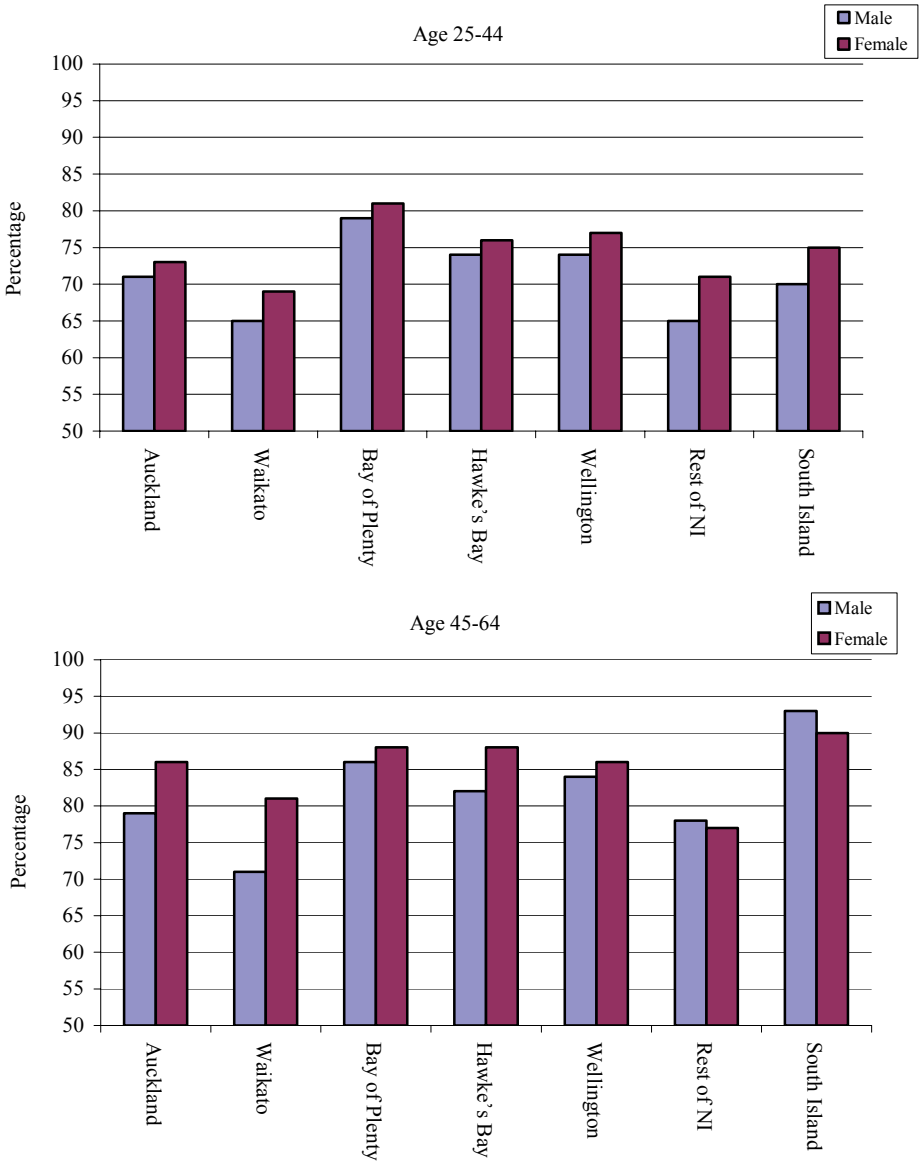
Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data.
-- Numbers too small to calculate
Note: Due to base-3 rounding, data do not necessarily add up between and across cells

Figure 4 illustrates graphically data from Table 4 and shows the general trend of a higher proportion of female "stayers" compared to males, but also illustrates the important deviations with that trend when age and region are considered. For example, in the 5-14 age group, more males than females were "stayers" in the "Rest of the North Island" and in the Hawke's Bay. In

the 15-24 age group, more males than females were "stayers" in Auckland, Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Hawke's Bay and females were "stayers" in the Wellington, Rest of North Island and South Island regions. In the 25-44 age group, a higher proportion of females were "stayers in all regions. Interestingly, in the 45-64 age group, a higher proportion of females were "stayers" in all regions except the "Rest of NI" and the South Island.

Figure 4: The proportion of "Stayers" in selected regions by age group and sex





Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data.

Language

Tūhoe have the highest proportion of te reo Māori speakers in New Zealand with 42 per cent reporting in the 2001 Census that they were able to have an everyday conversation in Māori compared with only 22 per cent of all Māori in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2003). The proportion of

Māori speakers was higher within the iwi takiwā (55 per cent) than outside (39 per cent) and was higher among older Tūhoe than younger (Statistics New Zealand, 2003). Te Puni Kōkiri reported on the health of the Māori language in eight regions of New Zealand (2002) and we extracted from those reports data relevant to Tūhoe (see Table 5). Overall, the Te Puni Kōkiri report showed that 11,718, or 40 per cent, of Tūhoe could speak te reo Māori. We also looked at the number of te reo Māori speakers and the Māori language rate in Tainui (which includes part or all of the Thames-Coromandel, Hauraki, Waikato, Matamata-Piako, Hamilton City, Waipa, South Waikato, Otorohanga, Rotorua, Waitomo and Taupō districts), Tāmaki-Makau-Rau (Auckland region), Te Tairāwhiti (Gisborne and Hawke's Bay regions), and Waiariki (Tauranga, Ōpōtiki, Western Bay of Plenty, Kawerau, Rotorua, Taupō, & Whakatāne). Table 5 shows that the Māori language rate was the highest in Waiariki, which is the Māori region that most closely corresponds to the Tūhoe takiwā.

Table 5: The number of Tūhoe te reo Māori speakers and the Māori language rate for selected Māori regions

Region	Number of Tūhoe te reo Māori speakers	Māori language rate for Tūhoe
Tainui	1068	37
Tāmaki-Makau-Rau	1700	33
Te Tairāwhiti	1494	41
Waiariki	4686	46

Source: Te Puni Kōkiri 2003

Table 6 depicts "stayers" and "movers" by language, age and sex. Table 6 shows that males in the 45-64 and 65+ age groups had the highest proportions who could speak Māori +. The lowest proportions speaking "English only" were males and females in the 65+ age group. While slightly higher proportions of females indicated speaking Māori in the younger age groups, generally, slightly more males could speak Māori in the older age groups. Table 6 also shows that in the 15-24, 25-44 and 45-64 age groups, a higher proportion of "movers" could speak Māori compared with "stayers". Interestingly, although slightly higher proportions of males could converse in Māori in the 15-24 and 25-44 age groups, a much higher proportion of

females (70 per cent) could converse in Māori in the 45-64 age group amongst "movers" compared with males (57 per cent). Amongst "stayers", a higher proportion of females could converse in Māori in the younger age groups (5-14 and 15-24), but more males could converse in Māori in the older age groups (25-44, 45-64, and 65+). Overall, the proportion of those who could converse in "English only" decreased with age with much diversity between males and females, "movers" and "stayers" and age. (Note: data for the 65+ age group is not shown in the "movers" due to insufficient numbers in that group).

Table 6: The number of "Stayers" (proportion) and "Movers" (proportion) by age group and sex who could speak Māori and other languages (Māori +) or English Only

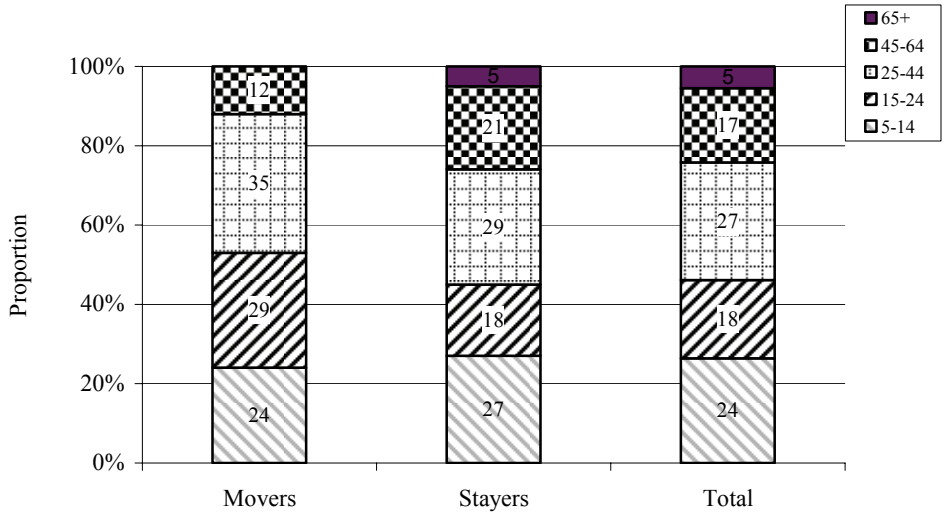
	"Movers"			"Stayers"			Total		
Age	Māori + (%)	English Only (%)	Total	Māori + (%)	English Only (%)	Total	Māori + (%)	English Only (%)	Total
5-14	**486 (34)**	**900 (63)**	1428	**2274 (35)**	**4038 (63)**	6435	**2958 (35)**	**5199 (62)**	8334
Male	231 (32)	480 (67)	720	1134 (35)	2079 (64)	3261	1479 (35)	2685 (63)	4245
Female	246 (35)	453 (64)	705	1149 (36)	1959 (62)	3165	1479 (36)	2517 (62)	4086
15-24	**597 (46)**	**681 (52)**	1305	**1563 (38)**	**2502 (60)**	4137	**2271 (40)**	**3345 (58)**	5727
Male	270 (48)	282 (51)	558	684 (35)	1248 (63)	1971	1014 (38)	1611 (60)	2679
Female	342 (46)	390 (53)	738	885 (41)	1251 (58)	2169	1257 (41)	1734 (57)	3048
25-44	**720 (44)**	**900 (55)**	1629	**2451 (40)**	**3612 (59)**	6153	**3369 (41)**	**4764 (58)**	8271
Male	327 (45)	408 (56)	723	1089 (41)	1518 (57)	2667	1548 (42)	2064 (56)	3672
Female	381 (43)	510 (57)	891	1356 (39)	2088 (60)	3486	1818 (40)	2700 (59)	4599
45-64	**252 (71)**	**114 (32)**	357	**1749 (64)**	**921 (34)**	2718	**2079 (65)**	**1080 (34)**	3210
Male	114 (57)	75 (37)	201	819 (67)	378 (31)	1227	993 (67)	465 (31)	1485
Female	132 (70)	60 (32)	189	921 (63)	540 (37)	1473	1083 (63)	615 (36)	1728
65+	--	--	--	**462 (80)**	**108 (19)**	579	**519 (80)**	**117 (18)**	648
Male	--	--	--	231 (86)	42 (16)	270	243 (82)	48 (16)	297
Female	--	--	--	249 (80)	57 (18)	312	273 (78)	66 (19)	351
Total	2061 (43)	2610 (55)	4761	8505 (42)	11175 (56)	20022	12366 (40)	16644 (54)	30666
Male	957 (43)	1206 (54)	2214	3966 (42)	5277 (56)	9405	5868 (40)	7938 (54)	14646
Female	1086 (43)	1383 (54)	2544	4539 (43)	5898 (56)	10611	6495 (40)	8706 (54)	16020

Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data. -- Numbers too small to calculate.

Note: Due to base-3 rounding, data do not necessarily add up between and across cells. Per cent in this table is the proportion from the total for that group. "Other" and "Not Elsewhere Indicated" were not included in the table because the numbers were too small, but they are included in the total. Māori + includes those who could speak Māori only, Māori and English, Māori and Other (not English) and Māori , English and Other.

While Table 6 shows the proportions who could speak Māori or English-only, Figure 5 illustrates the proportion of each age group out of the total number of Māori speakers for "movers", "stayers" and the total. This figure clearly shows the age differences in ability to converse in Māori among "movers" and "stayers". Specifically, a higher proportion older people could speak Māori among "stayers" (55 per cent older than 25 years) while a higher proportion of younger people could speak Māori among "movers" (53 per cent of those 24 years old or younger).

Figure 5: The shares of "Māori +" speakers among "Stayers" and "Movers" and Total in broad age groups



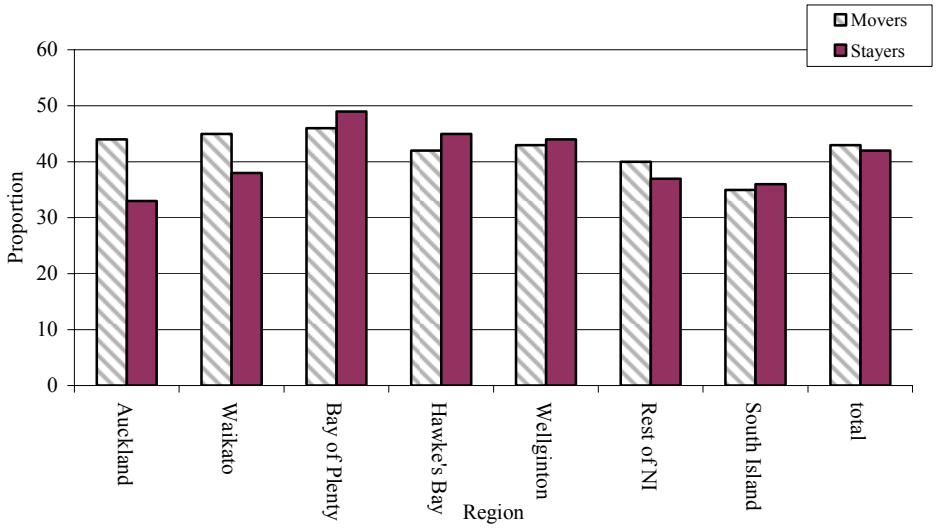
Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data

Table 7 presents languages, sex and region for "movers", "stayers" and total. Table 7 shows that the highest proportion speaking Māori + were those who lived in the Bay of Plenty in 2001, followed by those who lived in Hawke's Bay and Wellington in 2001. The lowest proportions speaking Māori were those living in the Auckland Region in 2001 and females living in the South Island. Table 7 shows that the highest proportion of males who could converse in Māori were living in the Hawke's Bay, while the highest proportion of females who could converse in Māori were living in the Bay of Plenty. Overall, the lowest proportion of those speaking Māori were living

in the South Island or Auckland, but even with this, one third reported speaking Māori contrasted with 22 per cent of all Māori who could have a conversation in Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2002a).

Although the totals in Table 7 suggest no differences between language and "movers" and "stayers", regionally we see that a higher proportion of "movers" who were living in Auckland and Waikato in 2001 could speak Māori while a higher proportion of "stayers" in the Bay of Plenty indicated speaking Māori. This is further illustrated in Figure 6. Table 7 also shows that among males living in the Hawke's Bay in 2001, a higher proportion of "movers" indicated speaking Māori compared with "stayers" and compared with females. These figures are consistent with Te Puni Kōkiri (2003) findings that in the Waiariki there are multiple options for Māori to access te reo, through radio, television, and te reo courses for all age groups.

Figure 6: The proportion of "Stayers" and "Movers" speaking "Māori +"in selected regions.



Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data

Table 7: The number of "Stayers" (proportion), "Movers" (proportion) and Total by region and sex who could speak Māori and other languages (Māori +) or English only

	"Movers"			"Stayers"			Total		
Region	Māori + (%)	English Only (%)	Total	Māori + %)	English Only (%)	Total	Māori + (%)	English Only (%)	Total
Auckland	**426 (44)**	**531 (54)**	975	**1065 (33)**	**2085 (65)**	3219	1722 (33)	3138 (60)	5187
Male	186 (42)	249 (56)	441	501 (33)	963 (64)	1497	801 (33)	1464 (61)	2412
Female	240 (45)	285 (53)	534	564 (33)	1119 (65)	1722	924 (33)	1680 (60)	2775
Waikato	**303 (45)**	**354 (53)**	672	**642 (38)**	**1017 (60)**	1689	1095 (37)	1686 (57)	2961
Male	162 (50)	153 (47)	327	303 (38)	477 (60)	798	546 (38)	804 (56)	1431
Female	144 (42)	186 (55)	339	336 (38)	540 (61)	891	552 (36)	885 (58)	1527
Bay of Plenty	**552 (46)**	**612 (51)**	1194	**3726 (49)**	**3747 (49)**	7575	5025 (47)	5241 (49)	10803
Male	234 (42)	297 (54)	555	1737 (48)	1812 (50)	3600	2400 (46)	2544 (49)	5220
Female	300 (47)	312 (49)	642	1992 (50)	1935 (49)	3975	2634 (47)	2700 (48)	5583
Hawke's Bay	**141 (42)**	**189 (57)**	333	**687 (45)**	**807 (53)**	1515	969 (43)	1194 (53)	2262
Male	75 (42)	72 (50)	144	300 (43)	381 (55)	690	438 (42)	552 (53)	1041
Female	72 (37)	111 (57)	195	384 (47)	429 (52)	822	525 (43)	642 (53)	1221
Wellington	**210 (43)**	**267 (55)**	483	**1002 (44)**	**1215 (54)**	2253	1407 (42)	1743 (52)	3321
Male	99 (43)	126 (55)	228	471 (44)	588 (55)	1077	678 (43)	861 (53)	1629
Female	108 (43)	141 (56)	252	531 (55)	627 (53)	1176	729 (43)	882 (52)	1692
Rest of NI	**318 (40)**	**465 (59)**	786	**882 (37)**	**1434 (61)**	2367	1407 (35)	2361 (59)	3978
Male	132 (37)	213 (60)	357	390 (37)	651 (61)	1059	627 (34)	1098 (60)	1839
Female	171 (40)	249 (58)	429	492 (38)	783 (60)	1305	780 (36)	1266 (59)	2139
South Island	**111 (35)**	**192 (60)**	318	**501 (36)**	**870 (62)**	1404	729 (34)	1272 (59)	2148
Male	69 (43)	96 (59)	162	264 (39)	405 (59)	684	378 (35)	612 (57)	1068
Female	51 (33)	99 (65)	153	240 (59)	465 (65)	720	348 (32)	660 (61)	1077
Total	2061 (43)	2610 (55)	4761	8505 (42)	11175 (56)	20022	12366 (40)	16644 (54)	30666
Male	957 (43)	1206 (54)	2214	3966 (42)	5277 (56)	9405	5868 (40)	7938 (54)	14646
Female	1086 (43)	1383 (54)	2544	4539 (43)	5898 (56)	10611	6495 (40)	8706 (54)	16020

Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data.

Note: Due to base-3 rounding, data do not necessarily add up between and across cells. per cent in this table is the proportion from the total for that group. "Other" is not included in the table because the numbers were too small, but they are included in the total. Māori + includes those who could speak Māori only, Māori and English, Māori and Other (not English) and Māori, English and Other.

Conclusion

In summary, the present data showed strong growth in population for Tūhoe with a large young population and that Tūhoe were more likely to say they belonged to an iwi compared with other Māori in New Zealand. However, Tūhoe commanded fewer resources in terms of households and economics. As had been reported in qualitative research, there were fewer young people and more older people in the iwi takiwā, with young people living in urban centres: males in Waikato, females in Auckland.

In terms of mobility, the Hawke's Bay, Bay of Plenty and Wellington regions had the highest proportions of "stayers" and the Waikato, "movers". Auckland had the greatest net gain and the Bay of Plenty had the greatest overall loss due to inter-regional mobility. Overall, more females were "stayers", as earlier research showed, but within age groups and regions there was much variation to this pattern. For example, in the 5-14 age group, more males than females were "stayers" in the "Rest of the North Island", and females were more mobile in the Auckland, Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Hawke's Bay regions.

Analysis of language revealed some interesting patterns, with a higher proportion of "movers" being able to converse in Māori in Auckland and the Waikato, but a higher proportion of "stayers" conversing in Māori in the Bay of Plenty and the Hawke's Bay. Overall, there were fewer "English only" speakers in the older age groups but there was a lot of variation when the details were explored. For example, a slightly higher proportion of males could converse in Māori in the 15-24 and 25-44 age groups, but a much higher proportion of females (70 per cent) could converse in Māori in the 45-64 age group amongst "movers" compared with males (57 per cent).

Overall, although there were some consistencies between the data presented in this report and data in previous reports, there were also important differences found in the present analysis of Census data as they relate to Tūhoe. For example, some sources had previously indicated highest mobility among young males of ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2002c). The current analysis found the highest mobility was among females in the 15-24 age group. Females were also more mobile compared with males in some particular regions (particularly Auckland and Waikato). This suggests that it is worthwhile to examine data in more detail and in reference to particular iwi and regions in New Zealand.

The present data are consistent with qualitative studies showing that there are more complexities to mobility than what might be gleaned from aggregate analyses. Without qualitative studies as a comparison, we might predict patterns of mobility relating to language with either greater mobility associated with greater language ability (as this might be linked to qualifications or ability to adapt more readily to different situations), or, we could predict that language diversity could inhibit mobility, with ability to converse in Māori a reason to stay in areas with others who can speak Māori. The data presented here are consistent with qualitative studies that showed that most Tūhoe settled with other Tūhoe in most instances after moving suggesting that speaking Māori languages facilitates moving into non-traditional regions if the mover was settling with other Tūhoe (Nikora *et al.* submitted; Nikora *et al.* 2004; Scott & Kearns 2000). More detailed studies will be required to see if there are other variables that interact with mobility, such as qualifications, education, or income.

Other researchers have conducted analyses on data relevant to Māori and have interpreted those data without corresponding ethnographic or other qualitative data to verify or justify those interpretations, but without the specific details being taken into account. For example, while Sin and Stillman (2005:3) suggest that "land-based attachment is also an important impediment to mobility" for Māori, it can also be argued that mobility disrupts social and cultural ties and that land-based attachment facilitates maintenance. Other unpublished qualitative data suggest that many from another hapu near Tūhoe are happier about moving if they know that they have their traditional lands still intact and functioning -- it facilitates their mobility (Teddy, Nikora & Guerin 2007 submitted).

In conclusion, then, the present analysis, combined with reference to other research (Nikora *et al.* 2004; Nikora *et al.* submitted) for a specific tribal group (Tūhoe), has shown that generalisations should be made with caution. Similarly, policy should reflect the diversity within the Māori ethnic group and these regional and iwi variations.

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Appendix 1:

Tūhoe iwi (Total Responses) and Sex by Territorial Authority, for the Māori Descent Census Usually Resident Population Count, 2001

Iwi	Tühoe		
Sex	Male	Female	Total
Area			
Far North District	126	207	330
Whangarei District	135	144	276
Kaipara District	36	36	72
Rodney District	87	63	150
North Shore City	228	207	432
Waitakere City	309	384	693
Auckland City	537	639	1176
Manukau City	903	1077	1980
Papakura District	165	225	390
Franklin District	96	93	192
Thames-Coromandel District	36	42	81
Hauraki District	51	60	114
Waikato District	132	153	288
Matamata-Piako District	57	54	111
Hamilton City	456	537	993
Waipa District	84	69	150
Otorohanga District	51	24	75
South Waikato District	141	162	300
Waitomo District	36	39	72
Taupo District	303	309	609
Western Bay of Plenty District	123	162	285
Tauranga District	357	387	744
Rotorua District	1227	1365	2595
Whakatane District	2418	2508	4923
Kawerau District	474	528	1002
Opotiki District	327	336	666
Gisborne District	690	789	1482
Wairoa District	267	318	585
Hastings District	474	546	1017
Napier City	201	228	429
Central Hawke's Bay District	60	60	123
New Plymouth District	75	84	156
Stratford District	15	6	24
South Taranaki District	39	48	87
Ruapehu District	108	90	198
Wanganui District	96	96	189
Rangitikei District	54	81	135

Manawatu District	69	60	129
Palmerston North City	210	249	456
Tararua District	60	84	144
Horowhenua District	51	75	123
Kapiti Coast District	90	99	186
Porirua City	276	282	558
Upper Hutt City	195	159	354
Lower Hutt City	603	609	1212
Wellington City	276	345	621
Masterton District	99	93	192
Carterton District	6	9	15
South Wairarapa District	21	27	51
Tasman District	36	33	66
Nelson City	66	57	123
Marlborough District	45	39	84
Kaikoura District	9	3	9
Buller District	18	9	30
Grey District	12	12	21
Westland District	12	9	18
Hurunui District	6	9	12
Waimakariri District	21	21	42
Christchurch City	417	432	843
Banks Peninsula District	3	3	6
Selwyn District	42	18	60
Ashburton District	21	18	39
Timaru District	18	21	39
Mackenzie District	3	3	6
Waimate District	6	6	12
Chatham Islands District	3	6	9
Waitaki District	3	9	12
Central Otago District	6	6	12
Queenstown-Lakes District	9	3	12
Dunedin City	78	108	183
Clutha District	18	18	33
Southland District	54	54	105
Gore District	30	30	60
Invercargill City	111	126	240
Area Outside Territorial Authority	3	0	6
	13980	15300	29247