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## A Socio-demographic Profile of Māori living in Australia

## Tahu Kukutai Shefali Pawar







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#### A Socio-demographic Profile of Māori living in Australia

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#### **Executive Summary**

#### Introduction

This report provides a comprehensive demographic and socio-economic profile of the Māori population in Australia using data from the 2011 Australia Census of Population and Housing. The purpose is to provide an evidence base with which to inform future policy approaches with respect to Māori in Australia. It focuses on five key areas:

- Population size and composition;
- Identity and culture;
- Year of arrival and citizenship;
- Education and work;
- Lone parenting and unpaid childcare.

Comparisons are undertaken with Māori in the 2006 Australia Census, as well as with two reference groups: the total Australia population and migrant non-Māori New Zealanders. Where appropriate, we also distinguish Māori migrants born in New Zealand and Māori born in Australia. This captures important differences within the Māori population in Australia that have been under-examined in previous studies.

#### Population size and composition

- In 2011 there were 128,430 individuals living in Australia who identified as Māori by ancestry, either alone or in combination, representing about 16 per cent of the broader Australasian Māori population.
- Between 2001 and 2011 Māori increased their share of the New Zealand-born population resident in Australia from 13.8 per cent to 17.1 per cent. This exceeded the 2011 estimated Māori proportion of the total New Zealand-resident population (15.3 per cent).
- One in three Māori in Australia was born in Australia. The Australian-born Māori population has experienced higher growth than the population of New Zealand-born Māori living in Australia, more than doubling in size between 2001 and 2011.
- In 2011 first generation Māori migrants comprised nearly two thirds of Māori resident in Australia although a large proportion (29 per cent) migrated as children. Second generation Māori migrants comprised 30 per cent of all Māori in Australia while the third plus generation made up less than five per cent.
- The Māori population in Australia was significantly younger than the total Australia population, with higher proportions at the younger ages and lower proportions at the older ages. More than



80 per cent of the Australian-born Māori population was less than 25 years old in 2011. Their relatively young age structure means that the majority have yet to reach an age where it is possible to reliably assess their educational and labour market outcomes in relation to those of first generation Māori.

- The number of Māori living in Queensland (n=48,821) was about the same as the number estimated to be living in Northland in 2011 (n=50,800, medium series). It also exceeded the estimated Māori population in 10 of New Zealand's 16 regions.
- There was a spatial reorganisation of Māori in Australia between 2001 and 2011, with the most rapid growth occurring in Western Australia and Queensland; both states with sizeable extractive sectors. Between 2006 and 2011 alone the Māori population in Western Australia increased by 87 per cent. It is highly possible that Western Australia will supersede New South Wales in 2016 to become the second most populous state for Māori behind Queensland.
- In 2011 more than two thirds of all Māori in Australia had moved residence at least once since the previous Census. While the majority of movers had migrated from New Zealand, a significant share (42.8 per cent) had also moved residence within Australia. Mobility was significantly higher for Māori migrants than for non-Māori migrants, partly reflecting differences in age structure.
- In the 12 months preceding the 2011 Census, the proportion of Māori who had moved address was still higher than the non-Māori migrant proportion (23.9 *vs* 17.5 per cent), but the gap was much smaller than for the entire inter-censal period.

#### Māori identification and te reo Māori

- Less than half of all Māori in Australia identified exclusively as Māori by ancestry (44 per cent) although this varied significantly by birthplace. The proportion of single ancestry responses was 54.8 per cent for Māori migrants and 23.2 per cent for Australian-born Māori. The proportion of single ancestry responses for the total Australia-born population was much higher at 61.3 per cent.
- of the 37,290 New Zealand-born Māori who reported multiple ancestries in the 2011 Census, more than half checked the English tick-box. Very few New Zealand-born Māori gave New Zealander as an ancestry response. By comparison, Australian was the most popular multiple ancestry response for Australian-born Māori (44 per cent). While Australian-born Māori have a strong attachment to Australian identity, New Zealand-born Māori appear to be more closely connected to their English heritage.
- In 2011, 6.3 per cent of Māori living in Australia spoke te reo at home, slightly higher than the 5.7 per cent recorded in 2006. While the proportionate increase was very modest, in absolute terms this translated into an additional 2,788 speakers of te reo or an increase of 53.2 per cent. The



- proportion of te reo speakers was much higher among the New Zealand-born Māori (8.2 per cent) than among Māori born in Australia (2.4 per cent).
- Comparing the age-specific rates for the 2011 and 2006 Censuses shows that the increase in te reo speakers was mostly concentrated in the ages between 25 and 39 years.
- Western Australia had the highest proportion of te reo speakers and Queensland the lowest. The identification and te reo analysis suggests that Western Australia, of all the states, has a more traditional cultural profile and this has occurred through relatively recent migration processes.
- Finally, there is a broad range of ways that Māori living in Australia create and maintain their connections to Māori culture and identity. Many of these forms of diasporic identity maintenance are beyond the purview of the Census and are best understood through ethnographic and survey approaches.

#### Year of arrival and citizenship

- Of the New Zealand-born Māori who reported their year of arrival in the 2011 Census just over half (51.7 per cent) had arrived in the preceding decade which was substantially higher than the proportion for non-Māori New Zealanders (34.2 per cent). These figures do not take account of the differential impacts of mortality on earlier cohorts or return migration to New Zealand.
- The high proportion of recent migrants among Māori is extremely important because of changes imposed by Australia on 26 February 2001, which severely limited New Zealanders' subsequent access to a wide range of social security entitlements. Since 2001, New Zealand citizens arriving in Australia are still able to work freely through a non-protected Special Category Visa, but cannot access social security and some employment opportunities unless they obtain permanent residence status on the same basis as other migrant groups. For many of the Māori who migrated to Australia after February 2001, permanent residence will never be a viable option under existing arrangements.
- The high proportion of post-2001 migrants means Māori are disproportionately exposed to the disadvantages attendant with the restricted access to entitlements. This relative exposure to vulnerability is not evenly distributed across Australia. The proportion of Māori migrants that arrived after 2001 is most pronounced in Western Australia (62.0) per cent followed closely by Queensland (59.8 per cent). Any shocks in Western Australia's extractive resources sector and ancillary industries will likely have a disproportionately negative impact on Māori migrants there.
- In 2011, the proportion of Māori who had lived in Australia for at least five years and had Australian citizenship (23.3 per cent) was much lower than for other migrant ancestry groups, with the exception of Japanese (20.6 per cent). Under Japanese law it is extremely difficult to hold dual Japanese citizenship.



of all Māori migrants living in Australia in 2011, only 16.6 per cent had Australian citizenship, significantly lower than the 38 per cent observed for non-Māori. Even when comparisons are limited to those who arrived in the same five-year period, Māori still had substantially lower rates of citizenship uptake than non-Māori New Zealanders. There was a striking drop-off in citizenship rates after 2000 for both groups. These figures do not augur well for the future security of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia, nor by association their Australian-born children.

#### **Education and work**

#### **Education**

- Less than half of all NZ-born Māori migrants of prime working age (25 54 years) living in Australia in 2011 had left school with a Year 12 qualification (45.2 per cent). This was much lower than for either the migrant NZ-born non-Māori or national Australia proportion.
- NZ-born Māori had the lowest share with a post-secondary qualification (40 per cent), which was markedly less than the proportion of Australian-born Māori (52 per cent) and NZ-born non-Māori (59 per cent).
- NZ-born Māori men were the least likely to hold at least a Bachelor degree (6 per cent) with a proportion far below the national Australia share for men (26 per cent).
- Among 20 29 year olds, migrant Māori men were also the least likely to be engaged in education. Of all Māori who were engaged in education, a relatively small proportion was enrolled at a university.
- For both Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders, those who arrived prior to 2001 were nearly twice as likely as later arrivals to be engaged in education. Better access to student financial support may be a factor, along with other differences related to migration such as higher labour market attachment among recent migrants.
- Māori migrants were significantly less educated than Australian-born Māori, non-Māori migrants, and the general Australian population at the same ages. While other studies of New Zealanders in Australia have emphasised the lower education and skills level relative to the Australian population or workforce, this study has shown that Māori migrants are even less qualified.

#### **Employment**

Among New Zealand-born Māori males, the labour force participation rate was very high at 92.6 per cent (vs 89.8 per cent nationally) and was comparable with that for non-Māori New Zealand men (94.2 per cent). For Australian-born Māori males the rates were much lower at 87.5 per cent, which can only be partially explained by the higher proportion engaged in education.



- The overall employment rate for Māori migrants closely fitted the national rate, underscoring the contribution that Māori make to the Australian economy. For New Zealand-born Māori men, the employment rate was nearly three percentage points higher than the national Australian rate and peaked at 30-34 years. The rate for Māori migrant women was about three percentage points lower, with the difference especially marked at ages 25-29 years. This may reflect a combination of factors including different age-specific fertility rates (i.e., a higher probability of having children at younger ages); and the influence of non-labour market factors, such as having a partner who is the prime income earner.
- For both Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders, employment rates were higher for those who arrived after 2001.

#### **Occupation**

- Māori who lived and worked in Australia in 2011 were disproportionately concentrated in lower skilled jobs by comparison with the national Australian workforce.
- Nearly four out of every 10 employed Māori migrants in Australia worked as a labourer, machinery operator or driver. This proportion far exceeded the share for non-Māori New Zealanders (19 per cent), or Australian-born Māori (22 per cent).
- The over-representation of Māori in 'blue collar' occupations was especially apparent for men. More than half of all employed Māori migrant men living in Australia worked as a labourer or machinery operator or driver in 2011. The share was much higher for New Zealand-born Māori arriving in Australia after 2001.
- In terms of skills levels, Māori were markedly over-represented in lower-skilled jobs and under-represented in higher-skilled jobs by comparison with the total employed Australia population. There were, however, clear differences across states, with New South Wales and Victoria showing a more favourable distribution of skills levels for Māori compared to Queensland and Western Australia.

#### **Industry**

- In 2011, 28.5 per cent of New Zealand-born Māori worked in construction and manufacturing compared to 18.3 per cent of all Australian workers and 21.2 per cent of non-Māori New Zealanders. Māori migrants were the only group for whom mining featured in the top ten industries of employment (4.5 per cent).
- There were major differences by gender. Four out of every 10 employed Māori males was employed in construction or manufacturing, with a further 6.5 per cent employed in the mining sector. Clearly a downturn in the resources boom or industry restructuring will



- disproportionately impact on Māori migrants, and men especially, relative to the average Australian worker.
- The industrial profile of employed Māori women looked more similar to the overall national distribution, albeit with lower proportions in white collar jobs such as education and training and pubic administration.
- In three out of the four most populous states, construction and manufacturing figured as the top two industries of employment for Māori in Australia, ranging from 25.3 per cent in New South Wales to 29.7 per cent in Queensland. Western Australia was distinctive in that mining ranked as the second most popular sector, employing 13.7 per cent of all Māori living within the state.

#### **Self-employment**

- In 2011 only a small proportion of Māori migrants was self-employed (7.9 per cent) relative to the national workforce (15.3 per cent). By contrast, the rate of business ownership among non-Māori New Zealanders (14.3 per cent) closely fitted the national share. Australian-born Māori appeared to occupy an intermediate position although the small numbers involved need to be taken into account.
- The proportion of business owners declined for all groups between 2006 and 2011, partly reflecting the harsher impacts of the Global Financial Crisis on the self-employed.

#### Income

- The median income for NZ-born Māori men of \$54,964 was only slightly lower than for the total Australia male population (\$57,301) but significantly below the median income for NZ-born non-Māori (\$63,148). The difference is likely to a number of factors including differences in qualification and skills level and occupational structure. For Māori women, income differences were much smaller compared to the comparator groups.
- In three of the top five Māori occupations, Māori migrants earned higher incomes than the average Australian worker and similar incomes to NZ-born non-Māori. However, in the higher-skilled jobs that dominate Australia's occupational structure, Māori (both migrants and Australian-born) earned less than the average Australian worker and New Zealand-born non-Māori.



#### Lone parents and unpaid childcare

- Compared to the national Australia population, Māori had a higher share of lone parents, ranging from a low of 3.4 per cent at 15-24 years to a high of 13.2 per cent at 40-44 years. In general, the proportion of Māori lone parents increased with age until the peak at 40-44 years, after which it declined.
- Overall 40 per cent of all Māori in Australia provided unpaid childcare, significantly higher than the 30 per cent observed for the national population. The rates for were particularly high among Māori migrants indicating an important contribution to the wider economy through the unpaid but vital role of caring for children.

#### **Conclusion**

- With at least one in six and, more likely, one in five Māori living outside of Aotearoa it is no longer tenable to ignore the implications of a growing global Māori diaspora.
- There are significant differences between New Zealand and Australian-born Māori across a range of indicators. Policy approaches and research need to be attuned to this internal variation and the differing circumstances and needs.
- The initial analysis in this report suggest that Australian-born Māori have higher education levels than their New Zealand-born counterparts living in Australia and are more engaged in higher education in Australia. However, the youthful age structure of the second generation precludes a comprehensive comparison with respect to labour market characteristics and outcomes.
- While many Māori migrants appear to be living a relatively 'good life', earning comparatively high incomes in lower-skilled jobs, theirs is an inherently vulnerable situation given their low levels of education and limited access to social security. These features give serious pause for the New Zealand government and for those charged with enhancing the wellbeing of Māori, wherever they may be.



#### Introduction

Among OECD nations, New Zealand has one of the proportionately highest rates of emigration (Bryant & Law, 2004; Dumont & Lemaître, 2005), with the vast majority of its diaspora living in Australia (Haig, 2010; Poot, 2009). While Trans-Tasman migration has long been a part of the Māori migration experience, the large number of Māori moving to Australia in the last decade has generated a great deal of interest among academics, policy-makers, and the media. Yet, compared with the substantial literature on Trans-Tasman migration (e.g., Bedford, Ho & Hugo, 2003; Birrell & Rapson, 2001; Haig, 2010; Green, Power & Jang, 2008; Labour and Immigration Research Centre, 2012; McCann, 2009; NZIER, 2006; Poot, 2009; Poot & Sanderson, 2007), and the New Zealand diaspora (Bryant & Law, 2005; Gamlen, 2007, 2008, 2011), research on Māori in Australia has been limited. Historian Paul Hamer has produced much of the recent scholarship (2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012), his work drawing attention to issues associated with voting and citizenship rights in Australia, and the retention of te reo Māori. Other studies have examined aspects of Māori residential and economic segregation (Forrest, Poulsen & Johnstone, 2009); occupational structure (Newell & Pool, 2009), and internal mobility (Bedford, Didham, Ho & Hugo, 2004).

This report provides a comprehensive demographic and socio-economic profile of the Māori population in Australia, using data from the 2011 Australia Census of Population and Housing.¹. It is the first such report since Lowe's 1990 demographic profile that used data from the 1986 Australia Census. Such a report is timely. The loss of New Zealand citizens to Australia through permanent and longterm (PLT) migration remains a persistent concern, especially in the context of New Zealand's ageing population (Jackson, 2011) and the well-documented Trans-Tasman income gap (2025 Taskforce, 2009; Le, 2008). While the removal of the ethnic origin question from New Zealand departure and arrivals cards in 1986 makes it impossible to directly assess Māori trans-Tasman migration flows, PLT data for New Zealand overall suggests that Māori continue to emigrate across the ditch in substantial numbers. In every year since 1979 the outflow of PLT departures from New Zealand to Australia has exceeded the inflow of migrants from Australia, with the notable exceptions of 1983 and 1991.² Outflows to Australia have tended to be strongly cyclical, reflecting a complex range

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Data were obtained through purchasing a TableBuilder Pro license from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. While data are available at different levels of spatial aggregation, TableBuilder Pro does not provide the individual-level data needed for multivariate modelling. Hamer (2012) also used 2011 Census data to examine some demographic aspects of the Māori population in Australia, along with citizenship, voting, and te reo. It excluded information on mobility, education, work, and families which had not been released by ABS at that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> While the flow of PLT migrants from New Zealand to Australia far exceeds the flows from Australia to New Zealand, immigration from other countries (especially Asia) means that New Zealand experienced a net migration gain every year between 2002 and 2011, although this was not the case in 2012 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). For a more detailed analysis of PLT migration and historical trends, see Bedford, Ho & Hugo, 2003; Haig, 2010; Labour and Immigration Research Centre, 2012. According to the Australian Department of

of factors including fluctuations in GDP growth rates, earnings relativity, employment and unemployment growth (Haig, 2010, p. 11). <sup>3</sup> In the year to December 2012 the total number of PLT departures to Australia was 53,700, which was only partially offset by 14,900 arrivals from Australia. In both directions most migrants were New Zealand citizens (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

In addition to concerns over the steady flow of New Zealand migrants to Australia, there has been an increased focus on the vulnerable circumstances of those who lack the protection afforded by permanent residency or citizenship. Australian-based advocacy groups and websites have played a key role in drawing attention to the challenges faced by many New Zealanders living in Australia, and Māori in particular. Some have described the large share of New Zealanders living in Australia without access to social security as a broader human rights issue, while the term 'New Zealand 'underclass' has appeared in more than a few media stories.<sup>4</sup> Since 2010 Prime Minister John Key and others ministers have met with their Australian colleagues several times to discuss increasing New Zealanders' access to social support payments and services, but this has not yet resulted in significant change (social security is discussed more in section 3 of this report).<sup>5</sup>

For Māori, as for other New Zealanders, the lure of higher wages combined with the lack of entry barriers and Australia's long-term relative economic advantage means there will continue to be significant flows across the Tasman for the foreseeable future. The purpose of this report is thus to provide an evidence base with which to inform future policy approaches with respect to Māori in Australia. It focuses on five key areas:

- Population size and composition;
- Identity and culture;
- Year of arrival and citizenship;
- Education and work;
- Lone parenting and unpaid childcare.

Immigration and Citizenship, as at 30 June 2012, there was an estimated 647,863 New Zealand citizens present in Australia (<a href="http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/17nz.htm">http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/17nz.htm</a>).

http://www.stuff.co.nz/world/australia/7905153/Queensland-bill-discriminates-against-Kiwis; http://www.3news.co.nz/The-Kiwi-Underclass/tabid/309/articleID/230783/Default.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It is also worth noting that a small number of anti-discrimination lawsuits have overturned decisions to deny New Zealand citizens access to social security benefits. See: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/take-care-of-kiwis-here-says-john-key/story-fn59niix-1226078119909



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the period 1947 to 2010, the highest net losses through PLT migration (including to Australia) occurred in 1979. In that year there were 64,100 departures, of which 39,600 were to Australia (Labour and Immigration Research Centre, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2008). Lowe (1990) noted that Māori PLT migration to Australia peaked in 1981 although the data only pertained to those designated as 'half or more' Māori, consistent with the statistical definition of Māori that prevailed at that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See, for example, the Underam Bowling website: <a href="http://www.underarmbowling.com/">http://www.underarmbowling.com/</a>. For examples of media reports relating to Trans-Tasman migration, see: <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-10/an-nz-minister-says-kiwis-in-aus-discriminated-against/4306178?section=australianetworknews">http://www.underarmbowling.com/</a>. For examples of media reports relating to Trans-Tasman migration, see: <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-10/an-nz-minister-says-kiwis-in-aus-discriminated-against/4306178?section=australianetworknews">http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-10/an-nz-minister-says-kiwis-in-aus-discriminated-against/4306178?section=australianetworknews</a>;

Throughout the report, comparisons are undertaken with Māori in the 2006 Australia Census, as well as with two reference groups - the total Australian population and non-Māori New Zealanders.<sup>6</sup> Where appropriate, we also distinguish between Māori migrants born in New Zealand and Māori born in Australia This captures important differences within the Māori population in Australia that have been under-examined in previous studies.

Unfortunately the postponement of the 2011 New Zealand Census to March 2013 due to the Christchurch earthquakes precludes comparisons with New Zealand-resident Māori. The inability to make comparisons across Censuses will be a longer-term issue unless the timing of the New Zealand Census is recalibrated to align with the Australia Census by 2021. At the time of writing such a decision had not yet been made (Bycroft, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The term 'New Zealander' is used interchangeably in this report with New Zealand-born. It excludes New Zealand citizens resident in Australia who were not born in New Zealand and who cannot be identified in the Australia Census. The NZ-born non-Māori group is a residual group comprising New Zealand-born migrants who were not identified as Māori. It thus excludes the significant proportion of Māori living in Australia who also identified with a non-Māori ancestry in the 2011 Census.

#### Section 1: Population size and composition

#### 1.1 Population size

This section begins by looking at changes in the size of the Australian-resident Māori population and comparing them with shifts observed for other reference groups. In 2011 there were 128,430 individuals who identified as Māori by ancestry, either alone or in combination. For reasons amply covered by Hamer (2007, 2008a, 2012), this number is likely to under-represent the number of Māori in Australia, and should thus be taken as a minimum. The actual number of individuals of Māori descent is difficult to estimate with any degree of precision, but we could expect it to be in the range of 140,000 to 160,000.

Table 1: Population size, Māori in Australia, 2001-2011

	19,413,240		20	2006		2011	
Total Australian Population				19,855,287	21,507,719		
Population with Māori Ancestry in A	ustralia						
NZ-Born Māori	49,241	(67.5)	59,157	(63.7)	82,579	(64.3)	
Australian-Born Māori	20,596	(28.2)	30,939	(33.3)	42,837	(33.4)	
Māori Born Elsewhere	0.400	(4.0)	1,041	(1.1)	1,316	(1.0)	
Birth Place Not Stated	3,133	(4.3)	1,780	(1.9)	1,698	(1.3)	
Total Population with Maori Ancestry	72,970	(100.0)	92,917	(100.0)	128,430	(100.0)	
NZ-Born Population in Australia							
NZ-Born Māori	49,241	(13.8)	59,157	(15.2)	82,579	(17.1)	
NZ-Born Non-Māori	006 504	(0, 0)	317,110	(81.4)	387,693	(80.2)	
Ancestry Not Stated	306,524	(86.2)	13,198	(3.4)	13,126	(2.7)	
Total NZ Born Population	355,765	(100.0)	389,465	(100.0)	483,398	(100.0)	

Since 2001, the Australian Māori population has increased its share, both of the New Zealand-born population resident in Australia, and of the broader Trans-Tasman Māori population. Table 1 shows that Māori comprised 13.8 per cent of the New Zealand-born in Australia in 2001, and within a decade this had increased to 17.1 per cent. This share exceeded the 2011 estimated Māori population proportion in New Zealand of 15.3 per cent.<sup>7</sup> If the estimate of 673,400 Māori in New Zealand in 2011

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The estimated number of ethnic Māori in New Zealand in 2011 (Dec.) was 673,400 and 4,422,700 for the total NZ population. It should be noted that the enumerated Māori descent population has been substantially larger than the ethnic Māori population since the introduction of the Māori descent question in the 1991 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings. It might be argued that a more appropriate comparison would be with the

is combined with the enumerated Māori ancestry population in Australia, we find that the latter comprises about 16 per cent of the broader Australasian Māori population.<sup>8</sup> This is slightly below the 18 per cent share estimated in other studies (Hamer, 2008b, 2012; Kukutai & Cooper, 2011), although the latter included all Māori living overseas and adjusted for the likely effect of Māori underenumeration in the Australia Census.

Table 2: Percentage change in population, Māori in Australia, 2001-2011

	% Change					
50	2001 - 2006	2006 - 2011	2001 - 2011			
Total Australian Population	+ 2.3	+ 8.3	+ 10.8			
Population with Māori Ancestry in Australia						
NZ-Born Māori	+ 20.1	+ 39.6	+ 67.7			
Australian-Born Māori	+ 50.2	+ 38.5	+ 108.0			
Māori Born Elsewhere	n/a	+ 26.4	n/a			
Birth Place Not Stated	n/a	-4.6	n/a			
Total Population with Maori Ancestry	+ 27.3	+ 38.2	+ 76.0			
NZ-Born Population in Australia						
NZ-Born Māori	+ 20.1	+ 39.6	+ 67.7			
NZ-Born Non-Māori	n/a	+ 22.3	n/a			
Ancestry Not Stated	n/a	-0.5	n/a			
Total NZ Born Population	+ 9.5	+ 24.1	+ 35.9			

While much of the recent policy and political focus has been on the flow of New Zealand-born Māori migrants to Australia, it is important to note that one in three Māori in Australia was born in Australia, and this has been the case since 2006. Indeed, it is the Australian-born Māori population that has experienced the most rapid growth over the last decade, more than doubling in size between 2001 and 2011. It is worthwhile considering these two trajectories because the drivers emanate from quite different sources. In the case of Australian-born Māori, the growth between 2006 and 2011 was due almost entirely due to natural increase, the excess of births over deaths. This is illustrated in Table 3, which shows the percentage change in the size of each five-year birth cohort between 2006 and 2011

estimated Māori descent population. Unfortunately no such data exist but if we accept that the broader Māori descent population in 2011 was about 14 per cent larger than the estimated ethnic Māori population – a reasonable assumption given the differences documented in the 2001 and 2006 Censuses – then the estimated 767,676 Māori descendants would comprise 17.4 per cent of the total New Zealand population, similar to the Māori proportion among the New Zealand-born in Australia.

<sup>8</sup> In 2001 and 2006 the relative shares were 12.2 and 14.1 per cent respectively. If we instead use the (unofficial) estimated Māori descent estimate of 767,676, then Māori in Australia represent a smaller proportion – about 14.3 per cent – of the overall Australasian Māori population. It should be noted that, regardless of the measure used, the absolute and relative demographic significance of Australian-resident Māori has been steadily increasing over time.



(requisite age data were not readily available for 2001). For Australian-born Māori, most cohorts born between 1977 and 2006, with the exception of 1992 to 1996, experienced a small increase of between 1.3 and 2.9 per cent. Much of this can be attributed to changes in identification whereby individuals who were not recorded as Māori in 2006 were subsequently identified as Māori in 2011. However, these gains were offset by cohort attrition for most cohorts born before 1977 through mortality, migration and/or changing identification. We can thus surmise that the 38.5 per cent increase in the Australian-born was almost entirely due to babies born between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses. This is unsurprising given the large increase in the size of the New Zealand-born Māori population, some of whom were the parents of the most recent cohort of Australian-born Māori babies, as well as the high rate of Māori intermarriage compared to other ancestry groups in Australia (Khoo, Birrell & Heard, 2009). Whereas the growth of the Australian-born Māori population was driven by births, the growth of the New Zealand-born population was obviously driven by migration, which resulted in significant gains for all birth cohorts. Between 2006 and 2011 the gains were most apparent at the younger ages (cohorts born between 1997 and 2006) and those aged between 20 and 29 years in 2011.

Table 3: Percentage change in the size of each five-year birth cohort between 2006 and 2011, Māori in Australia

Birth Coho	rt (synthetic)		NZ-Born Māoi	ri	Au	stralian-Born M	1āori
Birth Year	Age in 2006	Numbers in 2006	Numbers in 2011	% Change 2006-2011	Numbers in 2006	Numbers in 2011	% Change 2006-2011
2007-2011			2,005			12,004	
2002-2006	0-4 years	1,322	4,286	+ 224.2	8,084	8,286	+ 2.5
1997-2001	5-9 years	3,291	5,686	+ 72.8	6,528	6,614	+ 1.3
1992-1996	10-14 years	4,079	6,379	+ 56.4	5,223	4,900	-6.2
1987-1991	15-19 years	4,392	7,442	+ 69.4	3,664	3,721	+ 1.6
1982-1986	20-24 years	5,198	8,263	+ 59.0	2,392	2,461	+ 2.9
1977-1981	25-29 years	6,416	8,665	+ 35.1	1,458	1,499	+ 2.8
1972-1976	30-34 years	6,997	8,687	+ 24.2	1,138	1,112	-2.3
1967-1971	35-39 years	6,571	7,936	+ 20.8	783	739	-5.6
1962-1966	40-44 years	6,210	7,339	+ 18.2	461	436	-5.4
1957-1961	45-49 years	5,298	6,332	+ 19.5	375	339	-9.6
1952-1956	50-54 years	3,920	4,367	+ 11.4	280	275	-1.8
1947-1951	55-59 years	2,637	2,675	+ 1.4	189	151	-20.1
1942-1946	60-64 years	1,425	1,366	-4.1	128	137	+ 7.0
1937-1941	65-69 years	782	714	-8.7	97	74	-23.7
1932-1936	70-74 years	365	281	-23.0	49	46	-6.1
1927-1931	75-79 years	142	154	+ 8.5	51	41	-19.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> These will include babies born to Māori and non-Māori mothers. The lack of an ancestry or ethnicity indicator (beyond Aboriginal/Indigenous status) in vitals data precludes an analysis of the fertility of Māori women in Australia, or the contribution of non-Māori mothers to Māori births.



Finally, Table 4 shows significant age-specific differences in sex ratios (the ratio of males to females), by birthplace. For New Zealand-born Māori, the overall sex ratio was balanced in 2011, but varied by age, with an excess of males at all ages up to 19 years, and again at 55-74 years. This is somewhat surprising as one might expect higher sex ratios at key working ages, reflecting the shift of New Zealanders into male-dominated sectors such as construction and mining (see, section four of this report). The disaggregation of sex ratios by state may well pick up some of this variation, but is beyond the scope of this report. For non-Māori New Zealanders, there were more males than females in nearly all ages, except for 20-24 years, and the oldest ages. By contrast, the sex ratios for Australianborn Māori were quite low, particularly at all ages above 20 years. This may reflect gendered patterns of ethnic self-identification, where women are more likely than men to identify as Māori by ancestry, but do not make a gendered distinction when recording the ancestry of their children.

Table 4: Age specific sex ratios, Māori in Australia, Census 2011

	NZ-Born Māori	Australian-Born Māori	NZ-Born Non-Māori
0-4 years	1.05	1.08	1.04
5-9 years	1.08	1.06	1.06
10-14 years	1.08	1.00	1.03
15-19 years	1.11	1.03	1.05
20-24 years	1.00	0.85	0.97
25-29 years	1.01	0.93	1.03
30-34 years	0.99	0.76	1.04
35-39 years	0.98	0.83	1.05
40-44 years	0.88	0.73	1.03
45-49 years	0.94	0.89	1.02
50-54 years	0.98	0.76	1.01
55-59 years	1.07	0.72	1.05
60-64 years	1.05	0.99	1.10
65-69 years	1.08	0.78	1.10
70-74 years	1.05	0.72	1.05
75-79 years	0.75	0.53	0.98
80+ years	0.73	0.37	0.75
Total	1.00	0.99	1.03

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  We note that sex ratios solely for NZ-born Maori workers does show relatively more men than women and this is most marked in the 25-29 ages.



#### 1.2 Migrant generation

Extending on the birthplace distinction, Table 5 shows the distribution of Māori in Australia by migrant generation. The concept of generational distance from the country of origin is an important one in the literature on immigration and diaspora,<sup>11</sup> and widens the focus to incorporate not only the experiences and outcomes of migrants, but also of their children and grandchildren. In 2011 and in 2006, first generation migrants (individuals and both parents born overseas) comprised nearly two thirds of Māori resident in Australia. Of these, about 29 per cent belonged to what is termed the '1.5 generation'. In this case, the 1.5 generation refers to NZ born Māori with both parents born overseas who migrated to Australia as children (0 – 14 years). Child migrants are often treated as a distinct group in the literature because their experience of growing up in the 'host' society is qualitatively different from the process of incorporation experienced by their parents (Rumbaut, 2004).

In both years second generation Māori (Australian-born Māori with at least one overseas-born parent) made up 30 per cent of all Māori in Australia. Of the 35,801 second generation Māori resident in Australia in 2011, nearly half had two parents born overseas. It is not possible to distinguish between those with two Māori parents and those with one. For second generation Māori with one Australian-born parent, a higher proportion had a father (vs a mother) who was born overseas. Australian-born Māori with Australian-born parents, defined here as the third plus generation, were a relatively small share at just five per cent. It is probable that many of the third plus generation were the grandchildren of Māori who migrated to Australia in the late 1970s as New Zealand's economic fortunes declined, fuelled by Britain's entry into the European Economic Community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rumbaut (2004) provides a comprehensive overview and critique of the evolution of the concept of migrant generation, along with its meaning and measurement in immigration research.



Table 5: Generational status of Māori living in Australia; Census 2006 and 2011

	Census	2006	Census	2011
	Population	Proportion (%)	Population	Proportion (%)
First generation (1)	56,316	(65.5)	79,320	(65.6)
1.5 generation <sup>(2)</sup>	Not ava	ilable	22,950	(28.9)
Second generation (3)	25,052	(29.1)	35,801	(29.6)
Third Plus generation (4)	4,635	(5.4)	5,762	(4.8)
Total (First, Second & Third generation)	86,003	(100.0)	120,883	(100.0)
Other (Including Not Stated)	6,914		7,547	
Total Māori living in Australia	92,917		128,430	
Father born overseas	7,986	(31.9)	11,272	(31.5)
Mother born overseas	5,398	(21.5)	7,432	(20.8)
Both parents born overseas	11,668	(46.6)	17,097	(47.8)
Second generation (2)	25,052	(100.0)	35,801	(100.0)

<sup>(1)</sup> Respondent and both parents born overseas

While the scope of this report precludes a detailed analysis of second and third plus generation Māori in Australia, it is important to acknowledge their social and cultural significance. In the broader migration literature, the second generation is often a focal point because they represent a potential bridge between their country of birth (i.e., the 'host' society) and the cultures and origins of their parents. As Khoo and others noted in their study of second generation migrants in Australia, "It is among the second generation that issues such as the maintenance of language, cultural traditions and ethnic identity will be decided" (2002, p. 1). While there is a large empirical literature documenting the outcomes of second and third generation immigrants, particularly in North America (see, Rumbaut, 2004), comparatively little is known about what the trajectories of indigenous migrants, and their descendants look like. In the settler states of North America and Australasia, colonialism rendered indigenous peoples involuntary minorities in their own homelands, with a range of devastating consequences. Given the unique experience of colonialism, whether indigenous migrants experience processes of identity maintenance and socio-economic integration differently to other migrant groups is a substantively important one. With respect to Māori, Hamer (2007, 2010, 2011) has shown that Māori in Australia face particular barriers to language maintenance in the second and third plus generations because of the relatively low proportions of te reo speakers in New Zealand. Native language loss is an issue for all indigenous peoples in the settler states and is a direct consequence of the legacy of sustained state policies of cultural assimilation (see, for example, Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). On the other hand, the unique political and moral status of Māori as tangata whenua, combined with the growing strength of iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) institutions has the potential to support



<sup>(2)</sup> NZ-born respondents with both parents also born overseas, who migrated to Australia as children (0-14 years)

<sup>(3)</sup> Respondent born in Australia, one or both parents born overseas

<sup>(4)</sup> Respondent and both parents born in Australia

the maintenance of Māori identity among migrants in ways that has few parallels among non-indigenous migrants. For Māori in Australia, the geographical proximity to New Zealand also provides opportunities to retain connections, both through a continuing supply of new migrants and ease of access to 'home' communities.

In terms of socio-economic trajectories, the irrefutable disadvantage that Māori, on average, experience in relation to European majority in New Zealand begs the obvious question as to whether the children of Māori migrants will experience greater socio-economic success than their parents and grandparents. If Māori migration to Australia is driven primarily by a desire to improve the economic circumstances of individuals and their whānau (see Hamer, 2007; Te Punki Kōkiri, 2012), then it is important to know if migration to Australia translates into improved outcomes for successive generations. The issue of intergenerational mobility cannot be readily explored in this report but is worthwhile flagging as a potential subject for future research.

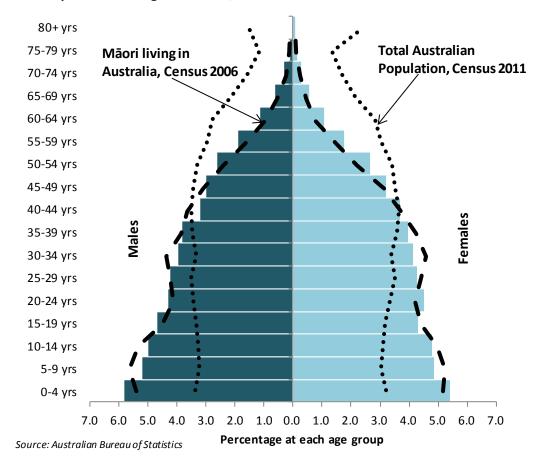
#### 1.3 Age structure

Age structure is a fundamental aspect of the demographic profile of any population and it is to this that we now turn. Figure 1 clearly shows the much younger age profile of Māori in Australia relative to the total Australian population, with higher proportions at the younger ages and significantly lower proportions at the older ages. This reflects a number of factors including age-specific migration patterns among Māori and the well-documented structural ageing of the Australian population (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010). The Māori age structure in 2011 was similar to 2006, but with slightly higher proportions of pre-schoolers and older people (50 – 69 years).



Figure 1: Age-sex structure of Māori living in Australia, Census 2006 and 2011; compared with Total Australian population, Census 2011

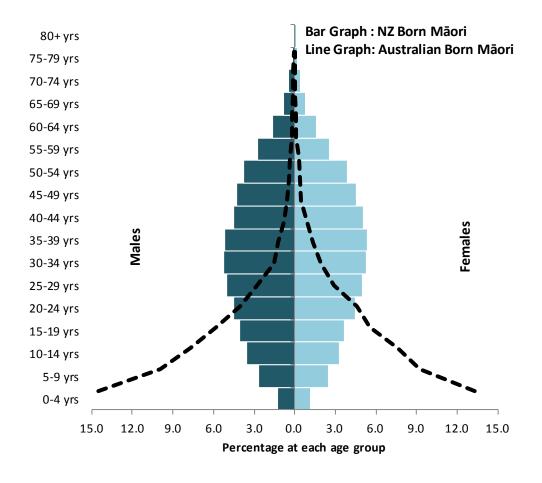




Because policy is rarely age invariant with respect to impacts, the youthful Māori age profile presents a number of opportunities and challenges. As Jackson (2002) has demonstrated in her work in relation to indigenous populations in New Zealand and Australia, policies can have a disproportionate 'disparate impact' on particular population groups as a consequence of their different (in this case, youthful) age structure. Māori in Australia are more likely to be affected by policies that impact upon young people, such as those relating to employment and education. These are likely to be compounded by the very limited access to social support that New Zealand citizens without permanent residency face in Australia (Bedford, Ho & Hugo, 2004; Hamer, 2008a, 2012). The massively different age structures shown in Figure 2 illustrate the importance of distinguishing between New Zealand and Australian-born Māori. For the latter, the classic pyramid shape, with more than 80 per cent aged under 25 years, is typical of the age structure second-generation of 'new' migrant groups (Khoo et al., 2002). The relatively young age structure means that the majority have yet to reach an age where it is possible to reliably assess their educational and labour market outcomes in relation to first generation Māori.



Figure 2: Age-sex structure of NZ-born Māori compared with Australian-born Māori living in Australia, Census 2011



#### 1.4 Spatial distribution

The distribution of Māori across Australia's states and territories is an important demographic feature, both because of its unevenness and because of the major changes which have occurred in the last decade. Table 6 shows the spatial reorganisation of Māori that took place between 2001 and 2011. In 2001, the largest concentration of Māori was in New South Wales (35.5 per cent), followed by Queensland (29.7 per cent) and Victoria (14.9 per cent). By 2006, Queensland had superseded New South Wales as the most populous state for Māori, and this shift was cemented in 2011. To put this into perspective, the number of Māori living in Queensland (n=48,821) was about the same as the estimated number in Northland (n=50,800, medium series) and was higher than the estimated Māori population in 10 of New Zealand's 16 regions (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

Returning to Table 5 we see that the most rapid growth between 2001 and 2011 occurred in Western Australia and Queensland; states which have had very strong economic growth due to their sizeable extractive sectors. Western Australia, in particular, has become a beacon for Māori in recent years, with the state-wide Māori population increasing by a massive 83.7 per cent between 2006 and 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> A dedicated state profile of Māori in Queensland is the focus of a forthcoming NIDEA working paper.



The demographic growth of Māori in both states only partly reflects broader population shifts occurring across Australia, with Western Australia and Queensland experiencing much higher population growth than other states over the decade (see Appendix Table 4.0). In 2011 New South Wales still had the second largest concentration of Māori in Australia but the minimal growth experienced in the last decade, and especially since 2006, suggests this ranking will likely change in the near future. Even if New South Wales maintains its inter-censal growth rate of 8 per cent and the number of Māori in Western Australia increases by a relatively modest 50 per cent, the number of Māori in both states will be roughly equivalent by the 2016 Census (about 35,000).

Table 6: Spatial distribution of the Australian Māori population by state, 2001 - 2011

	2001		2006		2011			% Change	
	2001	-	2000	•	2011		2001-2006	2006-2011	2001-2011
New South Wales	25,906	(35.5)	29,816	(32.1)	32,191	(25.1)	+ 15.1	+ 8.0	+ 24.3
Victoria	10,874	(14.9)	14,265	(15.4)	18,366	(14.3)	+ 31.2	+ 28.7	+ 68.9
Queensland	21,643	(29. <i>7</i> )	31,077	(33.4)	48,281	(37.6)	+ 43.6	+ 55.4	+ 123.1
Western Australia	10,180	(14.0)	12,556	(13.5)	23,062	(18.0)	+ 23.3	+ 83.7	+ 126.5
South Australia	2,124	(2.9)	2,607	(2.8)	3,238	(2.5)	+ 22.7	+ 24.2	+ 52.4
Tasmania	706	(1.0)	876	(0.9)	1,073	(0.8)	+ 24.1	+ 22.5	+ 52.0
Northern Territory	951	(1.3)	1,005	(1.1)	1,288	(1.0)	+ 5.7	+ 28.2	+ 35.4
Australian Capital Territory	570	(0.8)	710	(0.8)	916	(0.7)	+ 24.6	+ 29.0	+ 60.7
Other Territories	10	(0.0)	5	(0.0)	15	(0.0)	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total Māori Ancestry Population	72,964	(100.0)	92,917	(100.0)	128,430	(100.0)	+ 27.3	+ 38.2	+ 76.0

As migration is such an important driver in the growth of Māori in Australia, Figure 4 shows changes in the spatial distribution by birthplace. The distribution of New Zealand-born Māori across Australia's four most populous states clearly diverged from both the national pattern, and from Australian-born Māori. Compared to the national distribution, New Zealand-born Māori were significantly over-represented in Queensland and Western Australia; and under-represented in NSW and Victoria. In 2011, for example, one in five Australians lived in Queensland, but for the New Zealand-born Māori, the share was much closer to two in five. Comparing Figures 3 and 4 show that over time the distribution of Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders has become more similar. By comparison, the distribution of Australian-born Māori across the four major states changed little between 2006 and 2011. Of the four major states, Victoria was the only state in which the distribution of New Zealand-born and Australian-born Māori was comparable.



Figure 3: Spatial distribution across major states, Census 2006

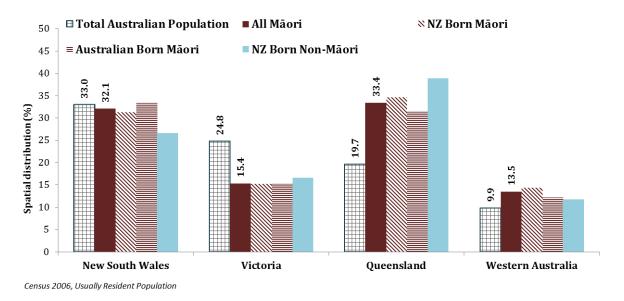
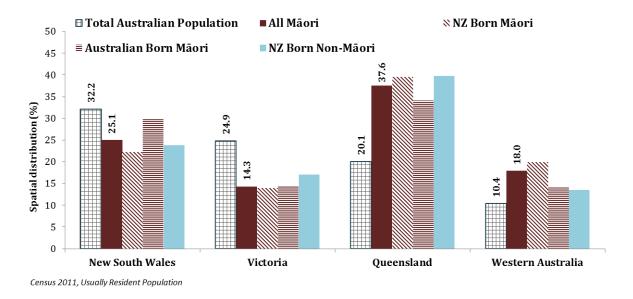


Figure 4: Spatial distribution across major states, Census 2011



By disaggregating the state-level data to focus on cities, we see that between 2006 and 2011 the number of New Zealand-born Māori residing in Perth doubled; somewhat higher than their increase across Western Australia as a whole. The growth of the Australian-born Māori population in Perth (75.4 per cent) also exceeded their state-wide increase (61.2 per cent). While a significant number of Māori resident in Perth may commute to more remote parts of the state as part of the fly-in, fly-out (FIFO) workforce (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Regional Australia, 2013), the absence of an ancestry indicator in the place of work dataset in Table Builder precludes more detailed



analyses.<sup>13</sup> In Brisbane the increase in New Zealand and Australian-born Māori was similar at 70.3 and 66.1 per cent respectively, while the number of New Zealand-born Māori residing in Sydney actually declined between 2006 and 2011. The decline is likely due to a combination of internal migration to other states, as well as return migration to New Zealand. Poot (2009), for example, has shown that one-third of New Zealanders living in Australia re-migrate within four years (also see, Haig, 2010; Poot & Sanderson, 2007).



Figure 5: Percentage change in population in the 2006-2011 period in each major city of Australia

#### 1.5 Population mobility

Having considered changes in the spatial distribution of Māori in Australia, this section uses data on usual residence one and five years ago to assess Māori mobility relative to other population groups. It must be emphasised that we are unable to account for the impact of Māori return migration to New Zealand in the intervening years. Figure 6 shows the share of movers and stayers, by key age groups, for all Māori and the total Australia population. In 2011 more than two thirds of all Māori in Australia had moved residence at least once since the previous Census in 2006. While the majority of movers had migrated from New Zealand, a significant share (42.8 per cent) had also moved residence within Australia. Not surprisingly, given both the high proportion of migrants within the Māori ancestry population and its relatively young age structure, the total level of mobility among Māori far exceeded the level of mobility within the national population (41 per cent). For both groups, young adults were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Comparing the usually resident and Census night Māori populations in mining centres may give a crude indication of the FIFO or DIDO (drive-in, drive-out) workforce, although visitors cannot be distinguished from workers, nor does it allow for a comparison of place of work vs residence.



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the least likely to be living in the same residence as they had five years earlier. For Māori, those aged 15-24 years had the highest level of mobility, with only 27.5 per cent having lived in the same residence five years earlier. Those most likely to have lived overseas were aged 15 to 34, with nearly one in three Māori at these ages having lived overseas in 2006.

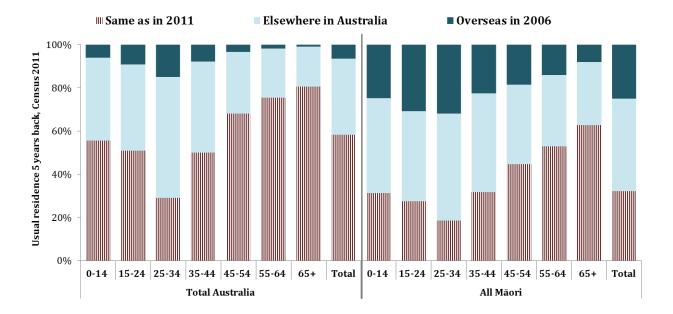
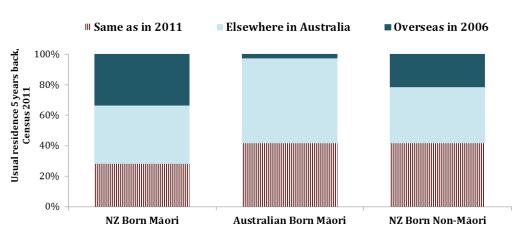


Figure 6: Usual residence in 2006 by age group, Census 2011

The continuing flow of migrants across the Tasman has clearly driven the high levels of mobility among those born in New Zealand. However, as Figure 7 shows, the impact has been more marked for Māori than for non-Māori. One in three New Zealand-born Māori living in Australia at the time of the 2011 Census had lived overseas five years earlier. For non-Māori New Zealanders living in Australia the proportion was about one in five. Interestingly the level of mobility amongst Australian-born Māori was also relatively high, certainly much higher than the national figure, reflecting both the young age structure and the higher level of mobility experienced by their New Zealand-born parents.



Figure~7: Usual~residence~in~2006, Census~2011



The significant differences in the distribution of Māori across Australia's states suggest patterns of population mobility are also likely to be uneven. Of the main states and territories, Western Australia and the ACT had the lowest proportion of New Zealand-born Māori living at the same usual residence as five years ago, although the overall number of Māori living in the ACT was very small. The high level of churn in the Māori population in those states contrasts with the relatively settled profile of Māori migrants in New South Wales where more than three quarters of those residing in the state in 2011 had lived there at the time of the 2006 Census. In the four most populous states, migration from New Zealand accounted for most of the increase in the number of New Zealand-born Māori residents. In both Queensland and Western Australia, migrants from New Zealand accounted for about 87 per cent of the New Zealand-born Māori who moved there between 2006 and 2011. The contribution of internal migration was more evident in the more sparsely populated states, such as Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory. In Tasmania, for example, nearly half of the New Zealand-born Māori who moved there between 2006 and 2011 did so from another state. The small numbers involved however suggest the figures should be taken as indicative only. In every state New Zealand-born Māori were significantly more mobile than their non-Māori counterparts, although the extent of the difference varied by state.

Table 7: Usual residence in 2006, Census 2011

		Usual Residence in 2006 (5 years ago)										
_		NZ-born	Māori			NZ-born Non Māori						
Residence in 2011	Total Stated*	% in same state	% in another state	% Overseas	Total Stated*	% in same state	% in another state	% Overseas				
New South Wales	17,671	76.4	3.2	20.4	89,435	79.4	4.0	16.5				
Victoria	10,938	64.2	5.0	30.8	63,793	70.5	5.0	24.5				
Queensland	30,730	56.1	5.4	38.5	148,479	73.4	4.0	22.6				
Western Australia	15,388	48.8	6.6	44.7	50,223	66.1	5.0	28.9				
South Australia	1,627	63.9	10.4	25.6	10,425	76.6	8.1	15.2				
Tasmania	463	63.5	16.8	19.7	4,177	69.7	16.9	13.4				
Northern Territory	702	54.6	17.5	27.9	3,027	57.1	21.0	22.0				
Australian Capital Territory	424	47.4	23.1	29.5	3,766	68.0	15.2	16.8				
Total	77,943	60.6	5.5	34.0	373,325	30.0	45.0	25.0				

<sup>\*</sup>Not stated/Not applicable are excluded

Finally, Figures 8 and 9 focus only on movement in the one year prior to the 2011 Census. While the proportion of Māori living at a different address declined to about 30 per cent, Māori internal mobility was still much higher than for the national population. With respect to Māori vs non-Māori comparisons, there was still a significant difference in the proportion who had lived at a different address a year earlier (23.9 vs 17.9 per cent), but the gap was much smaller than for the entire intercensal period.



Figure 8: Usual residence one year ago by age group: Total Australia and all Māori living in Australia, Census 2011

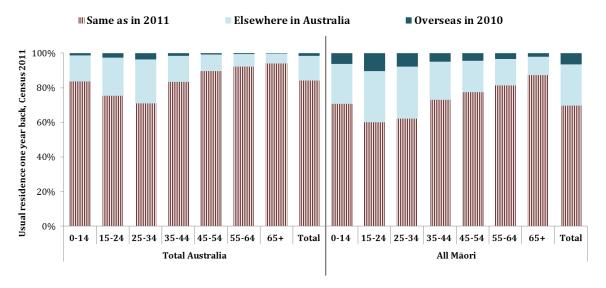
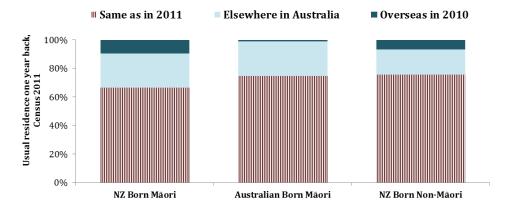


Figure 9: Usual residence one year ago: NZ-born Māori, Australian-born Māori and NZ-born Non-Māori, Census 2011





#### Section 2: Māori identification and te reo Māori

#### 2.1 Identification by ancestry

Moving from purely demographic aspects, this section considers patterns of Māori ancestry identification and home language use. In New Zealand, a considerable number of studies have examined the dynamics of Māori identification in surveys and the Census (e.g., Callister, Didham & Potter, 2005; Carter, 2009; Howard & Didham, 2005; Kukutai, 2004, 2010). These studies have shown that identification decisions are not made in a vacuum, but reflect a complex mix of individual characteristics (e.g., feelings of pride, knowledge of heritage, physical appearance); structural features (e.g., ethnic inequality, group relations); and instrumental factors (e.g., question wording, available categories, purpose for data collection). At the popular level, there is a tendency to think of ethnicity as a fixed, stable trait of individuals, but patterns of identification are much more fluid (Carter, 2009; Kukutai, 2010: Kukutai & Didham, 2012). How people are identified may change over time or between data collections; a phenomenon that social scientists and demographers refer to as 'ethnic mobility'.

When ethnicity data are used to inform important decisions - for example, the distribution of resources or the definition of electoral boundaries - the conceptual meaning of ethnicity and the methodology used to construct ethnic populations is vital. Given past efforts by the state to circumscribe the boundaries of indigenous population through definitions such as 'half-caste', it is desirable that indigenous population parameters be founded on inclusive criteria in forums such as the Census. In such circumstances ancestry is a fitting concept because all that is required is an expressed sense of shared identity. The relative inclusiveness of ancestry as the basis for belonging is evident in New Zealand, where the number of people reported as Māori by ancestry in the Census consistently exceeds the number reporting as Māori by ethnicity (Kukutai, 2010). One consequence of this inclusiveness, however, is that it makes for a diverse mix of individuals with respect to identity, socio-economic status, and so forth. This matters because a number of studies have shown that those who identify exclusively, or primarily, as Māori tend to have significantly poorer socio-economic outcomes than those whose Māori identification is part of a more complex designation (Chapple, 2000; Kukutai, 2004; Kukutai, 2010). Those with an exclusive or primary Māori identification also tend to be more likely to speak Te Reo Māori, partner with other Māori, and live in areas with a high Māori concentration. Although these studies have all been undertaken using data on Māori resident in New Zealand, similar associations may also exist within the Māori population in Australia.

Given the foregoing points, it is useful to consider some of the internal nuances in identification within the Australia-resident Māori population. The first point to note is that, in both 2011 and 2006, fewer than half of the population recorded an exclusive Māori identification (44.1 and 43.2 per cent respectively), although this varied significantly by birthplace. In 2011, 54.8 per cent of New Zealand-



born Māori in the 2011 Census were reported solely as Māori, compared to just 23.2 per cent of their Australian-born counterparts. The proportion of single ancestry responses among the latter was much lower than for the total Australia-born population (61.3 per cent). This likely reflects the fact that Māori are a relatively 'new' migrant group to Australia and thus many still retain a sense of connection to Māori identity while also seeing themselves (or their children) as Australian. By comparison, descendants of older migrant groups may eventually lose their sense of connection with their ancestral heritage and adopt a singular Australian ancestry.

While the Census ancestry question does not ask respondents to rank their responses, <sup>14</sup> Table 8 shows the five most common ancestry combinations for Māori. Of the 37,290 New Zealand-born Māori who reported multiple ancestries in the 2011 Census, more than half checked the English tick-box, with a much smaller proportion recording Scottish (13.2 per cent) or Irish (7.8 per cent). Similar proportions recorded either Samoan or Australian ancestry (about 4 per cent). Very few New Zealand-born Māori gave New Zealander as an ancestry response. It may be that being Māori and being a New Zealander are so closely intertwined that there is no perceived need to separately record New Zealand ancestry. By comparison, Australian was the most popular multiple ancestry response for Australian-born Māori (44 per cent). English was also a reasonably widespread response at 24 per cent, followed by much smaller proportions reporting Scottish, Irish and Samoan ancestry (3.5 to 5.3 per cent). The results suggest that while Australian-born Māori have a strong attachment to Australian identity, New Zealand-born Māori are much more closely connected to their English settler heritage. The extent to which this signals differences in recalled ancestry versus national identity cannot be probed within the Census.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> We thank Paul Hamer for pointing out that ancestry tick-boxes (English, Irish, Italian, German, Chinese, Scottish, Australian) will always be counted before an 'Other' write-in Māori response.



Table 8: Ancestry of Māori living in Australia; Census 2006 and 2011

	Census 2006		Census 2	011
	Population	(%)	Population	(%)
Single Māori Ancestry (1)	40,186	(43.2)	56,665	(44.1)
Multiple Māori Ancestry (2)	52,731	(56.8)	71,765	(55.9)
Total Māori living in Australia	92,917	(100.0)	128,430	(100.0)
Māori born in New Zealand				
Single Māori Ancestry	32,015	(54.1)	45,288	(54.8)
Multiple Māori Ancestry	27,140	(45.9)	37,290	(45.2)
Total NZ Born Māori	59,155	(100.0)	82,578	(100.0)
Māori born in Australia				
Single Māori Ancestry	6,839	(22.1)	9,952	(23.2)
Multiple Māori Ancestry	24,106	(77.9)	32,884	(76.8)
Total Australia Born Māori	30,945	(100.0)	42,836	(100.0)
Māori born elsewhere				
Single Māori Ancestry	1,332	(47.3)	1,425	(47.2)
Multiple Māori Ancestry	1,485	(52.7)	1,591	(52.8)
Total Māori born elsewhere	2,817	(100.0)	3,016	(100.0)
NZ Born Māori with Multiple Ancestry: 2nd ance	stry reported			
English	14,041	(51.7)	19,765	(53.0)
Scottish	3,564	(13.1)	4,914	(13.2)
Irish	2,283	(8.4)	2,894	(7.8)
Samoan	901	(3.3)	1,564	(4.2)
Australian	1,390	(5.1)	1,517	(4.1)
Other	4,961	(18.3)	6,636	(17.8)
NZ Born Māori with Multiple Ancestry	27,140	(100.0)	37,290	(137.4)
Australian Born Māori with Multiple Ancestry: 2	nd ancestry r	eported		
Australian	11,232	(46.6)	14,464	(44.0)
English	5,719	(23.7)	7,904	(24.0)
Scottish	1,334	(5.5)	1,727	(5.3)
Irish	1,178	(4.9)	1,601	(4.9)
Samoan	584	(2.4)	1,158	(3.5)
Other	4,059	(16.8)	6,030	(18.3)
Total Australian Born Māori with Multiple Ancestry	24,106	(100.0)	32,884	(100.0)

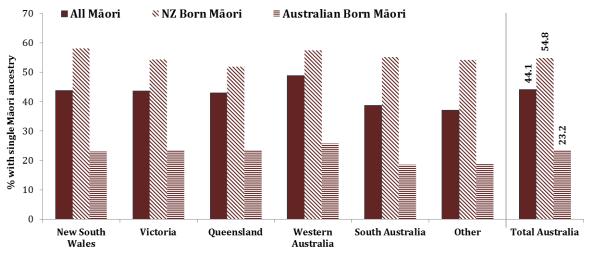
<sup>(1)</sup> First and only response to the ancestry question is 'Māori'

In terms of spatial differences, Figure 10 shows that, among New Zealand-born Māori, the highest proportions of single ancestry responses were in the 'old' and 'new' Māori hubs of New South Wales and Western Australia. For Australian-born Māori, the share reporting single ancestry was similar across the states shown.



<sup>(2)</sup> Two responses to the ancestry question; the first or second being 'Māori'

Figure 10: Proportion with single Māori ancestry by state, Census 2011



#### Census 2011, Usually Resident Population

#### 2.2 Te reo Māori

Te reo Māori is a fundamental aspect of Māori collective identity. Understanding the mechanisms that support the maintenance of te reo outside of New Zealand, as well as how widely te reo is spoken and by whom, is an important feature of the Māori population profile in Australia (for more detailed analysis of te reo in Australia, see Hamer, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012). As in 2006, the 2011 Census asked respondents whether they spoke a language other than English in the home and, if so, what the language was. Figure 11 compares the age-specific rates of te reo speakers in 2011 and 2006. Overall, 6.3 per cent of Māori living in Australia spoke te reo at home in 2011, which was slightly higher than the 5.7 per cent recorded in 2006. While the proportionate increase was very modest, in absolute terms this translated into an additional 2,788 speakers of te reo, or an increase of 53.2 per cent. These 'new' speakers were likely to be arrivals after the 2006 Census (the 2011 Census recorded 2,794 Māori speakers of te reo that arrived between 2007 and 2011), but may also reflect other factors including an increased propensity among te reo speakers to identify as Māori¹5; changing responses to the language question, and (less likely) an increase in te reo speakers among Māori resident in Australia at the time of the 2006 Census.

In terms of variation by age, the proportion of te reo speakers ranged from a high of 8.1 per cent at ages 35-39 years, to a low of 4.4 per cent among 5-9 year olds. As expected, the proportion of te reo speakers was much higher among the New Zealand-born Māori (8.2 per cent) than among Māori born

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In any given Census, the number of Māori speakers of te reo resident in Australia has consistently been lower than the total number of te reo speakers. In 2011, for example, there were 9,977 speakers of te reo, 80.2 per cent of whom were Māori.



in Australia (2.4 per cent). In 2006, the respective rate for each group was 7.4 and 2.0 per cent (not shown on graph).

Comparing the age-specific rates for both years shows that the increase in te reo speakers (i.e., the ages at which the gap between the bar and line is greatest) was mostly concentrated in the ages between 25 and 39 years. While differences in the timing of the Census, as well as the wording of the language question, precludes direct comparisons between the proportions of te reo speakers in New Zealand and Australia, it is nevertheless informative to compare differences in the age-specific patterns. In the case of New Zealand (see Appendix table 8.0), conversational ability in te reo tends to increase with age and is highest at the kaumātua ages, from 65 years and older. In Australia, the distribution is more bi-modal, with peaks at 25-34 years and 55+ years. This different age profile reflects a number of factors including the age-specific nature of migration (e.g., people in the older ages tend to be the least mobile), as well as selection bias among migrant (e.g., where te reo speakers may be under-represented among different migrant cohorts).

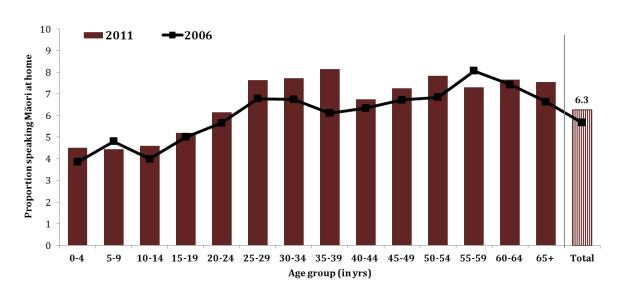


Figure 11: Proportion of Māori living in Australia who speak Māori at home, Census 2006 and 2011

In terms of spatial distribution, Figure 12 shows that among New Zealand-born Māori, Western Australia had the highest proportion of te reo speakers and Queensland the lowest. A similar pattern can be observed among Australian-born Māori, which is not surprisingly as many will be their children. Although intercensal comparisons are not shown here, Hamer's report (2012) noted a spatial shift in the state-wide distribution of te reo speakers between 2006 and 2011, with Western Australia and Queensland gaining a greater share of all Māori te reo speakers, while the share in New South Wales declined. Taken together, the identification and te reo analysis suggests that Western Australia, of all the states, has a more traditional cultural profile and this has occurred through relatively recent migration processes.



Beyond te reo, it is important to acknowledge that there is a broad range of ways that Māori living overseas create and maintain their connections to Māori culture and identity. For some this will mean actively fostering or maintaining ties to people and place through activities that range from regular trips to New Zealand and sending money back to whānau; to reading Māori newspapers online and participating in social networking sites (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012). For others, being Māori may be primarily about creating new meanings of what it means to be Māori in ways that are largely symbolic. This may include playing in sports teams alongside other Māori and attending music festivals on Waitangi Day. Many of these forms of diasporic identity maintenance are beyond the purview of the Census and are best understood through ethnographic and survey approaches.

Figure 12: Proportion of Māori living in Australia who speak Māori at home in each major state by place of birth, Census 2011





# Section 3: Year of arrival and citizenship

## 3.1 Year of arrival

This section on year of arrival and citizenship commences by examining the timing of migration for New Zealand-born Māori (and non-Māori) living in Australia at the time of the 2011 Census. Figure 13 shows the number of New Zealand-born Māori arriving in each five-year period, from 1971 to 2011. Bearing in mind that we cannot account for the impacts of mortality on earlier cohorts, or the return migration of Māori to New Zealand, Figure 13 shows a very marked increase in the number of Māori settling in Australia in the last decade. Of the New Zealand-born Māori who reported their year of arrival in the 2011 Census, just over half (51.7 per cent) had arrived in the preceding decade. That being noted, Figure 13 also reflects the long history of Māori mobility across the Tasman, with about 26 per cent having lived in Australia for at least 20 years. Although not shown here, the proportion of non-Māori New Zealanders who arrived in Australia from 2001 onwards was substantially lower at 34.2 per cent.<sup>16</sup>

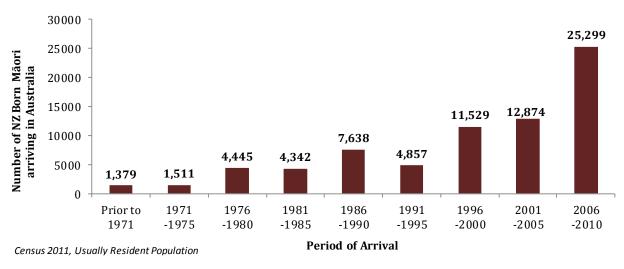


Figure 13: Number of NZ-born Māori living in Australia by period of arrival, Census 2011

Note: 4,851 with 'yr of arrival not stated' and 3,849 who arrived between 1 Jan 2011 - 9 Aug 2011 are excluded.

The high proportion of recent migrants among Māori is extremely important because of changes imposed by Australia on 26 February 2001, which severely limited New Zealanders' subsequent access to a wide range of entitlements. These changes have been widely discussed in prior research (see, for example, Bedford, Ho & Hugo, 2003; Birrell & Rapson, 2001; Hamer, 2007, 2008a, 2012) and will not be restated in-depth here. It is sufficient to note that prior to 2001 New Zealand citizens resident in

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  If we take from the period from 1 January 2001 to 9 August 2011, the respective proportions are 54.1 and 36.4 per cent.



Australia were able to access social security after a two-year stand-down; between 1986 and 2000 it was only a six-month stand-down. Since 2001, New Zealand citizens arriving in Australia are still able to work freely through a non-protected Special Category Visa,<sup>17</sup> but cannot access social security and some employment opportunities unless they obtain permanent residence status on the same basis as other migrant groups. With some minor exceptions, New Zealand citizens who arrived in Australia on or before 26 February 2001 hold a protected special category visa which effectively means they are classed as permanent residents. Most of them will be able to access income support and student allowances although student loans are generally only available to Australian citizens.<sup>18</sup> The right to vote has, for many years, also been limited to Australian citizens.

The pathway to permanent residence, and thus to citizenship, is an expensive process that can only be pursued after two years of residence and, in most cases, can only be obtained vis-à-vis a points-based skilled migrants visa which has a range of strict eligibility criteria relating to age and sectoral skills demand. For many of the Māori who migrated to Australia after February 2001, permanent residence will never be a viable option under existing arrangements. They will be able to contribute to the Australian tax base but will not be able to access state support in times of need; access support to undertake higher education (a key issue for the 1.5 generation); or vote. These changes also have complex implications for the children of migrants, even some of those whom are Australian-born (Hamer, 2012).

The high proportion of recent post-2001 migrants among Māori New Zealanders means that Māori are disproportionately exposed to the disadvantages attendant with the restricted access to entitlements. This relative exposure to vulnerability is not evenly distributed across Australia. As Figure 14 shows the proportion of Māori migrants that arrived after 2001 is most pronounced in Western Australia (62.0) per cent followed closely by Queensland (59.8 per cent). Any future shocks in Western Australia's extractive resources sector and ancillary industries, such as construction, will likely have a disproportionately negative impact on Māori migrants there (see section 4 in this report). In every state, Māori had a higher proportion of recent migrants than non-Māori New Zealanders, but the difference was most marked in Western Australia and Queensland.

The non-protected SCV can only be denied on the health and character grounds see: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/17nz.htm

<sup>18</sup> New Zealand citizens can access the student loan scheme (HELP) if they are obtain one of the limited number of 'Commonwealth supported places' available at public universities as well as a small number of private higher education providers. In June 2013 it was announced that New Zealanders who had spent most of their childhood in Australia would be able to access Australian government loans to cover university or vocational training fees from 2015.

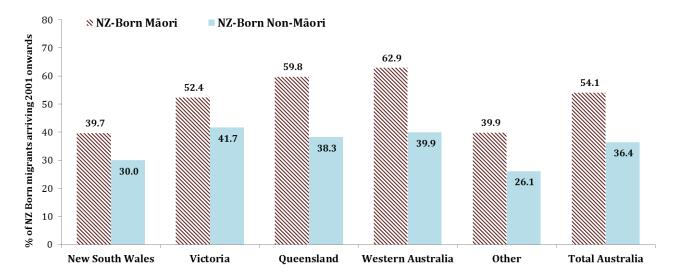


Figure 14: Proportion of NZ-born migrants who arrived 2001 onwards

Census 2011, Usually Resident Population

# 3.2 Citizenship

Although it is not possible to identify individuals who have obtained permanent residence in the Census, the inclusion of a citizenship question does allow for an analysis of citizenship uptake. Previous studies using 2001 and 2006 Census data have shown that Māori resident in Australia have among the lowest levels of Australian citizenship (Khoo & Lucas, 2004; Hamer, 2008). In the 2001 Census, for example, the only ancestry groups with lower citizenship rates than Māori were Japanese and Niueans (Khoo & Lucas, 2004). The latter are New Zealand citizens by virtue of Niue's free association status with New Zealand. The low uptake of Australian citizenship amongst overseas-born Japanese can be attributed to the fact that it is extremely difficult to hold dual Japanese citizenship under Japanese law. Prior to the law changes in 2001, Māori living in Australia had no compelling incentive to gain citizenship because they ostensibly enjoyed the same rights and privileges as Australian citizens, with the exception that they were unable to vote. While the situation has clearly changed, the challenges associated with obtaining citizenship means the rate of uptake for Māori is unlikely to improve in the future; in the absence of any changes to the current legal arrangement, it may well decline.

Using 2011 and 2006 Census data, Figure 15 compares the rate of Australian citizenship among overseas-born Māori and other select ancestry groups. The analysis is restricted to those who arrived in Australia at least five years prior to the Census (e.g. prior to 2006 for those resident in 2011; prior to 2001 for those resident in 2006), so as to include those who have been in Australia long enough to



be eligible for Australian citizenship.<sup>19</sup> In both years the proportion of Māori with Australian citizenship (23.3 per cent) was much lower than for other ancestry groups, with the exception of the Japanese (for reasons already noted above). For Māori, as well as for Cook Island and New Zealander ancestry groups, citizenship rates slightly declined over time.

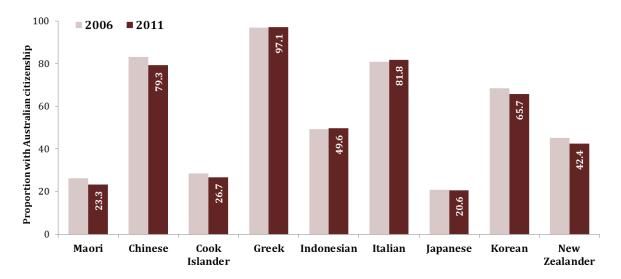


Figure 15: Proportion with Australian citizenship by ancestry, Census 2006 and 2011

If we focus only on the New Zealand-born, and distinguish between Māori and non-Māori by period of arrival we can see that this difference is not solely due to nativity or differences in the time of arrival. As Figure 16 shows, of all Māori migrants living in Australia in 2011, only 16.6 per cent had Australian citizenship, significantly lower than the 38 per cent observed for non-Māori. Even when we restrict the comparisons to those who arrived in the same five-year period, Māori still had substantially lower rates of citizenship uptake than non-Māori New Zealanders. What is striking is the drop-off in citizenship rates for both groups after 2000. Of the New Zealand-born Māori resident in Australia in 2011 who had arrived between five and ten years earlier, only 4.1 per cent had obtained Australian citizenship. For non-Māori New Zealanders, the share was also relatively low, at 5.2 per cent. These figures do not augur at all well for the future security of New Zealand-born Māori in Australia nor, by association, their Australian-born children. These findings ought to be viewed in the context of ongoing concerns expressed by Māori community advocates in Australia regarding the increase in the number of Māori migrants seeking assistance, and the apparent lack of knowledge that many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The calculations exclude those who did not state a year of arrival. For this reason the proportions are different to those in Hamer (2012) who included the not stated in order to align with the way Khoo and Lucas had calculated their figures, for comparative purposes.



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Māori(and New Zealand) migrants have of the permanent residence requirements before they make the decision to migrate (Va'a, personal communication, 2012).<sup>20</sup>

100 NZ Born Māori ■ NZ Born Non-Māori Proportion with Australian citizenship 80 60 40 20 0 1986 2006 Prior to 1971 1976 1981 1991 1996 2001 All -1980 -1985 -1990 -1995 -2000 -2005 -2010 1971 -1975

Figure 16: Proportion of NZ-born Māori and Non-Māori with Australian citizenship by period of arrival, Census 2011

Finally, in terms of spatial differences, Figure 17 shows some state-wide variation in the proportion of New Zealand-born Māori with citizenship, from about one in four in Queensland and Western Australia, to one in five in New South Wales and Victoria. In all four states, the proportion of Australian citizens among Māori migrants decreased, most notably in Queensland and Western Australia.

Period of arrival

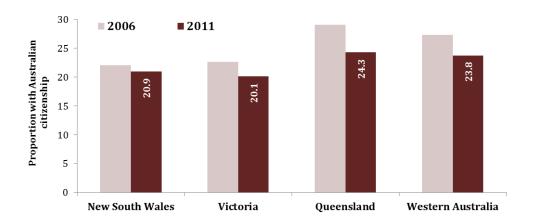


Figure 17: Proportion with NZ-born Māori with Australian citizenship in major states, Census 2006 and 2011

Australia/tabid/506/articleID/22454/Default.aspx

Census 2011, Usually Resident Population

Also see, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\_id=1&objectid=10745190



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Vicky Va'a is the co-ordinator of the Nerang Neighbourhood Centre on the Gold Coast. Her interview with Paul Henry about the 'pitfalls' for Kiwis emigrating to Australia can be accessed at: http://www.radiolive.co.nz/Pitfalls-for-Kiwis-emmigrating-to-

## Section 4: Education and work

Having examined key socio-demographic features of Māori living in Australia, this section looks at their education profile and key labour market features including income. There is a general consensus that education provides an integral pathway into employment, and reduces exposure to unemployment. Higher education, in particular, is seen as a valuable investment in human capital, helping individuals develop important transferable skills, such as numeracy and communication, which are valuable assets in globalised labour markets. To date, little research has been undertaken into the educational profile of Māori resident in Australia. Moreover, while there has been a great deal of recent interest in trans-Tasman labour markets (e.g., Haig, 2010; Poot, 2009), few studies have focused on Māori specifically. One notable exception is a 2009 study by Newell and Pool which compared the occupational distribution of Māori residents in Australia and New Zealand, although it did not distinguish between Māori migrants and Australian-born Māori, nor did it consider differences in earnings.

The following descriptive analysis is intended to provide a platform for engaging more detailed work on the economic circumstances and contributions of Māori in Australia. Unfortunately the postponement of the 2011 New Zealand Census precludes comparisons with Māori living in New Zealand. Such a comparison would be useful for clarifying the role of push-pull factors underlying Māori migration to Australia and whether, for example, Māori in Australia were 'better off' than their counterparts in similar jobs in New Zealand. The inability to make robust Trans-Tasman comparisons will be a longer-term issue if the New Zealand Census is not brought back into line with the Australia Census by 2021.

Unless otherwise stated, all figures in this section pertain to those in the prime working ages of 25 – 54 years. This controls for a well-known age bias in New Zealand migration to Australia (e.g., workers tend to be clustered in particular ages) and reduces the effect of migration related to non-economic and employment reasons (Haig, 2010). We also note a strong caveat with respect to the education and work outcomes of Australian-born Māori. The relatively small number at prime working ages (n=6,587), a function of the youthful age structure shown earlier, means that the analysis undertaken in this section cannot be taken as representative of Australian-born Māori as a whole. Certainly it is not possible to generalise the findings to overall differences in outcomes between first and second generation Māori in Australia.



#### 4.1 Education

To begin we look at the highest level of school completed for Māori relative to key comparator groups. Figure 18 reveals significant differences in the proportion of adults with a school leaving qualification of year 12 or equivalent.<sup>21</sup> Less than half of adult NZ-born Māori resident in Australia in 2011 left school with a Year 12 qualification (45.2 per cent), compared to 57 per cent of non-Māori New Zealanders, and 58.9 per cent of the national Australia population. The marked difference between Māori and non-Māori migrants is unsurprising given the well-known differences in educational attainment observed in New Zealand, particularly among older cohorts. For all groups the proportion leaving school with a Year 12 or equivalent qualification increased between 2006 and 2011, although the increase was lower for NZ-born Māori. Figure 19 shows a strong gender dimension, with Māori women significantly more likely than men to have left school with a qualification. This gender differential reflects the 'gender transition' that has taken place in New Zealand, and indeed in most other developed countries, in which girls and women in education now participate and achieve at higher rates than their male counterparts (Callister et al., 2006).

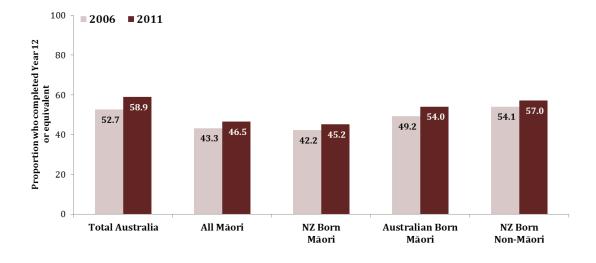


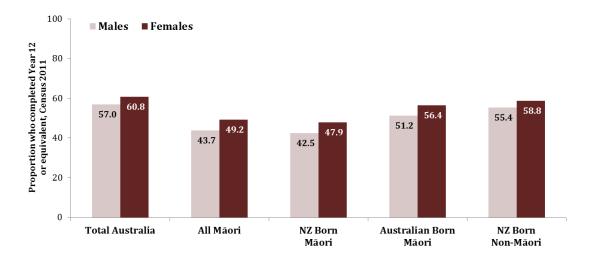
Figure 18: Proportion with school leaving qualification of Year 12 or equivalent, 20-64 years, Census 2006 and 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Given that this indicator is likely to be 'fixed' (i.e., most adults will not return to school) the broader age group of 20-64 years is used to maximise the diversity in education outcomes between the different groups.



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Figure 19: Proportion with school leaving qualification of Year 12 or equivalent by sex, 20-64 years, Census 2011



Turning to post-school qualifications, Figure 21 shows that 40 per cent of Māori overall had some kind of tertiary qualification in 2011 compared to 63 per cent of the total Australia population. NZ-born Māori had the lowest share with a post-secondary qualification (40 per cent) which was markedly less than the proportion of Australian-born Māori (52 per cent) and NZ-born non-Māori (59 per cent). Of the 17,675 Māori migrants who had a completed tertiary qualification, relatively few had a Bachelor's degree or higher (8 per cent). Comparisons with the 2006 Census (Figure 20) show that all groups, including Māori, experienced an improvement in their educational profile. The improvement was most noticeable for Australian-born Māori, with the proportion with no tertiary qualification decreasing from 52 per cent in 2006 to 47 per cent in 2011.

 $Figure\ 20:\ Level\ of\ education,\ 25\text{-}54\ years,\ Census\ 2006$ 

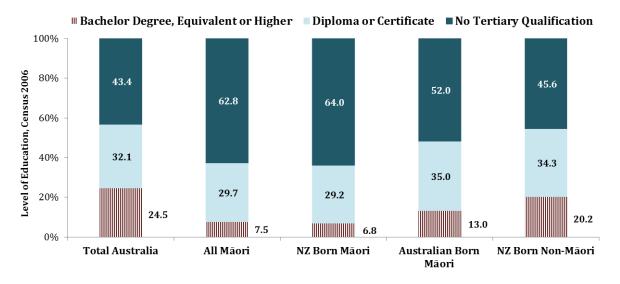
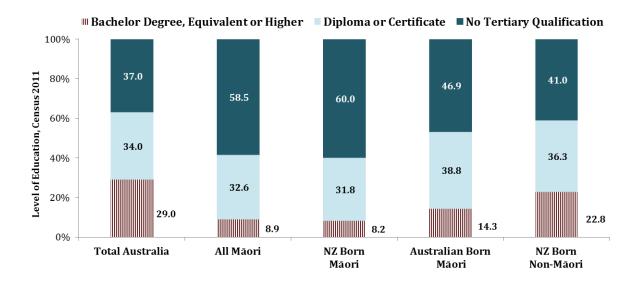


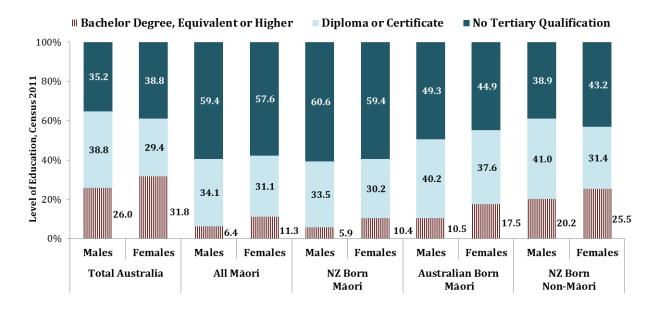


Figure 21: Level of education, 25-54 years, Census 2011



Gendered differences in qualifications were apparent for most groups in 2011 (Figure 22). While a similar proportion of Māori men and women lacked a tertiary qualification, Māori women were more likely to have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. A similar gendered pattern existed for all groups although the magnitude of the difference varied. NZ-born Māori men were the least likely to hold a degree of some kind (6 per cent) with a proportion far below the male share for Australia nationally (26 per cent).

Figure 22: Level of education by sex, 25-54 years, Census 2011





To capture the most recent dynamics in post-school participation, the rest of the education analysis is limited to 20-29 year olds. Figure 23 shows the proportion engaged in education in 2011 (full time and part time). For all Māori living in Australia, the proportion engaged in some form of education (secondary, technical or university) was much lower than for the nation as a whole, and was lowest among NZ-born Māori men.<sup>22</sup> The lower levels of participation in higher education by New Zealanders generally partly reflects migrant selection factors in that many of those who migrated would have moved for employment rather than for education. It is interesting to note that engagement was also low among Australian-born Māori although, as noted earlier, their small number precludes robust inference.

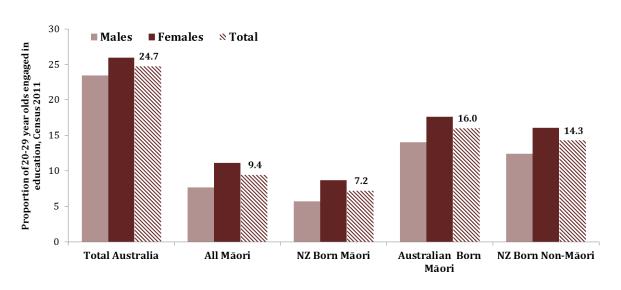


Figure 23: Proportion engaged in education, 20-29 years, Census 2011

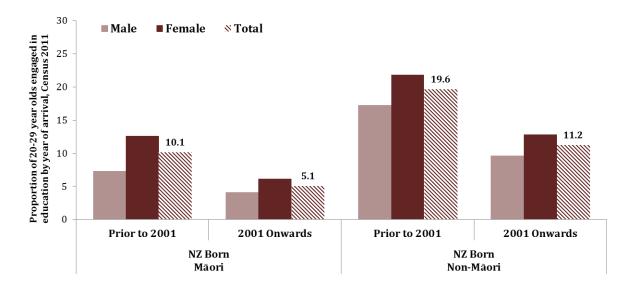
Focusing only on migrants, Figure 24 distinguishes between Māori and non-Māori who arrived prior to 2001 and those who arrived from 2001 onwards. This is necessary because most New Zealanders who arrived in Australia before February 2001 are classed as permanent residents and are thus likely to have access to some form of student support (e.g., student allowances, not necessarily loans). For both Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders, those who arrived prior to 2001 were nearly twice as likely as later arrivals to be engaged in education. Better access to student financial support may be a factor, along with other differences related to migration such as higher labour market attachment among recent migrants. It is also worth noting that most Māori aged 20-29 in 2011 who arrived in Australia prior to 2001 would have migrated with their parents and thus been schooled and socialised in the Australian education system. It might be that their attitudes towards higher education, and their ability to access opportunities, differ from young Māori who migrated after 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Students attending secondary school or other institutions (not TAFE, University or other similar tertiary educational institutions) comprised a small share of the overall number of Māori migrants engaged in education (14.7 per cent).



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Figure 24: Proportion engaged in education by year of arrival, 20 - 29 years, Census 2011



Figures 25 and 26 show that, of those engaged in education, a significantly smaller proportion of Māori was enrolled at a university or other tertiary institution. In 2011, this amounted to just over a third (34.8) of New Zealand-born Māori students in Australia, albeit that this was an improvement on 2006 (31.9 per cent). With respect to gender differences, Figure 27 shows that Māori male students had the lowest proportion enrolled at universities (28.3 per cent of students), and that the gender difference was larger for Māori than for non-Māori New Zealanders. The rates for Australian-born Māori men was also surprisingly low (45.5 per cent) when compared to national figures, although their small number means that the comparison should be treated with caution.

 $Figure\ 25:\ Type\ of\ educational\ institute\ attending,\ 20-29\ years,\ Census\ 2006$ 

■ Secondary/Other
■ Technical or Further Educational Institutions (incl. TAFE Colleges)
■ University or other Tertiary Institution





Figure 26: Type of educational institute attending, 20-29 years, Census 2011

- Secondary/Other
- Technical or Further Educational Institutions (incl. TAFE Colleges)
- **University or other Tertiary Institution**

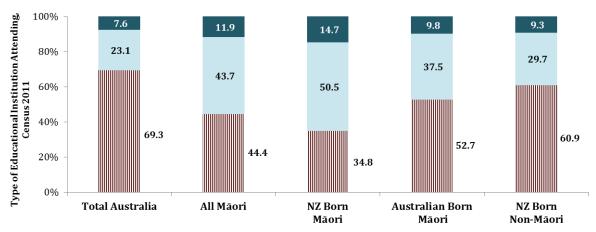
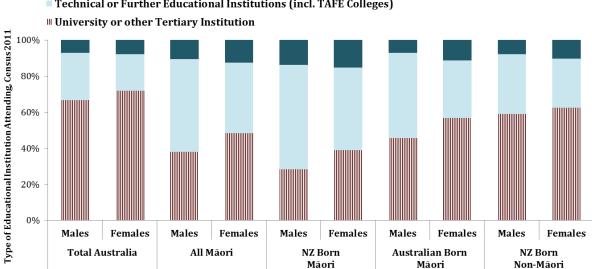


Figure 27: Type of educational institute attending by sex, 20-29 years, Census 2011

- Secondary/Other
- Technical or Further Educational Institutions (incl. TAFE Colleges)



Overall the foregoing analysis shows that Māori migrants in Australia fare poorly with respect to both participation in higher education in Australia and overall education levels. In 2011 Māori migrants were significantly less educated than Australian-born Māori, non-Māori migrants, and the general Australian population at the same ages. While other studies of New Zealanders in Australia have emphasised the lower education and skills level relative to the Australian population or workforce (Haig, 2010), this study has shown that Māori migrants are even less qualified. The possible implications of this for relative employment and earnings capacity are explored in more depth in the following sections.



### 4.2 Labour force participation and unemployment

Moving from education to work, this section examines patterns of Māori labour force participation relative to key comparator groups. The Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) measures the proportion of the working age population (typically 15 – 64 years) that is either actively employed in full- or part-time work, or seeking employment. Those not in the labour force includes students, unpaid givers, early retirees, and so-called 'discouraged workers' who are neither employed, nor actively looking for work. In this report we focus only on those in the prime working ages (25 – 54 years). The analysis is age-standardised<sup>23</sup> to control for differences in the distributions within the prime working ages, and excludes those for whom labour force status was not reported (less than one per cent of Māori).

Figure 28 shows that at the time of the 2011 Census, the proportion of all prime working age Māori in the labour force (84 per cent) was comparable with the nation-wide figure (83 per cent). However this figure masks substantial variation between New Zealand and Australian-born Māori, especially for men. Among New Zealand-born Māori males, the labour force participation rate was very high at 92.6 per cent (*v*s 89.8 per cent nationally) and was comparable with that for non-Māori New Zealand men (94.2 per cent). For Australian-born Māori males the rates were much lower at 87.5 per cent, which can only be partially explained by the higher proportion engaged in education.<sup>24</sup> As expected, women had much lower rates of participation than men, with the lowest rate observed for Australian-born Māori women (72.4 per cent).

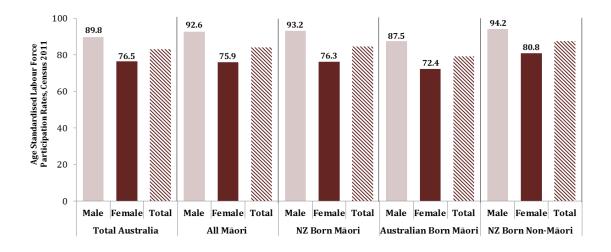


Figure 28: Age standardised labour force participation rates, 25-54 years, Census 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The small number of Australian-born Māori means figures for that group should be treated with caution. In the 2011 Census, there were 2,996 Australian-born Māori males and 3,589 females aged 25-54 years.



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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Direct age standardisation using the 2011 Total Australia population as the standard.

A further distinction between NZ-born Māori and non-Māori, by period of arrival, is shown in Figure 29. For both groups, labour-force participation was significantly higher for those who arrived after 2001, and this was the case for both men and women. This likely reflects a number of factors including differences in the reason for migration, with later arrivals more likely to be job seekers.

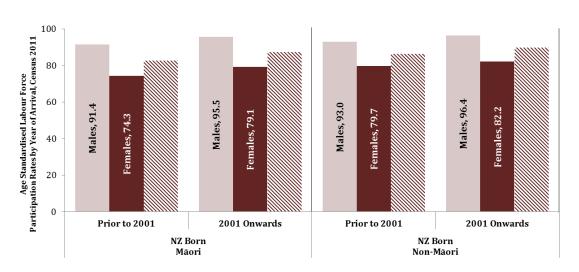


Figure 29: Age standardised labour force participation rates by period of arrival, 25-54 years, Census 2011

The employment rate is a widely used measure of participation in work and expresses the number of people currently employed as a percentage of the available labour force.<sup>25</sup> Employment (and unemployment) rates are usually derived from monthly or quarterly surveys such as the Household Labour Force Survey (in New Zealand), and adjusted for seasonal fluctuations. However, for the purpose of this report, we use a Census-based age-standardised measure as a basic snapshot of the work status of Māori in Australia in 2011.

Figure 30 shows age-standardised employment rates<sup>26</sup>, by sex, for Māori in Australia and comparator groups. The overall employment rate for Māori migrants closely fitted the national rate, underscoring the contribution that Māori make to the Australian economy. For New Zealand-born Māori men, the employment rate was nearly three percentage points higher than the national Australian rate, whereas the rate for Māori migrant women was about three percentage points lower. For both men and women, non-Māori Zealanders had the highest employment rates of all the groups shown. Comparisons with the 2006 Census data show minimal difference in the change in proportions for each group over time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In the 2011 Census the question asked: 'Did the person actively look for work in the last four weeks?' The employment rate is a population-based measure defined as: Employed 25-54 yrs/ (Population 25-54 yrs – Employed Not Stated 25-54 yrs). This is consistent with definitions used by Statistics New Zealand and the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The unemployment rate is a labour force-based measure defined as: Unemployed 25-54 yrs / (Employed + Unemployed 25-54 yrs).



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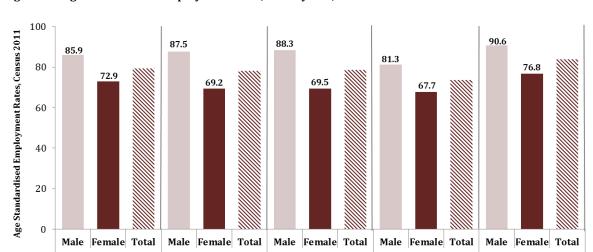


Figure 30: Age standardised employment rates, 25-54 years, Census 2011

All Māori

**Total Australia** 

Age-specific rates, for both men and women (Table 9), provide additional insights into Māori participation in work in Australia. For migrant Māori men in the prime working ages, employment rates peaked at 30-34 years and exceed the national Australian rate at all ages. For migrant Māori women, their participation in work was much lower than the Australian rate at all ages, with the difference especially marked at ages 25-29 years. This may reflect a combination of factors including different age-specific fertility rates (i.e., a higher probability of having children at younger ages); and the influence of non-labour market factors, such as having a partner who is the prime income earner (Haig, 2010). Interestingly, a similar age-specific pattern can be seen for Australian-born Māori women who experienced even lower overall levels of employment. It should be noted that this analysis includes both full- and part-time jobseekers and that further disaggregation might reveal additional differences, particularly among women, for whom part-time work is more common.

NZ Born Māori

Australian Born Māori NZ Born Non-Māori

Table 9: Proportion employed by age group and sex, 25-54 years, Census 2011

				Females						
	Total Australia	All Māori		Australian Born Māori	NZ Born Non-Māori	Total Australia	All Māori		Australian Born Māori	NZ Born Non-Māori
25-29 years	84.3	87.2	88.4	82.9	90.7	72.6	61.8	61.3	63.5	77.4
30-34 years	87.2	89.3	90.4	82.9	91.7	69.5	64.1	63.9	65.6	72.1
35-39 years	87.6	88.7	89.5	82.5	92.0	70.1	67.5	67.4	70.8	72.2
40-44 years	86.9	87.8	87.9	85.3	90.8	74.0	73.0	73.8	67.9	77.3
45-49 years	85.7	87.9	88.6	79.3	89.9	76.6	75.1	75.7	70.4	81.0
50-54 years	83.7	84.1	84.7	75.2	88.2	74.4	73.9	74.4	67.4	80.5
Total 25-54 years	85.9	87.7	88.4	82.5	90.5	72.9	68.5	69.1	66.4	76.8



Figure 31 distinguishes those who arrived in Australia before 2001 from later arrivals. As with previous analysis, it shows significant differences by period of arrival, with a much higher employment rate for both Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders who arrived after 2001. As with previous findings these differences may reflect a combination of factors including higher labour market attachment among later arrivals. The inability of many post-2001 migrants to access income support would also seem to be a strong incentive to work.

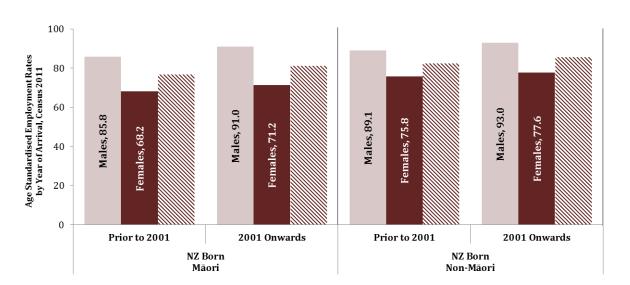


Figure 31: Age standardised employment rates by period of arrival, 25-54 years, Census 2011

# 4.3 Occupation

Understanding the broad mix of skill sets that Māori in Australia have, as well as their distribution across key occupations and industries, is important for anticipating future labour market challenges and opportunities. Occupation data were only available for those employed at the time of the Census. Figures 32 and 33 compare the distribution of Māori across the eight broadest ANZSCO (Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations) occupational groupings.<sup>27</sup> Relative to the total Australian workforce, there was a marked over-representation of employed Māori in occupations associated with lower skill levels, such as labourers and machinery operators and drivers, and underrepresentation in highly skilled occupations such as managers and professionals. Comparison shows little change in the Māori occupational structure between 2006 and 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Another way to analyse the data would be to examine the under- and over-representation of Māori in key occupations, relative to their overall contribution to the Australian workforce (for an example in relation to the overall New Zealand-born workforce in Australia, see Haig, 2010). However, the relatively small Māori proportion would make interpretation difficult. For details of the ANZSCO classification, see: http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1220.0First%20Edition,%20Revision%201?OpenDo cument

Figure 32: Level 1 occupation of those employed, 25-54 years, Census 2006

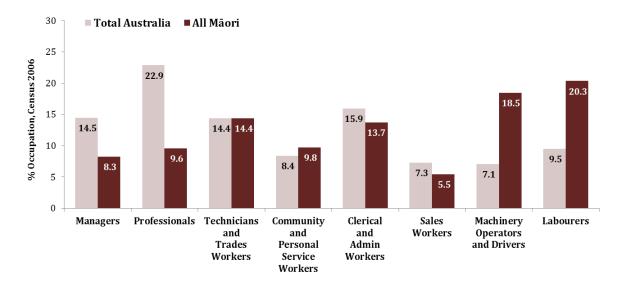
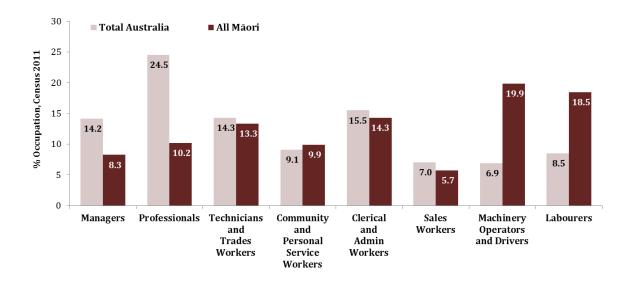


Figure 33: Level 1 occupation of those employed, 25-54 years, Census 2011



Disaggregation by birthplace (Figure 34) shows that the over-representation of Māori in jobs such as machinery operators and drivers (which covers a wide range of jobs associated with operating, controlling and monitoring vehicles, forklifts and industrial machinery) was primarily due to the occupational profile of Māori migrants. In 2011, nearly four out of every 10 employed Māori migrants in Australia worked as a labourer, machinery operator or driver. This proportion far exceeded the share of non-Māori New Zealanders, or Australian-born Māori working in those jobs. There are a number of contributing factors that might make these occupations so popular among Māori including the relatively low skill level required (see next section), lower barriers to entry, and preference for practical experience among employers (Haig, 2010).



Although non-Māori New Zealanders are not the focus of this report, it is worth noting that their occupational structure closely fitted the national Australian distribution, albeit with a slightly lower proportion of professionals and a slightly higher proportion of machinery operators and drivers.<sup>28</sup> Distinguishing between Māori who arrived before 2001 and those who arrived afterwards shows an ever greater concentration of later arrivals in those jobs. Māori who arrived prior to 2001 also had a high concentration in those occupations but the proportion was not as high (Table 10).

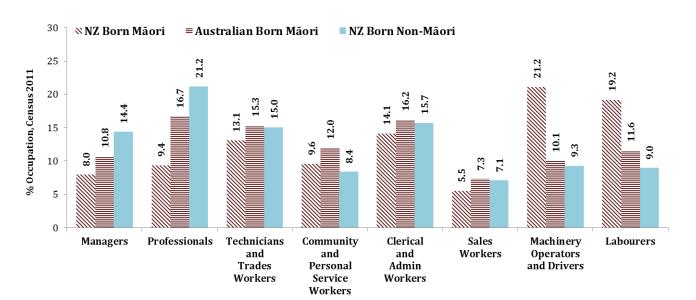


Figure 34: Level 1 occupation of those employed by place of birth, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Table 10: Level 1 occupation of employed NZ-born Māori, by arrival period, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Vicionaliza	Year of Arri	val: Prior to 2001	Year of Arriv	Year of Arrival: 2001 Onwards		
Execution of the Control of the Cont	Number	Proportion (%)	Number	Proportion (%)		
Machinery Operators and Drivers	3,522	19.1	3819	23.6		
Labourers	3,192	17.3	3398	21.0		
Clerical and Administrative Workers	2,789	15.2	2122	13.1		
Technicians and Trades Workers	2,436	13.2	2104	13.0		
Community and Personal Service Workers	1,933	10.5	1373	8.5		
Professionals	1,804	9.8	1453	9.0		
Managers	1,709	9.3	1060	6.5		
Sales Workers	1,018	5.5	887	5.5		
d postantia	18,403	100.0	16,216	100.0		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> In his study of New Zealanders working in Australia in the 2006 Census, Haig (2010) argued that New Zealanders were over-represented among managers and professionals, and over-represented among machinery operators and drivers and labourers. However, rather than use the total Australian workforce as the comparator (as has been used in this report), he used the New Zealand-born working in both New Zealand and Australia combined, and the NZ-born as a proportion of all Australian workers.



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The over-representation of Māori in jobs that have traditionally been defined as 'blue collar' is made even more apparent when the data are disaggregated by gender. Figure 35 shows that a very high share of employed migrant Māori men (53.2 per cent) worked in labourer and machinery operator and driver jobs in 2011, as well as in technician and trade jobs (19.9 per cent). Combined, these three occupational categories accounted for 73 per cent of employed Māori migrant male workers in Australia. For Māori women workers, the occupational distribution was more even, with the only significant concentration in clerical and administrative occupations (25.5 per cent).<sup>29</sup> The small number of Australian-born Māori precludes disaggregation by birthplace.

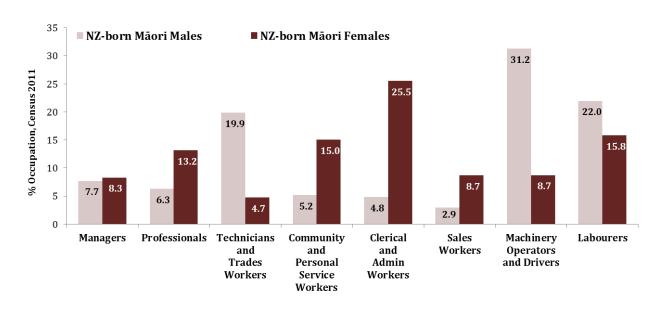


Figure 35: Level 1 occupation of employed NZ-born Māori by sex, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Given that all of the occupational analysis thus far reflects national averages, and thus obscures any state-level variation, Figures 36 and 37 look at the concentration across the major occupational groupings by state for Māori males and females. The key points to be noted are the higher concentrations of Māori men in professional and managerial jobs in New South Wales and Victoria; and the much higher share of Māori men engaged as machinery operators and drivers in Western Australia. This is no doubt also reflected in sectoral differences in employment in each state, a point that is further examined in the following section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> As per Census 2011, 2,790 NZ-born Māori males and 3,485 females worked as managers and professionals.

Figure 36: Level 1 occupation of employed Māori males in major states, 25-54 years, Census 2011

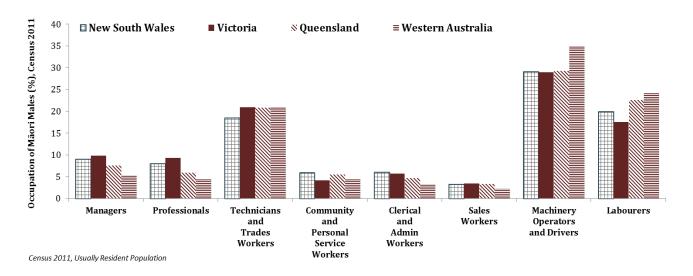
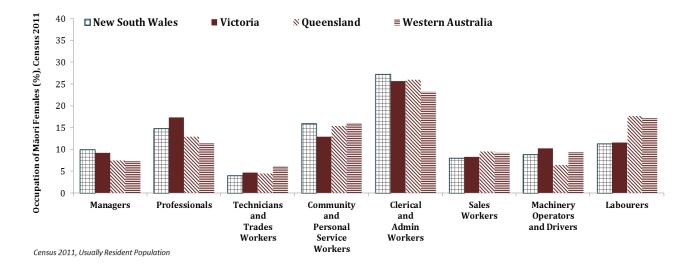


Figure 37: Level 1 occupation of employed Māori females in major states, 25-54 years, Census 2011



To get a more nuanced picture of the occupational distribution of Māori in Australia, Table 11 considers the top 10 occupations for Māori and comparator groups at 2 digit level of the ANZSCO classification. The differences are both revealing and concerning. In 2011 the top five occupations for Māori migrants in Australia were:

- road and rail drivers
- construction and mining labourers
- machine and stationary plant operators
- mobile plant operators
- factory process workers



By contrast the five most popular jobs for the total Australia population were:

- specialist managers
- business, human resource and marketing professionals
- health professionals
- education professionals
- hospitality, retail and service managers

A starker difference in occupational structure is hard to imagine. In 2011 Māori who worked in Australia were disproportionately concentrated in lower skilled jobs by comparison with the national Australian workforce. While driver and labourer jobs also featured among the 10 most popular jobs for non-Māori New Zealanders, the overall mix for them was more balanced. Even though some of these jobs may be well paid relative to the Australian median income (see later in this report) or comparable jobs in New Zealand (Haig, 2010), it is these very jobs that tend to be more vulnerable to exogenous economic shocks. This was evident with the massive restructuring of New Zealand industry in the late 1980s that disproportionately impacted Māori (Blakely et al., 2007), and saw Māori unemployment reach record highs. As many of the Māori migrants who arrived in Australia after 2001 will lack the buffer of social security afforded to earlier Māori migrants, Table 12 distinguishes between Māori by period of arrival and shows a close fit between the top 10 occupations. The main difference is the inclusion of specialist managers for earlier arrivals.



Table 11: Top ten 2-digit occupations of employed persons, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Total Australia	All Māori	NZ Born Māori	
Specialist Managers	Construction and Mining Labourers	Road and Rail Drivers	
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals	Road and Rail Drivers	Construction and Mining Labourers	
Health Professionals	Machine and Stationary Plant Operators	Machine and Stationary Plant Operators	
Education Professionals	Mobile Plant Operators	Mobile Plant Operators	
Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers	Factory Process Workers	Factory Process Workers	
Sales Assistants and Salespersons	Storepersons	Storepersons	
Carers and Aides	Specialist Managers	Specialist Managers	
Numerical Clerks	Carers and Aides	Carers and Aides	
Design, Engineering, Science and Transport Professionals	Sales Assistants and Salespersons	Cleaners and Laundry Workers	
Automotive and Engineering Trades Workers	Construction Trades Workers	Construction Trades Workers	
Australian Born Māori	NZ Born Non-Māori		
	112 = 41111141114111		
Specialist Managers	Specialist Managers	-	
Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals		_	
Business, Human Resource and	Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and	-	
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals	Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals		
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Construction and Mining Labourers	Specialist Managers  Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals  Health Professionals		
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Construction and Mining Labourers Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers	Specialist Managers  Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals  Health Professionals  Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers		
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Construction and Mining Labourers Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons	Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Health Professionals Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons		
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Construction and Mining Labourers Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons Carers and Aides	Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Health Professionals Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons Numerical Clerks Design, Engineering, Science and		
Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Construction and Mining Labourers Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons Carers and Aides Construction Trades Workers	Specialist Managers Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals Health Professionals Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers Sales Assistants and Salespersons Numerical Clerks Design, Engineering, Science and Transport Professionals		

 $Table~12: Top~ten~2-digit~occupations~of~employed~NZ-Born~M\bar{a}ori~by~period~of~arrival,~25-54~years,~Census~2011~arrival,~25-54~years,~25-54~y$ 

NZ-Born Māori Year of Arrival: Prior to 2001	NZ-Born Māori Year of Arrival: 2001 Onwards
Construction and Mining Labourers	Road and Rail Drivers
Road and Rail Drivers	Construction and Mining Labourers
Machine and Stationary Plant Operators	Factory Process Workers
Specialist Managers	Machine and Stationary Plant Operators
Mobile Plant Operators	Storepersons
Carers and Aides	Mobile Plant Operators
Factory Process Workers	Cleaners and Laundry Workers
Storepersons	Specialist Managers
Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers	Sales Assistants and Salespersons
Construction Trades Workers	Construction Trades Workers



To gain more insight into the occupational structure of the employed Māori workforce in Australia, Table 13 uses data on 2 digit occupational grouping to assign Māori workers to one of five skills levels and examines differences across the four most populous states. <sup>30</sup>As expected, Māori were markedly over-represented in the lower-skilled jobs (level 4 & 5), and under-represented in higher-skilled jobs by comparison with the total employed Australia population. There were, however, clear differences across states, with New South Wales and Victoria showing a more favourable distribution of skills levels for Māori compared to Queensland and Western Australia.

Table 13: Skill level of employed Māori based on 2-digit occupational grouping, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Skill	New South Wales		Victoria		Queensland		Western Australia		All Māori in Australia		Total Australia	
Level	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
1	1,732	16.9	1,162	19.0	2,102	13.6	862	11.0	6,345	15.2	2,271,220	34.3
2	891	8.7	519	8.5	1,208	7.8	628	8.0	3,477	8.3	694,424	10.5
3	1,314	12.8	861	14.1	2,154	13.9	1,057	13.5	5,713	13.7	1,000,803	15.1
4	4,133	40.3	2,353	38.5	5,935	38.4	3,252	41.4	16,305	39.0	1,703,388	25.7
5	2,190	21.3	1,222	20.0	4,045	26.2	2,054	26.2	9,971	23.8	959,977	14.5
Total	10,260	100.0	6,117	100.0	15,444	100.0	7,853	100.0	41,811	100.0	6,629,812	100.0

#### 4.4 Industry

Following on from the analysis of occupational structure we consider the distribution of Māori workers in Australia, using the 1-digit ANZSCO industrial classification. Because this level contains 19 major industries, we only focus on the top ten industries of employment for each group. Table 14 shows that New Zealand-born Māori shared four of the top five industries in common with the non-Māori and total Australian workforce, but that the proportions differed substantially. In 2011, 28.5 per cent of New Zealand-born Māori worked in construction and manufacturing compared to 18.3 per cent of all Australian workers and 21.2 per cent of non-Māori New Zealanders. Māori migrants were the only group for whom mining featured in the top ten industries of employment, at 4.5 per cent. This latter finding is consistent with Haig's 2010 study which showed that mining was the industry containing the highest share of New Zealanders (5.3 per cent), relative to New Zealanders as a proportion of the overall Australian workforce (3 per cent). Indeed in 2006 it was the only industry in which the number of New Zealand-born working in Australia exceeded the number of New Zealand-born working at 'home' (p. 29). While he did not distinguish between Māori and non-Māori migrants,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Level 1 = highly skilled (e.g., manager); level 2 = skilled (e.g., health and welfare support worker); level 3 = medium skilled (e.g., construction and trade worker); level 4 = low skilled (e.g., machinery and stationary plant operator); level 5 = elementary (e.g., factory process worker). For a complete list of skill groupings for 2-digit ANZSCO occupations, see Haig 2010, Appendix A.

this analysis suggests that Māori were a key component of the over-representation of New Zealanders in the mining sector.

Table 14: Top ten industries of employment (percentage of 25-54 year olds employed), Census 2011

Total Australia	All Māori			
Health Care and Social Assistance	12.3	Construction	14.4	
Manufacturing	9.7	Manufacturing	13.5	
Retail Trade	8.8	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	9.5	
Construction	8.6	Health Care and Social Assistance	9.1	
Education and Training	8.5	Retail Trade	7.9	
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	8.1	Accommodation and Food Services	5.9	
Public Administration and Safety	7.8	Public Administration and Safety	5.4	
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	5.1	Wholesale Trade	5.0	
Accommodation and Food Services	4.8	Administrative and Support Services	4.7	
Financial and Insurance Services	4.5	Mining	4.4	
NZ Born Māori		NZ Born Non-Māori		
Construction	14.5	Health Care and Social Assistance	11.0	
Manufacturing	14.0	Construction	10.7	
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	10.0	Manufacturing	10.5	
Health Care and Social Assistance	8.9	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	8.3	
Retail Trade	7.7	Retail Trade	8.0	
Accommodation and Food Services	5.8	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	5.9	
Wholesale Trade	5.2	Education and Training	5.6	
Public Administration and Safety	4.9	Public Administration and Safety	5.6	
Administrative and Support Services	4.9	Wholesale Trade	5.0	
	4.6	Accommodation and Food Services	4.9	

Separate analysis for employed men and women reveals a more complex set of arrangements (Table 15). For Māori men (both migrants and Australian-born), two out of every five workers was employed in construction or manufacturing, with a further 6.5 per cent employed in the mining sector.<sup>31</sup> For employed Australian men as a whole, a much smaller share worked in construction or manufacturing, and mining did not even rank among the top 10 industries of employment. Clearly a downturn in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> In 2011, 5.3 per cent of non-Māori migrant men worked in mining.

resources boom or industry restructuring will disproportionately impact on Māori migrants, and men especially, relative to the average Australian worker. The industrial profile of employed Māori women looked more similar to the overall national distribution, albeit with lower proportions in white collar jobs such as education and training, and pubic administration.

Table 15: Top ten industries of employment for Māori in Australia (percentage of 25-54 year olds employed) by sex, Census 2011

	Māori Males		Māori Females
Construction	24.0	Health Care and Social Assistance	17.0
Manufacturing	16.4	Retail Trade	10.9
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	12.4	Manufacturing	10.0
Mining	6.5	Accommodation and Food Services	9.1
Wholesale Trade	5.4	Public Administration and Safety	6.4
Retail Trade	5.3	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	6.1
Public Administration and Safety	4.5	Administrative and Support Services	6.0
Administrative and Support Services	3.6	Education and Training	5.5
Accommodation and Food Services	3.3	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	4.7
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	3.0	Financial and Insurance Services	4.6
	All Australian Males		All Australian Females
Construction	13.9	Health Care and Social Assistance	20.7
Manufacturing	13.5	Education and Training	13.1
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	8.4	Retail Trade	10.8
Public Administration and Safety	7.7	Public Administration and Safety	7.9
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	7.2	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	7.8
Retail Trade	7.0	Accommodation and Food Services	5.7
Wholesale Trade	5.4	Manufacturing	5.4
Health Care and Social Assistance	4.8	Financial and Insurance Services	5.1
Education and Training	4.4	Administrative and Support Services	3.8
Financial and Insurance Services	4.0	Other Services	3.5



Focusing only on Māori, Table 16 also shows significant differences in terms of industrial structure across states. In three out of the four states, construction and manufacturing figured as the top two industries of employment for Māori in Australia, ranging from 25.3 per cent in New South Wales to 29.7 per cent in Queensland. Western Australia was distinctive in that mining ranked as the second most popular sector, employing 13.7 per cent of all Māori living within the state. The lack of Māori working in the professional, scientific and technical services sector in Western Australia also marks it out as different from the other states.

Table 16: Top ten industries of employment for Māori (percentage of 25-54 year olds employed) in major states, Census 2011

New South Wales	Victoria			
Construction	12.8	Manufacturing	16.8	
Manufacturing	12.5	Construction	12.8	
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	10.5	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	10.6	
Health Care and Social Assistance	9.4	Health Care and Social Assistance	8.5	
Retail Trade	8.3	Retail Trade	7.7	
Wholesale Trade	6.1	Wholesale Trade	5.9	
Accommodation and Food Services	5.8	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	5.1	
Public Administration and Safety	5.6	Accommodation and Food Services	4.7	
Administrative and Support Services	5.0	Public Administration and Safety	4.6	
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	4.4	Administrative and Support Services	4.1	
Queensland		Western Australia		
Manufacturing	15.1	Construction	18.0	
Construction	14.6	Mining	13.7	
Health Care and Social Assistance	9.9	Manufacturing	9.8	
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	9.6	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	8.4	
Retail Trade	8.0	Retail Trade	7.2	
Accommodation and Food Services	6.4	Health Care and Social Assistance	7.1	
Administrative and Support Services	5.1	Accommodation and Food Services	5.9	
Public Administration and Safety	4.7	Public Administration and Safety	4.9	
Wholesale Trade	4.7	Administrative and Support Services	4.5	
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	3.3	Wholesale Trade	3.9	



The foregoing analysis has identified several features of the Māori occupational and industrial structure which have either been overlooked or only partially explored in earlier studies. That said, there are important limitations, notably the inability to compare the occupation distribution of migrant Māori in Australia with that for New Zealand resident Māori. Here, it is worth briefly reflecting on the findings of an earlier study by Newell and Pool (2009). Using 2006 Census data from both countries they found that Māori in Australia were far more concentrated in lower skilled occupations than Māori in New Zealand. For example, while 26 per cent of Māori in Australia were employed as machinery operators and drivers, for Māori in New Zealand it was 17 per cent (Appendix 3). By incorporating data for other ethnic groups in New Zealand they concluded that the occupational distribution of Māori in Australia was more like that for Pasifika people in New Zealand, than for New Zealand resident Māori. Specifically they argued that "Australia resident Māori are selecting for jobs in a peripheral lower skill segment of the labour market similar to the role of those of Pasifika ethnicity in the New Zealand labour market" (Newell & Pool, 2009, p.5). Although their study combined migrants and Australian-born Māori, it provides a useful context within which to interpret our findings<sup>32</sup>.

# 4.5 Employment status

Given that wealth creation is more likely to be generated through owning one's own business than undertaking wage labour for an employer, this section considers the level of business ownership among Māori living in Australia. Figure 40 shows that only a small proportion of Māori migrants was self-employed (7.9 per cent) relative to the national workforce (15.3 per cent). By contrast, the rate of business ownership among non-Māori New Zealanders (14.3 per cent) closely fitted the national share. This suggests that citizenship and other factors linked to birthplace are not the reasons for the low proportion of self-employed Māori migrants. Australian-born Māori appear to occupy an intermediate position although the small numbers involved need to be taken into account. Comparisons with Figure 39 show that the proportion of business owners declined for all groups between 2006 and 2011, partly reflecting the harsher impacts of the Global Financial Crisis on the self-employed. Figure 41 shows gender differences in rates of business ownership in 2011, with women in all groups less likely than men to own a business. For Māori women migrant, only 5.5 per cent owned or managed their own business in 2011 which was about half the level of business ownership among Australian women generally and non-Māori women migrants.

Their study also included 15-24 year olds who are more likely to be in lower-skilled jobs because of their age.

Figure 38: Employment type of those who are employed, 25-54 years, Census 2006

- Contributing family workers
- Owner managers of incorporated/unincorporated enterprises
- **Employee not owning business**



Figure 39: Employment type of those who are employed, 25-54 years, Census 2011

- Contributing family workers
- Owner managers of incorporated/unincorporated enterprises
- **Employee not owning business**

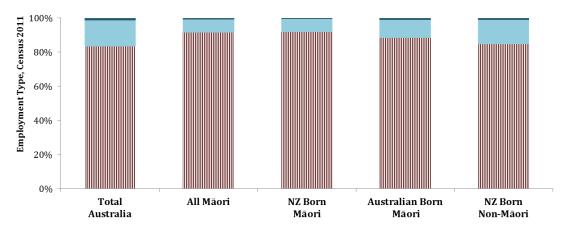
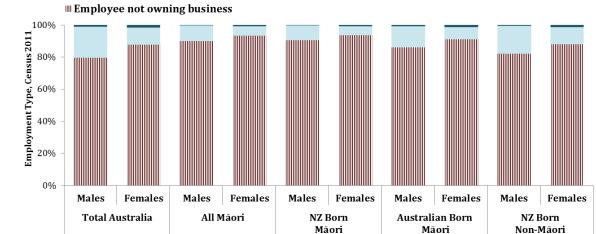


Figure 40: Employment type of those who are employed by sex, 25-54 years, Census 2011

- Contributing family workers
- Owner managers of incorporated/unincorporated enterprises
- **Ⅲ Employee not owning business**





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#### 4.6 Income

This final section considers income levels for Māori in Australia and compares them with incomes for the overall Australian population and with non-Māori New Zealanders living in Australia.<sup>33</sup> The postponement of the 2011 New Zealand Census precludes comparisons with Māori incomes in New Zealand. Figure 42 shows the median income for NZ-born Māori men of \$54,964 was only slightly lower than for the total Australia male population (\$57,301) but significantly below the median income for NZ-born non-Māori (\$63,148).<sup>34</sup> The difference is likely to reflect factors that have been identified elsewhere in this report including differences in qualification and skills level and occupational structure. For Māori women, income differences were much smaller compared to the comparator groups. This is to be expected given the lower labour force participation of women generally and thus their lower overall income levels.

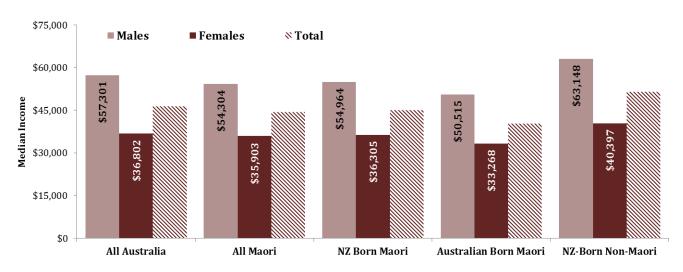
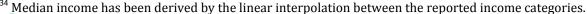


Figure 41: Median annual income by sex, 25-54 years, Census 2011

Census 2011, Usually Resident Population

Comparing income distributions (*versus* median income); Figure 42 shows a similar distribution for Māori migrants who arrived before 2001 and those who arrived later. The only noteworthy difference is that a smaller share of Māori who arrived prior to 2001 recorded nil income in the 2011 Census.

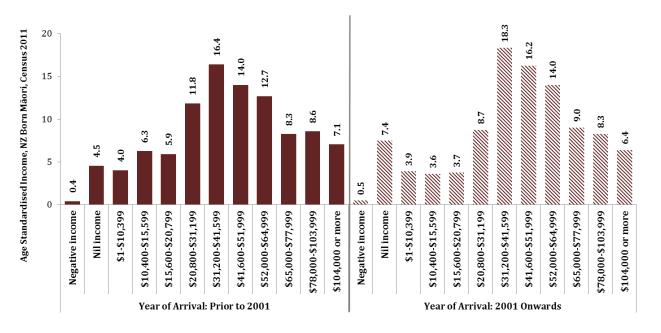
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Income from all sources, unadjusted for hours worked. All figures (except median income) are age standardised and exclude those for whom income was not stated. For Māori in 2011 this equated to 2.3 per cent of those in the prime working ages while for Australians it equated to 7.0 per cent.





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Figure 42: Age standardised income: NZ-born Māori by period of arrival in Australia, 25-54 years, Census 2011



One of the key themes underlying recent studies of Trans-Taman migration is that New Zealanders working in Australia are paid substantially more than their counterparts in New Zealand, and that this is a strong motivation for emigrating. A recent study using 2006 Census data found that, on average, Australian incomes exceeded those in New Zealand by 25 per cent although the extent of the difference varied significantly by skill level (Haig, 2010).<sup>35</sup> The occupations where the income gap was greatest (where the average Australian worker was paid at least 40 per cent higher than their New Zealand-based counterpart) were lower-skilled jobs including machinery and plant operators, carers and aides, health and welfare workers, and cleaners and restaurant workers. With a few exceptions, income disparities across the two countries were far smaller in higher-skilled jobs. The study also found that New Zealander workers in Australia earned, on average, 3.5 per cent more than all Australian workers but that the jobs where New Zealanders gained the highest income premium were mostly lower skilled (Haig, 2010, p. 50).

While we are unable to compare income data across countries, we can examine whether or not Māori migrants earned an income premium over Australian workers in particular occupations. Figure 43 show the median incomes for the five most popular 2-digit occupations for Māori in Australia while figure 44 does the same for the top five Australian occupations. The comparisons are instructive. In three of the top five Māori occupations, Māori migrants earned higher incomes than the average Australian worker and similar incomes to NZ-born non-Māori. For Māori migrants employed as machine and stationary plant operators, incomes were also significantly higher than the overall

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Occupations defined at 2-digit ANZCO level. Comparability was achieved by adjusting the Census data using a Statistics New Zealand methodology developed through their OECD-Eurostate Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) Project, see Haig, 2010, Appendix C.



Australian median income (\$46,571, the dotted line), although somewhat lower than for non-Māori migrants. By comparison, Māori migrants employed as specialist managers, business, human resources or marketing professionals earned substantially less than the average Australian or NZ-born non-Māori worker; in the case of specialist managers it was about \$20,000 less. For the remaining three occupations, income differences were minimal.

Overall, the analysis provides general support for Haig's general observation that, "if income measures capability, productivity and the best fit for the job, then the areas where New Zealanders in Australia do well in tend to be lower skilled blue collar jobs and service-related occupations" (2010, p. 50). This would seem to be particularly true for Māori migrants in Australia who, along with non-Māori New Zealanders have an earnings advantage over Australian workers in the lower-skilled jobs in which they are concentrated, but earn less than both the average Australian worker and non-Māori migrant in the higher-skilled jobs that dominate Australia's occupational structure.

Figure 43: Median annual income for the top five 2-digit occupations for Māori in Australia, 25-54 years, Census 2011

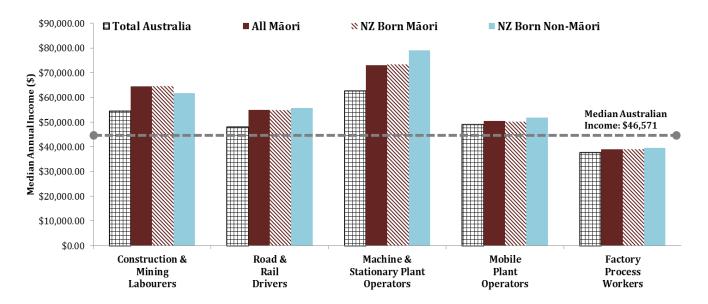
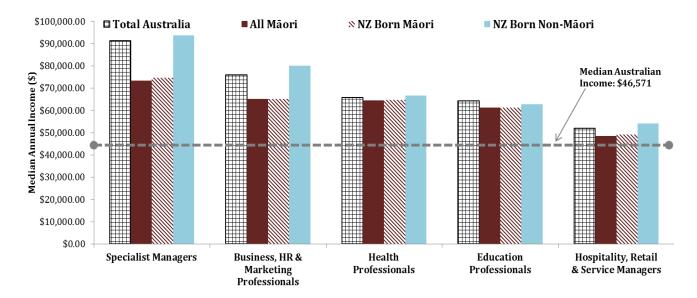




Figure 44: Median annual income for the top five 2-digit occupations in Australia, 25-54 years, Census 2011





# Section 5: Lone parents and unpaid childcare

The structure and socio-economic circumstance of Māori households and families in Australia is a topic of considerable interest in New Zealand, particularly in the context of policies promoting whānau ora. However Census-based research on this topic has been limited and for good reason: the lack of an ancestry indicator in the Table Builder Pro, 2011 Census - Counting Families and Dwellings dataset, precludes Māori-specific analysis of most dimensions of family and household wellbeing. As such it is only possible to consider two limited indicators pertaining, respectively, to lone parents and unpaid childcare. These are briefly considered in turn below.

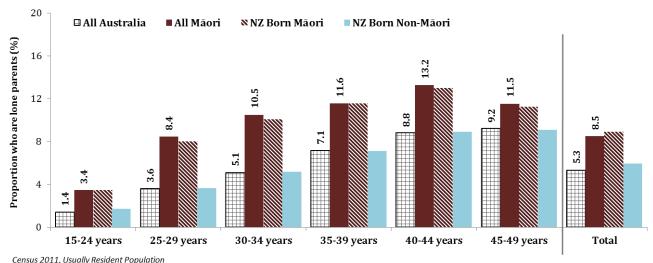
### 5.1 Lone parents

The indicator of lone parenting is derived from the Relationship in Household variable from the 2011 Census form.<sup>36</sup> Figure 48 shows the proportions aged between 15 and 49 years who were lone parents at the time of the 2011 Census (men and women combined). The data clearly show a higher proportion of Māori lone parents at all ages, ranging from a low of 3.4 per cent at 15-24 years, to a high of 13.2 per cent at 40-44 years. In general, the proportion of lone parents among Māori increased with age until the peak at 40-44 years, after which it declined. The difference in rates of lone parenting between Māori and the national Australia population was reasonably similar (about five percentage points) for all five-year ages from 25 to 44 years. For non-Māori New Zealanders, the lone parenting profile was much more comparable with the national population than with New Zealand-born Māori. The Māori vs non-Māori difference in lone parenting reflects a number of factors including differences in fertility rates, the timing of births (especially first births which occur much earlier for Māori in New Zealand, see Johnstone, 2011), and differences in rates of partnership dissolution, as well as perhaps factors associated with migration (i.e., selection bias).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> A lone parent is a person who has no spouse or partner usually resident in the household, but who forms a parent-child relationship with at least one child usually resident in the household. The child may be either dependent or non-dependent.



Figure 45: Proportion of lone parents in Australia, Census 2011



Census 2011, Osuany Resident Population

### 5.2 Unpaid childcare

With respect to unpaid childcare Figure 49 shows the proportion of Māori, and other comparator groups, that provided unpaid childcare for either their own or other children, at the time of the 2011 Census.<sup>37</sup> Overall, 40 per cent of all Māori provided unpaid childcare, significantly higher than the 30 per cent observed for the national population. The rates for Māori were higher at all ages with the exception of the ages 35-44 years, which are among the peak childbearing ages for European women in New Zealand. Figure 50 expands the analysis to distinguish Māori by birthplace, showing that Māori migrants performed a much higher level of unpaid childcare up until 30-34 years, after which Australian-born Māori rates were higher, at least until pre-retirement ages. These figures provide a small but important window into the role that Māori migrants play in supporting the wider economy through the unpaid but vital role of caring for children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Derived from the 2011 Census question 'In the last two weeks did the person spend time looking after a child, *without pay?*'



Figure 46: Proportion providing unpaid childcare (own and/or other child/children), Total Australia and Māori living in Australia, Census 2011

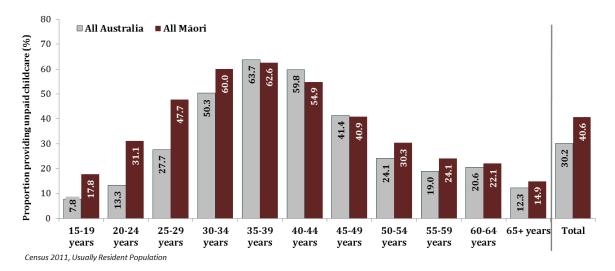
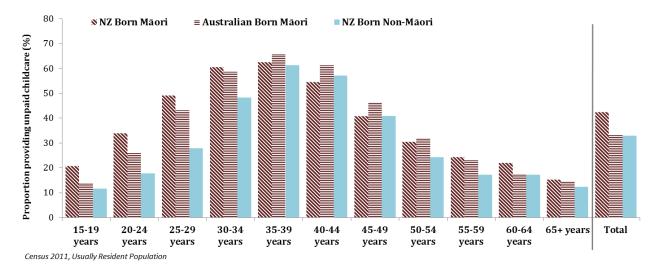


Figure 47: Proportion providing unpaid childcare (own and/or other child/children), Australian-born Māori and NZ-born Māori and Non-Māori, Census 2011





## **Section 6: Conclusion**

This report has documented, in detail, the socio-demographic characteristics and trajectories of Māori living in Australia, using data from the 2006 and 2011 Australia Census. With at least one in six – and, more likely, one in five Māori living outside of Aotearoa – it is no longer tenable to ignore the implications of a growing global Māori diaspora. As Māori become more dispersed, questions about identity retention and socio-economic position are important. Trans-Tasman migration not only has implications for Māori migrants and their descendants but also has broader relevance for Māori self-determining aspirations in New Zealand. Just as New Zealand can ill afford to ignore its sizeable diaspora (Gamlen, 2007), nor is it in the best interests of Māori and iwi organisations and entities to ignore their whānau living overseas. Finding ways to maintain connections, leverage networks and knowledge and foster an ongoing sense of collective identity will be issues for future consideration. As the vast majority of Māori expatriates live across the Tasman, having a solid understanding of their circumstances, needs and aspirations is paramount. This report has not been able to account for aspirations but it has provided a number of key insights into the conditions and characteristics of Māori living in Australia.

The rapid growth of the Māori population in Australia – driven both by births and by migration – is part of a longer-term trajectory that is unlikely to recede in the near future. In 2011 one in three Māori living in Australia were second and third plus generation migrants. Australia is their birth land, if not their homeland. Where possible this report has distinguished between New Zealand and Australian-born Māori. There are significant differences between New Zealand and Australian-born Māori across a range of indicators. Policy approaches and research need to be attuned to this internal variation and the differing circumstances and needs.

Second generation Māori in Australia are of particular interest because they represent a potential bridge between their country of birth, Australia, and the country of their ancestors, Aotearoa. If Māori migration to Australia is driven primarily by a desire to improve the economic circumstances of individuals and their whānau then it is crucial to know if migration to Australia translates into improved outcomes for successive generations. The initial analysis in this report suggest that Australian-born Māori have higher education levels than their New Zealand-born counterparts living in Australia and are more engaged in higher education in Australia. However, at this stage the youthful age structure of the second generation precludes a comprehensive comparison with respect to labour market characteristics and outcomes.

This report has shown that some very significant changes have occurred in recent years with respect to the growth trajectories and spatial distribution of Māori in Australia. Between 2001 and 2011 the most rapid growth occurred in Western Australia and Queensland; states which have had very strong economic growth due to their sizeable extractive sectors. There are almost as many Māori now living



in Queensland as there were estimated to be living in Northland in 2011. Indeed, the Queensland Māori population in 2011 exceeded the estimated Māori population in 10 of New Zealand's 16 Regional Council areas. Western Australia, in particular, has become a beacon for Māori in recent years. The Maori population in Western Australia is distinctive for a number of reasons including the high proportion of post-2001 arrivals and the concentration of Māori workers in lower-skilled jobs and the mining sector. Future shocks in Western Australia's extractive resources sector and ancillary industries, such as construction, will have a disproportionately negative impact on Māori in the state.

More generally the high proportion of recent migrants amongst Māori is extremely important because of changes to social security arrangements in 2001 which heavily restricted access to a wide range of entitlements by New Zealand citizens. And apparently unbeknown to the hundreds of Māori who leave New Zealand each month seeking work in Australia, the path to citizenship is ostensibly closed to them. Indeed, Maori have one of the lowest rates of citizenship uptake among ancestry groups in Australia and even significantly lower rates of citizenship than non-Maori New Zealanders. The corollary is that Māori are disproportionately exposed to the disadvantages attendant with the changes to entitlements.

In terms of their economic contribution to Australia, it is clear then that Māori give more than they take. For male Māori migrants in the prime working ages employment rates exceeded the national rate at all ages, underscoring the significant contribution that Māori make to the Australian economy. However, there are significant structural vulnerabilities. Māori migrants have low levels of education and tend to be clustered in low-skilled occupations and industries that include construction, manufacturing, and mining. Māori seem to enjoy a "migrant premium" in some of the low-skilled occupations in which they are concentrated, earning higher incomes than the average Australian worker in those occupations. However, this is not the case for the high-skilled jobs which dominate the Australian occupational structure. In those occupations there are relatively few Māori and those that are there tend to get paid, on average, significantly less than Australian workers generally or New Zealand-born non-Māori.

Taken together these findings suggest that while the demographic strength of the Māori population in Australia is assured and will continue to grow, there are also some very real social and economic risks. While many Māori migrants appear to be living a relatively 'good life', earning comparatively high incomes in lower-skilled jobs, theirs is an inherently vulnerable situation given their low levels of education and limited access to social security. These features give serious pause for the New Zealand government and for those charged with enhancing the wellbeing of Māori, wherever they may be.



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## Appendices

Appendix 1.0: Population of Australia and all Māori living in Australia by age group and sex, Census 2006 and 2011

	All	Māori living	in Australia		Т	otal People li	ving in Austral	ia
	2006 Ce	6 Census 2011 Census 2006 Census 201		2011 (	Census			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4 years	5,022	4,847	7,475	6,975	647,411	612,995	729,971	691,078
5-9 years	5,220	4,919	6,655	6,237	671,397	637,468	694,559	657,363
10-14 years	4,952	4,674	6,407	6,164	702,527	665,413	703,307	667,750
15-19 years	4,178	4,134	6,013	5,564	695,795	661,111	722,378	683,416
20-24 years	3,810	3,967	5,539	5,834	681,653	665,710	741,120	719,555
25-29 years	3,930	4,153	5,439	5,501	635,795	641,130	754,467	758,770
30-34 years	4,038	4,292	5,067	5,335	685,263	714,207	719,654	734,122
35-39 years	3,574	3,989	4,920	5,101	715,169	751,017	747,117	773,020
40-44 years	3,366	3,506	4,126	4,753	722,075	749,586	754,569	788,309
45-49 years	2,858	2,955	3,850	4,139	711,205	735,526	740,962	763,179
50-54 years	2,223	2,085	3,357	3,455	648,879	666,910	711,740	735,662
55-59 years	1,497	1,419	2,435	2,307	615,559	619,039	637,839	659,406
60-64 years	861	730	1,472	1,420	480,572	477,509	597,885	608,231
65-69 years	479	441	789	753	373,601	383,784	455,419	463,899
70-74 years	187	246	404	401	294,849	321,202	342,690	365,399
75-79 years	84	119	141	200	247,501	296,103	252,929	292,333
80+ years	61	101	75	127	269,994	457,332	327,407	512,214
Total	46,340	46,577	64,164	64,266	9,799,245	10,056,042	10,634,013	10,873,706
		92,917		128,430		19,855,287		21,507,719

Appendix 2.0: Population of NZ-born and Australian-born Māori living in Australia by age group and sex, Census 2006 and 2011

	NZ-bo	rn Māori livi	ing in Austra	lia	Australia	n Born Māor	i living in Au	stralia
	2006 Census 2011 Census				2006 Ce	ensus	2011 Ce	nsus
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4 years	672	650	1,029	976	4,109	3,975	6,222	5,782
5-9 years	1,693	1,598	2,226	2,060	3,355	3,173	4,268	4,018
10-14 years	2,128	1,951	2,951	2,735	2,661	2,562	3,315	3,299
15-19 years	2,237	2,155	3,358	3,021	1,808	1,856	2,490	2,410
20-24 years	2,573	2,625	3,718	3,724	1,127	1,265	1,710	2,011
25-29 years	3,189	3,227	4,152	4,111	625	833	1,186	1,275
30-34 years	3,433	3,564	4,312	4,353	511	627	645	854
35-39 years	3,132	3,439	4,290	4,397	345	438	505	607
40-44 years	3,062	3,148	3,723	4,213	207	254	312	427
45-49 years	2,625	2,673	3,555	3,784	172	203	205	231
50-54 years	2,042	1,878	3,140	3,192	124	156	146	193
55-59 years	1,354	1,283	2,258	2,109	89	100	115	160
60-64 years	789	636	1,371	1,304	55	73	75	76
65-69 years	423	359	709	657	45	52	60	77
70-74 years	157	208	365	349	20	29	31	43
75-79 years	56	86	120	161	22	29	16	30
80+ years	50	60	65	89	6	32	11	30
Total	29,615	29,540	41,342	41,235	15,281	15,657	21,312	21,523
		59,155		82,577		30,938		42,835



Appendix 3.0: Population of NZ-born Non-Māori living in Australia by age group and sex, Census 2006 and 2011

	NZ Born Non-Māori living in Australia							
	2006 Ce	nsus	2011 Census					
	Male	Female	Male	Female				
0-4 years	2,095	2,040	3,111	2,992				
5-9 years	5,657	5,393	6,432	6,083				
10-14 years	7,198	6,980	8,652	8,365				
15-19 years	7,775	7,639	9,580	9,149				
20-24 years	9,109	9,363	11,981	12,385				
25-29 years	12,237	12,273	15,532	15,095				
30-34 years	15,927	15,730	17,078	16,374				
35-39 years	16,642	16,592	19,624	18,771				
40-44 years	17,048	17,086	19,277	18,782				
45-49 years	16,698	16,799	19,283	18,922				
50-54 years	15,095	14,551	18,266	18,109				
55-59 years	12,768	11,764	15,955	15,261				
60-64 years	8,427	7,531	13,027	11,861				
65-69 years	5,348	4,934	8,182	7,446				
70-74 years	3,112	3,061	5,059	4,803				
75-79 years	2,373	2,488	2,706	2,775				
80+ years	2,124	3,257	2,908	3,869				
Total	159,633	157,481	196,653	191,042				

 $Appendix\ 4.0: Spatial\ distribution\ of\ the\ Australian\ total\ population\ by\ state, 2001-2011$ 

	2001		2006		2011		% Change 2001-2006	% Change 2006-2011	
New South Wales	6,326,579	(33.7)	6,549,174	(33.0)	6,917,656	(32.2)	+ 3.5	+ 5.6	+ 9.3
Victoria	4,660,991	(24.8)	4,932,421	(24.8)	5,354,040	(24.9)	+ 5.8	+ 8.5	+ 14.9
Queensland	3,522,044	(18.8)	3,904,531	(19.7)	4,332,738	(20.1)	+ 10.9	+ 11.0	+ 23.0
Western Australia	1,828,294	(9.7)	1,959,087	(9.9)	2,239,171	(10.4)	+ 7.2	+ 14.3	+ 22.5
South Australia	1,470,057	(7.8)	1,514,340	(7.6)	1,596,570	(7.4)	+ 3.0	+ 5.4	+ 8.6
Tasmania	460,672	(2.5)	476,481	(2.4)	495,352	(2.3)	+ 3.4	+ 4.0	+ 7.5
Northern Territory	188,075	(1.0)	192,899	(1.0)	211,944	(1.0)	+ 2.6	+ 9.9	+ 12.7
Australian Capital Territory	309,998	(1.7)	324,034	(1.6)	357,218	(1.7)	+ 4.5	+ 10.2	+ 15.2
Other Territories	2,537	(0.0)	2,320	(0.0)	3,030	(0.0)	-8.6	+ 30.6	+ 19.4
Total Australia	18,769,247	(100.0)	19,855,287	(100.0)	21,507,719	(100.0)	+ 5.8	+ 8.3	+ 14.6



Appendix 5.0: Place of usual residence 5 years ago, Total Australia and all Māori living in Australia, Census 2011

Total 09,841 70,260 00,437 80,538 06,131 21,050 07,719 Total
70,260 00,437 80,538 06,131 21,050 07,719
00,437 80,538 06,131 21,050 07,719
80,538 06,131 21,050 07,719
06,131 21,050 07,719 Total
21,050 07,719 Total
07,719 Total
Total
25.720
35,728
47,559
27,782
11,069
2,911
14,450
28,430
Total
22,090
29,955
26,486
78,531
2,038
2,006
82,575
Total
12,711
16,825
862
30,398
436
12,004
42,838
Total
56,950
36,592
81,895
75,437
6,162
,
6,098
1!



Appendix 6.0: Place of usual residence one year ago, Census 2011

All Australia	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65+ years	Total
Same as in 2011	3,116,789	2,042,576	1,974,611	2,429,596	2,525,772	2,206,061	2,651,039	16,946,444
Elsewhere in Australia	552,522	595,282	711,200	433,472	266,593	170,357	162,259	2,891,685
Overseas in 2010	51,707	72,865	98,297	45,263	21,698	14,206	8,161	312,197
Total Stated	3,721,018	2,710,723	2,784,108	2,908,331	2,814,063	2,390,624	2,821,459	20,150,326
Not stated	147,068	155,744	182,900	154,685	137,483	112,734	190,837	1,081,451
Not applicable	275,942	-	-	-	-	-	-	275,942
Total	4,144,028	2,866,467	2,967,008	3,063,016	2,951,546	2,503,358	3,012,296	21,507,719
All Māori	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65+ years	Total
Same as in 2011	26,160	13,640	13,163	13,694	11,348	6,120	2,470	86,595
Elsewhere in Australia	8,468	6,711	6,376	4,090	2,625	1,157	304	29,731
Overseas in 2010	2,318	2,321	1,619	928	658	250	57	8,151
Total Stated	36,946	22,672	21,158	18,712	14,631	7,527	2,831	124,477
Not stated	209	280	183	192	170	107	56	1,197
Not applicable	2,756	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,756
Total	39,911	22,952	21,341	18,904	14,801	7,634	2,887	128,430
NZ Born Māori	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65+ years	Total
Same as in 2011	6,942	7,224	10,188	11,950	10,408	5,640	2,144	54,496
Elsewhere in Australia	2,736	4,265	5,109	3,627	2,477	1,073	267	19,554
Overseas in 2010	2,091	2,168	1,518	905	651	244	55	7,632
Total Stated	11,769	13,657	16,815	16,482	13,536	6,957	2,466	81,682
Not stated	88	165	112	143	135	85	45	773
Not applicable	123	-	-	-	-	-	-	123
Total	11,980	13,822	16,927	16,625	13,671	7,042	2,511	82,578
Australian Born Māori	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65+ years	Total
Same as in 2011	18,574	6,095	2,682	1,430	664	360	265	30,070
Elsewhere in Australia	5,546	2,352	1,179	398	101	58	31	9,665
Overseas in 2010	167	117	77	15	4	6	-	386
Total Stated	24,287	8,564	3,938	1,843	769	424	296	40,121
Not stated	79	59	22	9	3	-	4	176
Not applicable	2,538	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,538
Total	26,904	8,623	3,960	1,852	772	424	300	42,835
NZ Born Non-Māori	0-14 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65+ years	Total
Same as in 2011	23,787	25,948	38,928	58,468	61,718	48,215	33,814	290,878
Elsewhere in Australia	6,149	10,958	18,304	14,217	10,098	6,147	2,885	68,758
Overseas in 2010	5,183	5,778	6,448	3,387	2,317	1,290	470	24,873
Total Stated	35,119	42,684	63,680	76,072	74,133	55,652	37,169	384,509
Not stated	152	411	403	379	451	446	579	2,821
Not applicable	364	-	-	-	-	-	-	364
Total	35,635	43,095	64,083	76,451	74,584	56,098	37,748	387,694



Appendix 7.0: Age specific rate of te reo speaking Māori in Australia, Census 2006 and 2011

		Census 2006		(	Census 2011	
	Māori spoken at home	Not Stated	All Māori	Māori spoken at home	Not Stated	All Māori
0-4 years	373	187	9,869	643	182	14,450
5-9 years	482	105	10,139	569	96	12,892
10-14 years	380	114	9,626	574	109	12,571
15-19 years	412	76	8,312	598	84	11,577
20-24 years	436	67	7,777	695	73	11,373
25-29 years	545	36	8,083	832	55	10,940
30-34 years	558	48	8,330	800	48	10,402
35-39 years	459	48	7,563	810	68	10,021
40-44 years	433	41	6,872	596	46	8,879
45-49 years	388	37	5,813	576	51	7,989
50-54 years	292	41	4,308	530	40	6,812
55-59 years	233	27	2,916	343	47	4,742
60-64 years	117	17	1,591	219	30	2,892
65+ years	111	44	1,718	215	43	2,890
Total	5,219	888	92,917	8,000	972	128,430

Appendix 8.0: Age specific rate of te reo speakers in New Zealand, Census 2006

		Speaking te	ereo Māori
	Total Population	Number	Proportion(%)*
0-4 years	66,423	8,907	18.2
5-9 years	66,774	12,243	18.8
10-14 years	66,726	13,998	21.5
15-19 years	58,533	13,218	23.0
20-24 years	42,774	9,768	23.3
25-29 years	38,106	8,868	23.7
30-34 years	39,459	9,105	23.5
35-39 years	38,598	8,889	23.5
40-44 years	37,272	9,228	25.3
45-49 years	31,905	8,250	26.4
50-54 years	24,192	6,954	29.2
55-59 years	18,627	6,084	33.2
60-64 years	12,813	5,064	40.2
65-69 years	10,155	4,611	46.2
70-74 years	6,507	3,150	49.5
75-79 years	3,807	1,950	52.8
80-84 years	1,764	864	50.5
85+ years	888	453	52.8
Total	565,323	131,604	24.5

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Not elesewhere included' and 'None (e.g. too young to talk)' are excluded



Appendix 9.0: Total NZ-born living in Australia by year of arrival and the number who are Māori, Census 2011

	ТОТ	TAL AUSTRAI	JA	NE	W SOUTH WA	ALES		VICTORIA	
Year of Arrival	Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born	Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born	Non-Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born
Prior to 1971	1,382	532	29,772	467	176	10,489	201	95	5,101
1971 -1975	1,511	325	17,951	488	80	5,206	207	41	2,766
1976-1980	4,445	776	42,253	1,371	183	11,382	668	102	6,303
1981-1985	4,342	716	35,840	1,321	175	9,254	638	104	5,337
1986-1990	7,638	1,121	55,838	2,197	229	12,552	1,268	185	8,177
1991-1995	4,857	709	30,746	1,367	207	8,350	614	107	4,468
1996-2000	11,529	1,505	63,095	3,291	383	16,068	1,585	291	10,688
2001-2005	12,874	1,434	61,855	3,006	363	14,373	2,028	321	11,888
2006-2010	25,299	2,357	101,573	3,389	440	16,963	3,060	440	17,535
Arrived 2011*	3,849	439	16,847	510	47	2,701	610	94	3,397
Not stated	4,851	3,212	27,628	1,043	926	6,890	691	560	4,576
	82,577	13,126	483,398	18,450	3,209	114,228	11,570	2,340	80,236

	Q	UEENSLAND	'	WES	TERN AUST	RALIA	OTHER				
Year of Arrival	Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born	Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born	Māori Born in NZ	Ancestry not stated	Total NZ Born		
Prior to 1971	433	140	8,411	142	67	3,018	139	54	2,753		
1971 -1975	486	121	6,061	204	60	2,269	126	23	1,649		
1976-1980	1,480	333	16,138	591	99	5,299	335	59	3,131		
1981-1985	1,454	291	13,859	638	104	4,853	291	42	2,537		
1986-1990	2,473	479	23,037	1,329	171	8,872	371	57	3,200		
1991-1995	1,749	287	12,062	912	92	4,183	215	16	1,683		
1996-2000	4,295	625	25,806	1,921	166	7,730	437	40	2,803		
2001-2005	5,314	552	26,084	2,135	157	7,071	391	41	2,439		
2006-2010	11,562	1,027	44,087	6,525	363	19,217	763	87	3,771		
Arrived 2011*	1,530	186	6,238	1,083	90	3,801	116	22	710		
Not stated	1,897	1,081	10,255	1,015	478	4,422	205	167	1,485		
	32,673	5,122	192,038	16,495	1,847	70,735	3,389	608	26,161		

<sup>\*</sup> Arrived 1 Jan 2011 - 9 Aug 2011



Appendix 10.0: Citizenship status of Māori living in Australia, Census 2006 and 2011

		Citizens	hip Status, Ce	nsus 2011	l (Year of Ar	rival prior	to 2006)	
		All M	Iāori			NZ Bor	n Māori	
	Australian	Not stated	Not Australian	Total	Australian	Not stated	Not Australian	Total
New South Wales	2,887	263	10,662	13,812	2,773	250	10,476	13,499
Victoria	1,489	126	5,829	7,444	1,427	115	5,660	7,202
Queensland	4,342	291	13,304	17,937	4,233	287	13,171	17,691
Western Australia	1,872	113	5,952	7,937	1,845	107	5,919	7,871
South Australia	312	21	840	1,173	299	24	832	1,155
Tasmania	115	3	236	354	109	6	234	349
Northern Territory	175	7	329	511				-
Australian Capital Territoi	130	5	168	303				-
Other Territories	-	3	-	3				-
_ ,		000	0=000	40.454	10,686	700	36,292	47,767
Total	11,322	832	37,320	49,474	10,080	789	36,292	47,707
Total	11,322		,	,	. ,		,	47,767
Total	11,322	Citizensh	nip Status, , Co	,	. ,	rrival prior	to 2001)	47,767
Total	11,322	Citizensh	nip Status, , Co Iāori	,	. ,	rrival prior	to 2001) n Māori	47,767
Total		Citizensh	nip Status, , Co	ensus 200	. ,	rrival prior NZ Bor	to 2001) n Māori	Total
		Citizensh All M	iip Status, , Co Iāori Not	ensus 200	6 (Year of A	rrival prior NZ Bor	to 2001) n Māori Not	
New South Wales Victoria	Australian	Citizensh All M Not stated	nip Status, , Co Iāori Not Australian	ensus 200 Total	6 (Year of A	rrival prior NZ Bor Not stated	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian	Total
New South Wales Victoria	Australian 2,739	Citizensh All M Not stated	nip Status, , Co lāori Not Australian 9,419	Total	6 (Year of A Australian 2,627	NZ Born Not stated	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278	Total
New South Wales Victoria Queensland	Australian 2,739 1,300	Citizensh All M Not stated 230 126	nip Status, , Co Tāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375	Total 12,388 5,801	6 (Year of A Australian 2,627 1,243	rrival prior NZ Bor Not stated 231 115	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243	Total 12,136 5,601
New South Wales Victoria Queensland Western Australia	Australian 2,739 1,300 3,626	Citizensh All M Not stated 230 126 234	nip Status, , Co lāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375 8,651	Total 12,388 5,801 12,511	6 (Year of Ar Australian 2,627 1,243 3,513	NZ Born NZ Stated 231 115 233	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243 8,570	Total 12,136 5,601 12,316
New South Wales Victoria Queensland Western Australia South Australia	Australian 2,739 1,300 3,626 1,492	Citizensh All M Not stated 230 126 234 105	nip Status, , Co lāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375 8,651 3,907	Total 12,388 5,801 12,511 5,504	Australian 2,627 1,243 3,513 1,462	Not stated  231 115 233 110	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243 8,570 3,886	Total 12,136 5,601 12,316 5,458
New South Wales Victoria Queensland Western Australia South Australia Tasmania	Australian  2,739  1,300  3,626  1,492  259	Citizensh All M Not stated  230 126 234 105 29	nip Status, , Co Tāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375 8,651 3,907 685	Total 12,388 5,801 12,511 5,504 973	Australian  2,627  1,243  3,513  1,462  254	Not stated  231 115 233 110 27	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243 8,570 3,886 674	Total 12,136 5,601 12,316 5,458 955
New South Wales Victoria Queensland Western Australia South Australia Tasmania Northern Territory	Australian  2,739  1,300  3,626  1,492  259  82  155	Citizensh All M Not stated  230 126 234 105 29 10	nip Status, , Co Tāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375 8,651 3,907 685 220	Total 12,388 5,801 12,511 5,504 973 312	Australian  2,627  1,243  3,513  1,462  254	Not stated  231 115 233 110 27	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243 8,570 3,886 674	Total 12,136 5,601 12,316 5,458 955
New South Wales	Australian  2,739  1,300  3,626  1,492  259  82  155	Citizensh All M Not stated  230 126 234 105 29 10 5	nip Status, , Co lāori Not Australian 9,419 4,375 8,651 3,907 685 220 269	Total 12,388 5,801 12,511 5,504 973 312 429	Australian  2,627  1,243  3,513  1,462  254	Not stated  231 115 233 110 27	to 2001) n Māori Not Australian 9,278 4,243 8,570 3,886 674	Total 12,136 5,601 12,316 5,458 955

Appendix 11.0: Highest year of school completed for population aged 20-64 years, Census 2006 and 2011

	All Māori, 20-64 yrs NZ Born Māori, 20-64 yrs												
Highest Year of School Completed	C	ensus 201	1	C	ensus 200	6	C	ensus 2011	L	C	ensus 200	6	
School completed	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Year 12 or equivalent	15,164	17,900	33,064	10,130	11,813	21,943	12,404	14,311	26,715	8,397	9,512	17,909	
Year 11 or equivalent	6,425	7,071	13,496	4,779	5,288	10,067	5,616	6,094	11,710	4,225	4,627	8,852	
Year 10 or equivalent	9,451	8,728	18,179	7,215	6,607	13,822	8,098	7,256	15,354	6,166	5,501	11,667	
Year 9 or equivalent	2,433	1,883	4,316	1,850	1,460	3,310	2,044	1,554	3,598	1,552	1,160	2,712	
Year 8 or below	976	630	1,606	754	539	1,293	827	527	1,354	618	427	1,045	
Did not go to school	238	167	405	181	111	292	214	148	362	161	99	260	
Not stated	1,516	1,471	2,987	1,250	1,283	2,533	1,316	1,294	2,610	1,087	1,148	2,235	
Total	36,203	37,850	74,053	26,159	27,101	53,260	30,519	31,184	61,703	22,206	22,474	44,680	
	A	ustralian I	Born Māor	i, 20-64 y	rs		NZ Born Non-Māori, 20-64 yrs						
Total	C	ensus 201	1	Census 2006			Census 2011			C	ensus 200	6	
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Year 12 or equivalent	2,452	3,238	5,690	1,458	2,006	3,464	81,005	83,614	164,619	63,608	65,485	129,093	
Year 11 or equivalent	678	827	1,505	452	544	996	23,954	24,054	48,008	20,333	21,166	41,499	
Year 10 or equivalent	1,195	1,310	2,505	885	984	1,869	32,930	28,806	61,736	28,903	26,345	55,248	
Year 9 or equivalent	343	280	623	258	257	515	5,957	4,235	10,192	5,297	3,928	9,225	
Year 8 or below	111	79	190	107	85	192	1,977	1,267	3,244	1,800	1,273	3,073	
Did not go to school	10	6	16	6	-	6	511	264	775	385	189	574	
Not stated	108	91	199	83	70	153	3,689	3,308	6,997	3,618	3,311	6,929	
Total	4,897	5,831	10,728	3,249	3,946	7,195	150,023	145,548	295,571	123.944	121.697	245,641	



Appendix 12.0: Highest level of education among the prime working age population, Census 2006 and 2011

Non Cohool			All Māori,	25-54 yr	s			N2	Z Born Māo	ri, 25-54 yr	s		
Non-School Oualification:	Census 2011			C	Census 2006			ensus 2011		Co	Census 2006		
Level of Education	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Postgraduate Degree Level	227	302	529	125	148	273	176	230	406	104	101	205	
Graduate Diploma & Graduate Certificate	136	372	508	90	207	297	109	286	395	68	156	224	
Bachelor Degree Level	1,245	2,332	3,577	820	1,432	2,252	987	1,825	2,812	641	1,121	1,762	
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	1,396	2,822	4,218	934	1,685	2,619	1,174	2,377	3,551	792	1,439	2,231	
Certificate Level	7,166	5,435	12,601	5,188	3,343	8,531	6,099	4,412	10,511	4,463	2,771	7,234	
Level of education inadequately described	491	498	989	470	488	958	430	454	884	419	431	850	
Level of education not stated	1,194	1,229	2,423	1,161	1,282	2,443	1,027	1,083	2,110	1,036	1,127	2,163	
Not applicable	14,905	15,299	30,204	11,203	12,395	23,598	13,167	13,383	26,550	9,962	10,786	20,748	
Total	26,760	28,289	55,049	19,991	20,980	40,971	23,169	24,050	47,219	17,485	17,932	35,417	

Non Cahool		Australi	an Born	Māori, 25	-54 yrs			NZ I	Born Non-M	āori, 25-54	yrs		
Non-School Oualification:	Census 2011			C	Census 2006			Census 2011			Census 2006		
Level of Education	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Postgraduate Degree Level	44	69	113	22	42	64	4,325	3,945	8,270	3,400	2,740	6,140	
Graduate Diploma & Graduate Certificate	23	75	98	15	47	62	1,700	3,113	4,813	1,276	2,257	3,533	
Bachelor Degree Level	232	463	695	151	276	427	15,038	18,587	33,625	11,661	13,969	25,630	
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	198	394	592	126	211	337	9,315	13,869	23,184	7,108	11,200	18,308	
Certificate Level	949	911	1,860	634	511	1,145	33,474	17,768	51,242	28,354	13,405	41,759	
Level of education inadequately described	48	39	87	38	47	85	1,641	2,169	3,810	1,737	2,337	4,074	
Level of education not stated	99	81	180	69	96	165	2,970	3,109	6,079	3,427	4,017	7,444	
Not applicable	1,407	1,555	2,962	920	1,284	2,204	40,606	43,482	84,088	36,687	43,108	79,795	
Total	3,000	3,587	6,587	1,975	2,514	4,489	109,069	106,042	215,111	93,650	93,033	186,683	



Appendix 13.0: Type of educational institution attended, Census 2006 and 2011

2,893

3,289

6,182

1,751

2,097

3,848

27,511 27,478 54,989 21,342 21,636 42,978

		1	All Māori,	20-29 yrs				NZ Born Māori, 20-29 yrs						
Type of Educational	C	ensus 201	1	Co	ensus 200	6	C	ensus 201	1	C	ensus 200	6		
Institution Attending	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Tota		
University or other Tertiary Institution	300	633	933	188	405	593	108	239	347	84	176	260		
Technical of Further Educ Inst (incl. TAFE Colleges)	406	513	919	310	326	636	221	282	503	182	213	395		
Secondary - Government	8	7	15	12	8	20	4	3	7	9	5	14		
Secondary - Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Secondary - Other Non Government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-		
Other	76	159	235	64	142	206	49	88	137	44	102	146		
Not Stated	186	172	358	226	197	423	140	110	250	164	131	295		
Not Applicable	10,001	9,854	19,855	6,941	7,045	13,986	7,352	7,107	14,459	5,284	5,226	10,510		
	10,977	11,338	22,315	7,741	8,123	15,864	7,874	7,832	15,706	5,767	5,853	11,620		
		Austral	lian Born I	Māori, 20	-29 yrs			NZ Born N	on-Māori,	20-29 yrs				
Type of Educational	C	ensus 201	1	Co	ensus 200	6	C	ensus 201	1	C	6			
Institution Attending	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Tota		
University or other Tertiary Institution	176	386	562	96	216	312	1,990	2,725	4,715	1,457	2,128	3,585		
Technical of Further Educ Inst (incl. TAFE Colleges)	183	217	400	121	105	226	1,114	1,184	2,298	918	883	1,801		
Secondary - Government	5	6	11	5	-	5	33	33	66	15	20	35		
Secondary - Catholic	-	3	3	-	-	-	6	3	9	3	6	9		
Secondary - Other Non Government	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3	12	9	3	12		
Other	23	68	91	18	39	57	220	416	636	197	367	564		
Not Stated	24	48	72	41	53	94	367	410	777	429	412	841		
Not Applicable	2,482	2,561	5,043	1,470	1,684	3,154	23,772	22,704	46,476	18,314	17,817	36,131		
11			1											



Appendix 14.0: Labour force status, Census 2006 and 2011

			All Māori,	25-54 yrs	s		NZ Born Māori, 25-54 yrs						
	C	Census 201	1	Census 2006			(	Census 2011		Census 2006			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Employed, worked full-time	19,082	11,679	30,761	14,174	8,162	22,336	16,741	10,161	26,902	12,559	7,129	19,688	
Employed, worked part-time	2,679	6,310	8,989	2,029	4,882	6,911	2,262	5,286	7,548	1,754	4,099	5,853	
Employed, away from work	1,465	1,270	2,735	1,214	933	2,147	1,286	1,053	2,339	1,067	779	1,846	
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	1,215	1,155	2,370	728	660	1,388	1,014	1,022	2,036	618	587	1,205	
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	151	733	884	126	563	689	128	622	750	112	472	584	
Not in the labour force	1,901	6,948	8,849	1,485	5,542	7,027	1,514	5,737	7,251	1,182	4,671	5,853	
Not stated	267	194	461	236	237	473	223	169	392	195	194	389	
	26,760	28,289	55,049	19,992	20,979	40,971	23,168	24,050	47,218	17,487	17,931	35,418	
		Austra	lian Born	Māori, 25	-54 yrs			NZ E	Born Non-M	āori, 25-54	yrs		
	(	Census 201	1	С	ensus 200	6	(	Census 2011			Census 2006	,	

		Austral	ian Born	Māori, 25	-54 yrs			NZ Born Non-Māori, 25-54 yrs						
	C	ensus 201	1	Census 2006			(	Census 201	l	Census 2006				
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total		
Employed, worked full-time	1,961	1,293	3,254	1,287	837	2,124	83,330	47,190	130,520	71,261	39,755	111,016		
Employed, worked part-time	346	906	1,252	222	682	904	10,224	29,291	39,515	8,641	26,457	35,098		
Employed, away from work	144	180	324	108	123	231	4,654	4,586	9,240	4,322	3,737	8,059		
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	166	98	264	87	57	144	3,443	2,302	5,745	2,386	1,654	4,040		
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	26	91	117	14	71	85	451	1,933	2,384	420	1,473	1,893		
Not in the labour force	329	1,014	1,343	242	720	962	6,361	20,218	26,579	5,919	19,283	25,202		
Not stated	24	7	31	16	19	35	608	521	1,129	700	674	1,374		
	2,996	3,589	6,585	1,976	2,509	4,485	109,071	106,041	215,112	93,649	93,033	186,682		

