Wai 45 # A2

MURIWHENUA

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

REPORT

Prepared for the Waitangi Tribunal Division as part of the research for the Muriwhenua Claim

by James Newell, Newell & Associates

28 March 1990

MURIWHENUA SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

List of Contents

List of Figures i-3

List of Tables i-5

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose 1-1
1.2 Content 1-1
1.3 Definitions 1-3
Far North 1-3
Solely Maori Origin Population 1-4
Maori Descent or Origin Population 1-4

2. Demographic Change 1874-1986

2.1 Introduction 2-1
2.2 Coverage and Reliability 2-1
2.3 Fertility 2-3
2.4 Mortality 2-4
2.5 Migration
General 2-6
Internal Migration within the Far North 2-7
Inter-regional Migration 2-8
Age and Gender Aspects of Recent Migration 2-12
International Migration 2-18
2.6 Size of the Muriwhenua Affiliated Population 2-20
2.7 Geographic Distribution 2-25
2.8 Summary 2-29

3. Employment

3.1 Introduction 3-1
3.2 Workforce Participation 3-2
3.3 Employment Status 3-5
3.4 Industry 3-8

3.5 Occupational Status 3-16
3.6 Summary 3-17

4. Summary of Population Trends 1874-1986

4.1. 1874-1901 Period 4-1
4.2 1896-1916 Period 4-2
4.3 1916-1921 Period 4-2
4.4 1921-1936 Period 4-3
4.5 1936-1976 Period 4-4
4.6 Post 1976 4-5
4.7 Recent Trends 4-7

Glossary 4-8

References 4-10

Appendix A : **Change in the Proportion of Persons of Solely Maori Origin in the Far North and Auckland Urban Areas for a Range of Age Groups over the Period 1926-86** A-1

Appendix B : **Change in the Employment Rate of Persons of Solely Maori Origin in a range of Industry Groups over the 1926-86 Period** B-1

C-1

List of Figures

2.1. Maori and Non-Maori Total Fertility Rates per Woman, 1876-1981 2-2

2.2. Life Expectation at Birth e(0) and 15 years e(15) for Maori and Non-Maori Females, 1876-1980 2-2

2.3. Adjusted Age and Sex Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Population of Mangonui Co (including Kaitaia) as recorded by the 1891 Maori Census 2-4

2.4. Sex Ratio by Age-group for the Solely Maori Origin Population of Mangonui Co (including Kaitaia) for 1891 and 1986 2-5

2.5. Components of the Migration Jigsaw 2-6

2.6. Inter-censal Annual Rate of Change (Percentage) in the Solely Maori Origin Population of Kaitaia Town, Mangonui County and New Zealand, 1926-86 2-7

2.7. Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of Kaitaia and New Zealand, 1951 Census 2-8

2.8. Annual Percentage Rates of Change in the New Zealand Solely Maori Origin Population : 1874-1986 2-9

2.9. Annual Percentage Rates of Change in the Far North and New Zealand Solely Maori Origin Populations : 1874-1986 2-9

2.10. Difference Between the Inter-censal Annual Percentage Rates of Change of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of the far North and NZ :1874-1986 2-10

2.11. Change in the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Far North : 1874-1986 2-11

2.12. Annual Inter-censal Rates of Change in the Solely Maori Origin Populations of NZ, the Far North and Auckland Urban Area 1945-86 2-12

2.13. Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of NZ, the Far North and 2-13

Auckland Urban Area : 1945 Census

2.14. Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of NZ, the Far North and Auckland Urban Area : 1986 Census 2-13

2.15. Youthful Dependency Ratios for the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Far North and Auckland Urban Areas 1945-86. 2-14

2.16. Aged Dependency Ratios for Solely Maori Origin Population of the Far North and Auckland Urban Areas 1945-86. 2-14

2.17. Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Auckland Urban Area : 1945 and 1986 2-15

2.18. Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of the Far North : 1945 and 1986 2-15

2.19. 1981-86 Maori Descent Population of Mangonui County & Kaitaia Borough: Estimated Migration Characteristics 2-16

2.20. 1981-86 Maori Descent Population of Mangonui Co & Kaitaia Bo Combined : Estimated Migration Parameters by Age-group as Percentage of the 1986 Population 2-16

2.21. Net Internal Migration by Age and Gender as Percentage of 1986 Maori Descent Population of the Far North 2-17

2.22. Net International Migration of the NZ Solely Maori Origin Population 1960/61-1982/83 2-18

2.23. Solely NZ Maori Origin Population for Some Far North Local Authority Areas: 1874-1986 2-21

2.24. Percentage of the 1986 Population of Maori Descent by Meshblock (Map) 2-24

2.25. Community Area Names used in the Text (Key Map by Community Area) 2-25

2.26.	(Far North) Maori Origin or Descent Population : Percentage Change 1981-86 (by Community Area)	2-26
2.27.	1986 Far North Maori Origin or Descent Population : Youthful Dependency Ratio by Community Area (Map)	2-27
2.28.	1986 Far North Maori Origin or Descent Population : Aged Dependency Ratio by Community Area (Map)	2-28
3.1	Workforce Participation Rates in NZ Industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin : 1926-86	3-2
3.2	NZ Workforce Participation Rates in by Gender and Solely NZ Maori Origin : 1926-86	3-4
3.3	Percentage Employers by Solely NZ Maori Origin : 1951-86	3-5
3.4	Percentage Self-employed (without employees) by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1951-86	3-6
3.5	Percentage Assisting Relatives Unpaid by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1951-86	3-6
3.6	Percentage Unemployed by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1951-86	3-7
3.7	Change in the Share of NZ Employment by Main Sectors of Industry 1926-86	3-7
3.8	Numbers Employed in NZ Industry by Sector 1926-86	3-9
3.9	Employment in the Primary Sector of NZ Industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1926-86	3-9
3.10	Employment in the Manufacturing Sector of NZ Industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1926-86	3-11
3.11	Employment in the Services Sector of NZ Industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin 1926-86	3-12
3.12	Far North 1986 : Percentage Employed in Different Industries by Maori Descent or Origin	3-15

List of Tables

2-22

2.1. Estimates of the Far North Resident and Affiliated NZ Population of the three Far North Counties 2-23

2.2. Estimates of the Far North Resident and Affiliated NZ Te Rarawa Population of the Far North 3-13

3.1 Numbers of Persons of Solely NZ Maori Origin Employed by Industry Group 1926-86 3-14

3.2 For Solely NZ Maori Origin Actively Engaged Percentage Employed by Industry group (excluding those not adequately defined) : 1926-86 3-14

3.3 Far North : Indicators of Job Competitiveness of Persons of Maori Descent or Origin by Industry Group 1981-86 3-16

3.4 Occupational Status by Solely NZ Maori Origin

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

This research report focuses on the recent situation of the Maori people of the Far North area of the Northland Local Government Region. Its intent is to describe and where possible assist with interpretation of what is and has been happening within that geographic area of New Zealand. It does not attempt to prescribe remedies for any problems or inequities that are revealed by analysis of the statistics. It merely seeks to improve the level of statistical information on the history of the area. Its purpose is to provide some statistical background on the Maori people who are represented by the Muriwhenua claim before the Waitangi Tribunal.

The information in this report provides a contribution to a statistical and demographic understanding of the recent history and current situation of the people of Muriwhenua. The story is a large and complex one. It is clear from the work carried out by the author that there is a tremendous amount more that can be done to improve our understanding of the recent social and economic history of Maori people and that this could strengthen the foundation upon which those people build their future and that of NZ society as a whole. To be of most value, the statistics in this report need to be put alongside peoples recollections and other qualitative evidence of the period and interpreted by those who lived through the events of which the statistical information provides a silhouette or shadow.

1.2 Content

The review primarily presents statistics prepared from NZ Census of Population and Dwellings data. It focuses on the various aspects of population change but provides a window on some other information relating to mortality, fertility, employment etc. where time permitted and where this enhanced interpretation of what census information showed. The approach used has been to discuss longer term historical trends as a context for recent local trends.

Different information is collated and presented for three time spans.

(1) General features of change in the Maori population over the **1874-1986 period** are reviewed. This is the period since the earliest attempt at a full "census" of the Maori population.

(2) General analysis of population change, age structure and employment indicators over **the 1926-86 period** are enumerated.

(3) A more detailed analysis of material from the **1976-86** censuses of population and dwellings is carried out.

The analysis concentrates on the Census of Population and Dwellings data because it is the most comprehensive integrated time series available for social and economic research on the situation of the Muriwhenua people. It has also been possible to prepare special tabulations of "Maori descent or origin" and "Far North area" data from the original census records for 1976, 1981 and 1986 census's to demonstrate the specific features of the recent history of the people's of Muriwhenua.

This analysis makes no attempt to go beyond the period at which reasonably consistent Maori census information became available in the 1870s. Lowe (1989, pp 8 & 13-21) recently discussed the reliability of and consistency between subsequent Maori census's. The limitations of the late 19th century data mean that it is necessary to exercise a great deal of caution in making generalisations on weak trends suggested by comparisons of different census's at that time.

The emphasis here is on trends shown over the period since the turn of the century, being the time when the census is considered to have been reasonably consistent and complete. Some enumeration problems remain for this period. Examples are failure to enumerate those on overseas service at the time of the 1916 and 1945 census's, and gradual evolution in the terms used and definitions of words like "Solely Maori Origin". For much of period from the end of the 19th century, the only statistics available have been for those on the **Solely Maori Origin** population of New Zealand as a whole. This means that some caution has to be exercised in comparing different census periods.

1.3 Definitions

"Far North"

Very few statistics are available either now or in the past which relate specifically to the iwi groups who make up the Muriwhenua claim.

The "**Far North**" definition used in the review of historical trends 1874-1986 combines statistical units that are available throughout and gives the closest match to the people actually incorporated in the claim. It encompasses Mangonui, Whangaroa and Hokianga Counties and the Boroughs, Districts and Communities within them. The historical census records only provide adequate data at the local authority level at the extreme. It is not possible to break down the historical statistics any further. The Census's of Maori population carried out in the last century show that members of the tribal groups included in the Muriwhenua claim were spread throughout this area, but there were also members of other tribal groups such as Nga Puhi living in parts of Whangaroa and Hokianga Counties.

In retrospect, Whangaroa could perhaps have been excluded because of the very small numbers of Te Rarawa recorded there in the 19th century. However, Whangaroa was not always differentiated from Hokianga County in the 19th century census tables, and this would have required estimation of the apportionment of totals between the two areas.

Hokianga County held a considerable proportion, if not the majority, of Te Rarawa in the 19th century. Therefore, it would be a mistake to exclude the County from the historical analysis. Te Rarawa were concentrated in north Hokianga and Nga Puhi in the south. It is likely that general social and economic changes (which is all that the historical data looks at) will be common to all Maori people in the Far North.

For recent material (ie since 1976), it has sometimes been possible to omit the south part of Hokianga County from the population for whom statistics are quoted. Defining Maori groups on the basis of kinship rather than geography is always likely to be difficult even if a satisfactory means of addressing that issue is arrived at in the 1991 or subsequent census's.

"Solely Maori Origin"

The long term time series is based on the "**Solely New Zealand Maori Origin**" Population, because

this is the only basis on which statistics have been consistently published from the NZ Census of Population and Dwellings. There have been some changes in the way in which this question has been worded and the data coded over time. Nevertheless, it appears that the interpretation put on the question by respondents has tended to be remarkably consistent. It seems that the historical changes that have occurred do not significantly detract from the value of the time series and the general interpretations placed on it.

"Maori Descent or Origin"

The analysis of 1976-86 data also presented in this report used the **Maori Descent or Origin** definition for Maori persons, which was adopted as the preferred form of presentation of statistics by the Department of Statistics for published material from the 1981 and 1986 Census. This refers to those persons who specified "New Zealand Maori" as either their only ethnic origin or one of their origins on the census personal questionnaire. There are many nuances and subtleties in the use of these definitions. For further information reference could be made to Pool (1977), Pool (1987), Department of Statistics (1988) or Lowe (1989).

2. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE 1874-1986

2.1 Introduction

Information on changes in population and its composition are fundamental to the determination of requirements for housing, education, employment and health services.

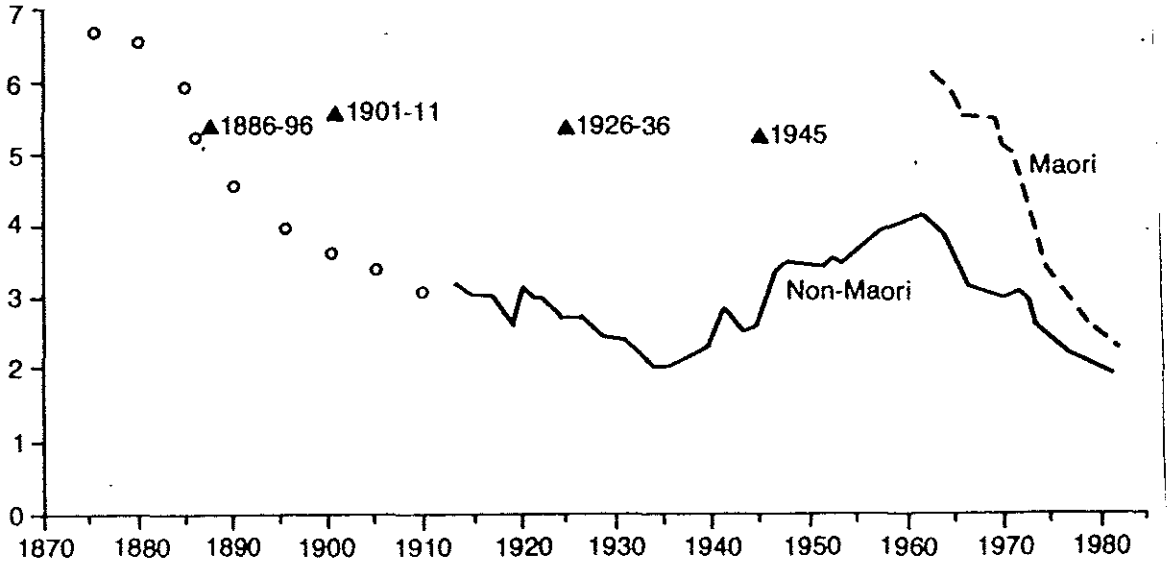
In simple terms, the main parameters that change population and its composition are fertility, mortality and migration. The influence of these demographic parameters is determined by social and economic factors. This discussion of population change of the Far North Maori considers the overall trends with some discussion of the likely contributing factors. The approach is to consider long term historical trends in the first instance and then to focus in on recent trends.

2.2 Coverage and Reliability

The reliability of early Maori censuses is debated by a number of authors and discussed in the census volumes and the reports of the enumerators to the census's (refer Lowe (1989, p12-19) for a recent review). In general terms, the reliability of censuses improved with time. Figures quoted in the 19th century censuses are accepted as approximations, and were very often the result of second hand information rather than actual counts of lists of names obtained from visiting individual households. Lowe (1989) comments that only in the case of the Nga Puhi and Te Rarawa can accurate comparisons be made of population numbers between 1874 and 1878. The Maori census figures up until 1926 are not of the same reliability as the general census.

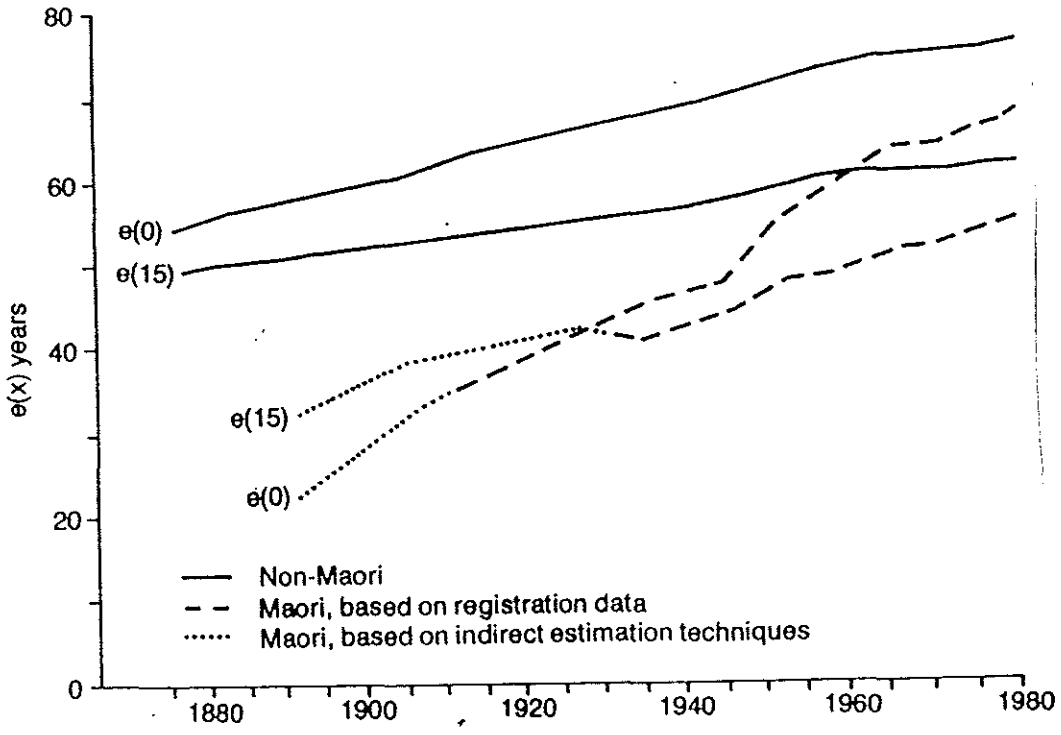
The early Maori enumerations provided a very limited range of information, including overall numbers, age composition and the distribution of the population, but often not much else. For example, the occupational data collected in Maori census's from 1926-1945 left out employment status, industry of occupation and most of the other questions included in the general census. The 1926 census was the first time that all persons of NZ Maori Descent were required to fill in a shortened and simplified version of the main individual questionnaire. From 1951 on, the Maori census was included with the general census, and included the same range and format of questions for the first time.

Figure 2.1 : Maori and Non-Maori Total Fertility Rates per Woman, 1876-1981 (Source : Pool (1987))



– Rates computed from Department of Statistics data
▲ Maori Rates, estimated for various periods. From Pool, (1977)
o Non-Maori Rates, estimated for Census years. From Gibson (1981)

Figure 2.2 : Life Expectation at Birth e(0) and 15 years for Maori and Non-Maori Females, 1876-1980 (Source : Pool (1982, 1987))



2.3 Fertility

The various fertility rate estimates prepared or collated by Pool (1987) for the Maori and Non-Maori population of NZ are shown in Figure 2.1. Pool (1987, p13) observed :

> Estimates show that Maori fertility was high through at least the latter part of the last century and much of this century.

He also observed :

> From the 1960's onwards declines in the total fertility rate have been very dramatic ..... by the late 1960's/early 1970's the normal preconditions for a rapid decline in fertility, seen elsewhere in the world, were present. Infant mortality and childhood survivorship had improved significantly, Maoris were essentially an urban population, participation in secondary level education was almost universal, and the means for efficient contraception were available and being diffused throughout the community....

It may be significant that the late 1960s to early 1970s marks the maturing into child bearing age of large cohorts of the children of the new urban Maori families.

2.4 Mortality

Figure 2.2 (from Pool (1982), reproduced in Pool (1987)) shows estimated life expectation at birth for Maori and Non-Maori over the period from the late 1800s till 1980.

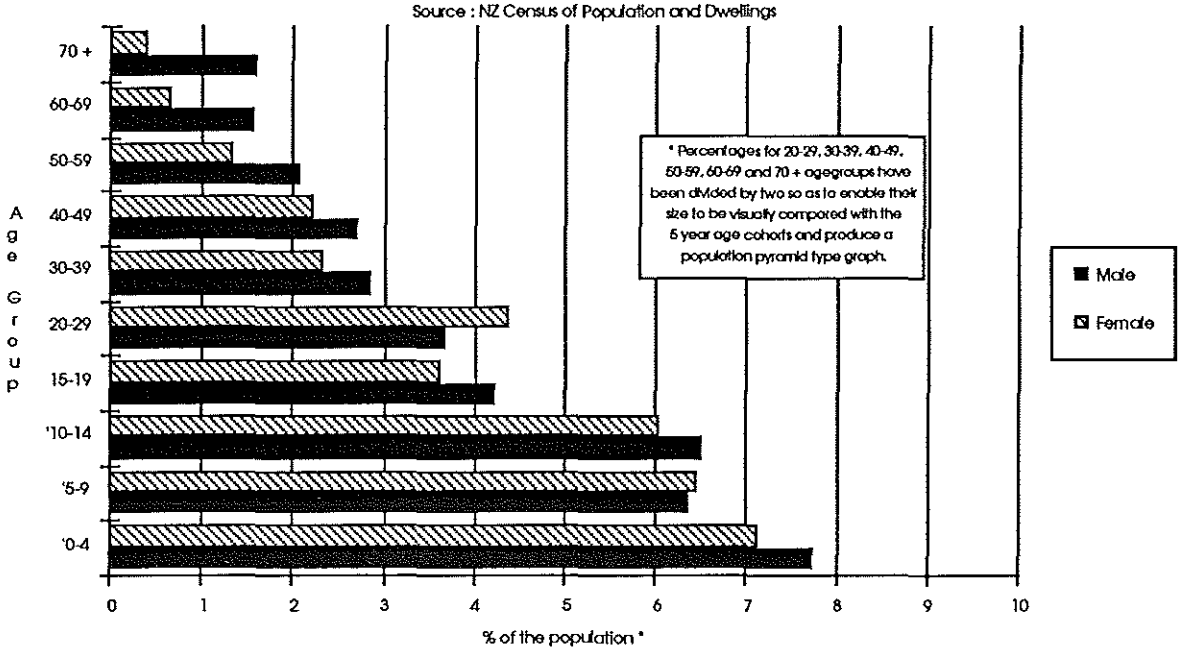
Pool (1987) observed :

> A prime impact of European colonisation was a radical increase in mortality producing a decline in life expectation at birth to as low as 20 years. It is suggested .. (in Figure 2.2) .. that such a level was still occuring at the end of the nineteenth century and was a factor which kept Maori population growth rates so low. From the 1890's to about 1910 there was a significant improvement in Maori survivorship, due in part to the primary health programmes of doctors from the Health Department such as Te Rangihiroa, Pomare and Erihana. Mortality declined gradually and then the increase in life expectation accelerated again from about 1945, slowed and even declined slightly in the late 1960's, and then increased again in the 1970's.

The **age/sex composition** of the Solely Maori Origin population of Mangonui County (including Kaitaia) at the time of the 1891 Census is shown in Figure 2.3. **The apparent increase in the male to female ratio at older age-groups is noteworthy.** It suggests a much higher survivorship for Maori males at that time. This is highlighted by Figure 2.4, which displays the male to female ratios for that same data and compares it to the 1986 male to female ratios for the Mangonui (including Kaitaia) Solely Maori Origin population. In the New Zealand Maori population of the 1980's, the ratio of

Figure 2.03 : Adjusted 1891 Age and Sex Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Mangonui Co (including Kaitaia)

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

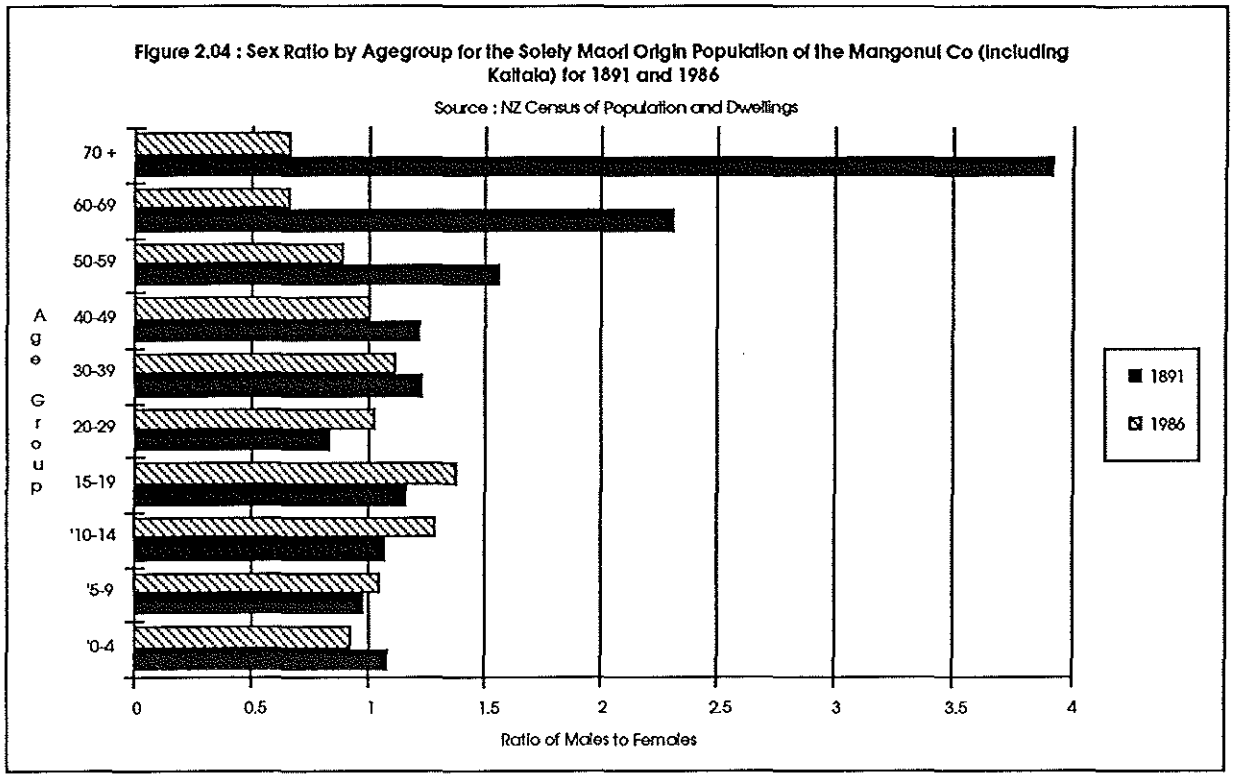


males to females tends to decrease with increasing age except where a higher migration rate of females has occurred. Just the reverse is shown by the 1891 data. This same pattern is corroborated for the NZ Maori population as a whole at that time, and is also borne out by the 1896 and 1901 census results. The likely explanation is higher mortality of women. This is consistent with the very low life expectation at birth and age 15 years for Maori women for 1890 estimated in Pool (1982).

Elderly males formed a surprisingly high proportion of the population, much higher than is observed in the 1986 Mangonui Maori population. That 1986 Mangonui population has a disproportionately high ratio of elderly to other age-groups relative to the NZ Maori population as a whole resulting from selective sustained high net migration of young Maori over a 30 year period.

Pool (1987) observes that the aged population structure of the New Zealand in the late 19th century is consistent with a significant increase in the age specific mortality rates of those of younger age-groups in the mid to late 19th century, thus resulting in a disproportionate number of elderly Maori (males). Pool (1982) examines Maori age structure and age specific mortality rates in terms of health and welfare issues. I quote :

. . . Maori levels of life expectation were extremely low indeed in the late nineteenth century.



> This can only be counted as a scandalous situation in a country which was already priding itself on its health record. Differences in access to medical technology, health infrastructure and health administration were not to blame for the differential between Maoris and non-Maoris because, as I have noted above, these factors were of little importance to non-Maoris either at this time. Instead, the differential arose from the deprived social and economic condition of Maori people at that time, plus their lack of immunity from introduced diseases. . . It was the effect of extremely high levels of mortality which had reduced numbers at most younger ages to seven or eight percent of the New Zealand total, and produced the very old age structure which typified the Maori population of that time. (Pool , 1982)

Pool (1987) also attributes decline in the solely NZ Maori Origin population in the late 19th century (Figure 2.6) to a major influenza epidemic which took a particularly heavy toll on the NZ Maori population.

2.5 Migration

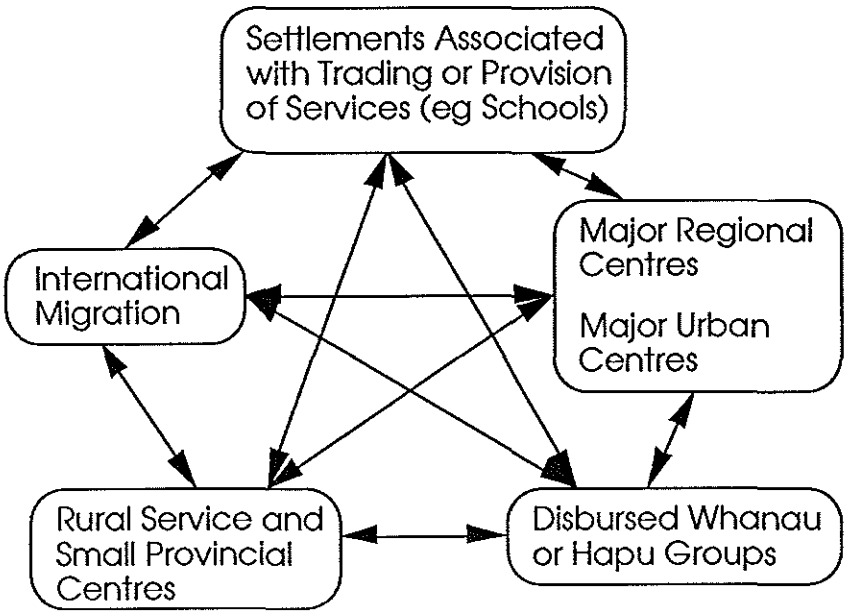
General

Changes and trends in migration are key factors behind population changes, and are symptomatic of economic and other behavioural changes in society.

Net migration figures are those most often focussed on. Until very recently, gross migration flows, and flows of particular age, gender, ethnic, occupational or income groups were figured infrequently in policy development.

The most visible and widely studied component of recent Maori migration has been the historical migration from rural areas to urban centres. This has resulted in a massive and visible change in the way of life of the Maori population. But that is only one of a number of components of the migration jigsaw, as illustrated in Figure 2.5.

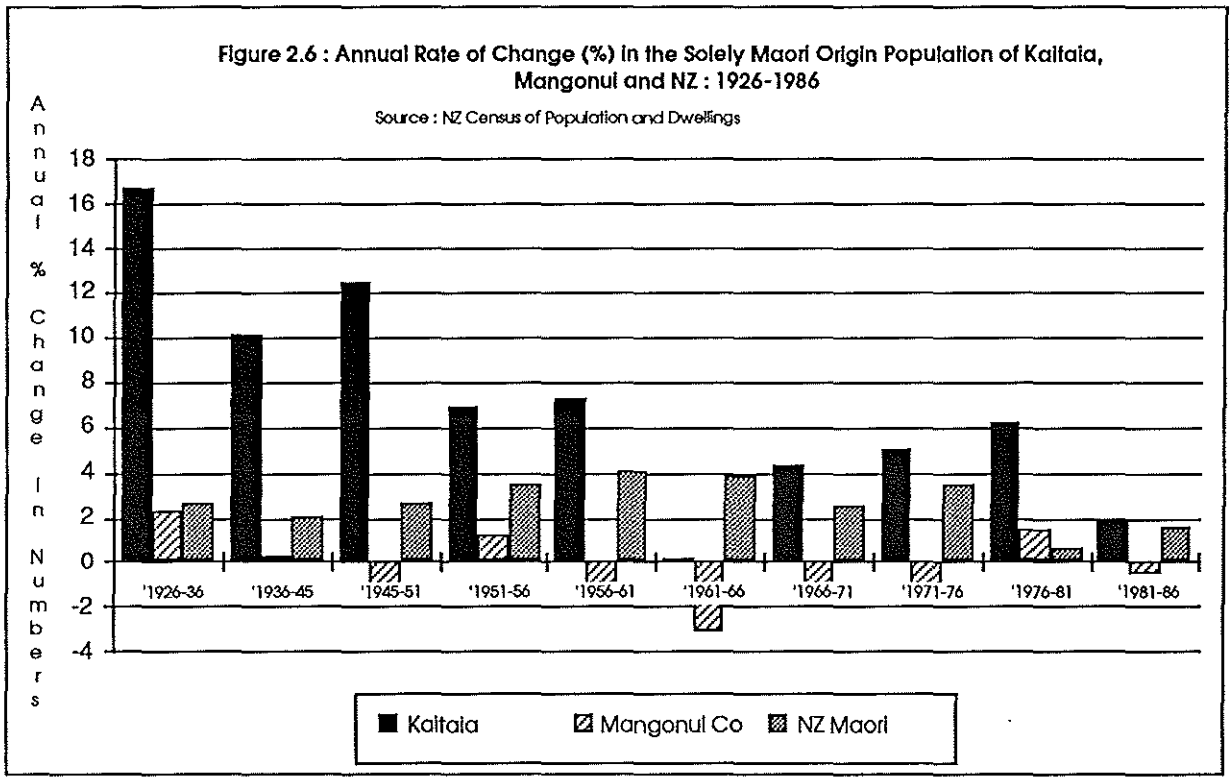
Figure 2.5 : Components of the Migration Jigsaw



Internal intra-regional, internal inter-regional and international migration are three key components of migration. It is useful to take a quick overview of some of the data or indicators of these

forms of migration over time for the Far North Maori population.

Internal Migration within the Far North

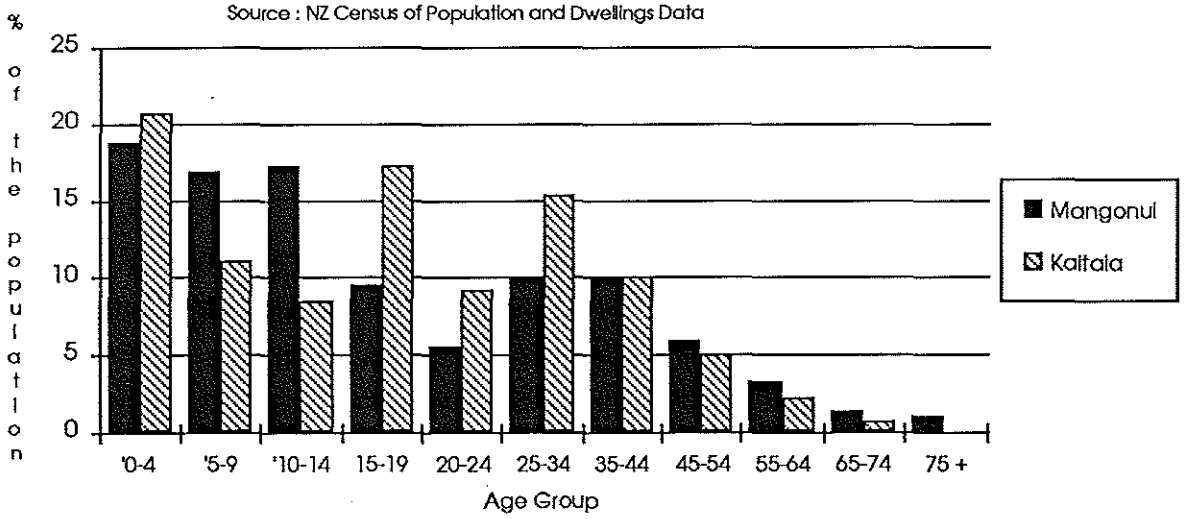


Estimates of early internal migration within the Far North are hampered by the lack of suitable data. On the basis of census data alone, only a silhouette of large scale movements between rural areas and municipalities within the north can be assessed, and then only for the period from the early 20th century. This means that movement between the small settlements of the north and from one rural area to another cannot be profiled from this source. However, school rolls etc. may be another source of information if needed. The movement of Maori people to areas of economic activity (gum diggings for example), and to areas where key services were provided (eg early schools such as that established at Te Hapua) are known to have been significant.

The Maori population census data for Kaitaia (initially a town district) shows that there was a much higher rate of growth for that area during the 1926-51 period than would be expected by natural increase alone. This is illustrated by Figure 2.6, which shows the annual percentage change for the Maori population of Kaitaia, Mangonui County, and for NZ Maori as a whole. It also includes comparable data for Mangonui County. The margin of growth of the Kaitaia Maori population above that expected from natural increase alone suggests that significant net internal migration

to Kaitaia occured over the 1926-1951 period. This would either be from other areas of the Far North or from outside the area. While it is impossible to directly measure the relative importance of the two components of migration from the available census statistics, the estimated level of migration from Mangonui County is greater than the Kaitaia population increase observed. It is quite likely that some net migration to Kaitaia from Mangonui and Hokianga Counties explains some of this Kaitaia population increase, and some may be attributable to arrival of Maori from other parts of New Zealand.

Figure 2.7 : Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of Mangonui Co and Kaitaia Town : 1951

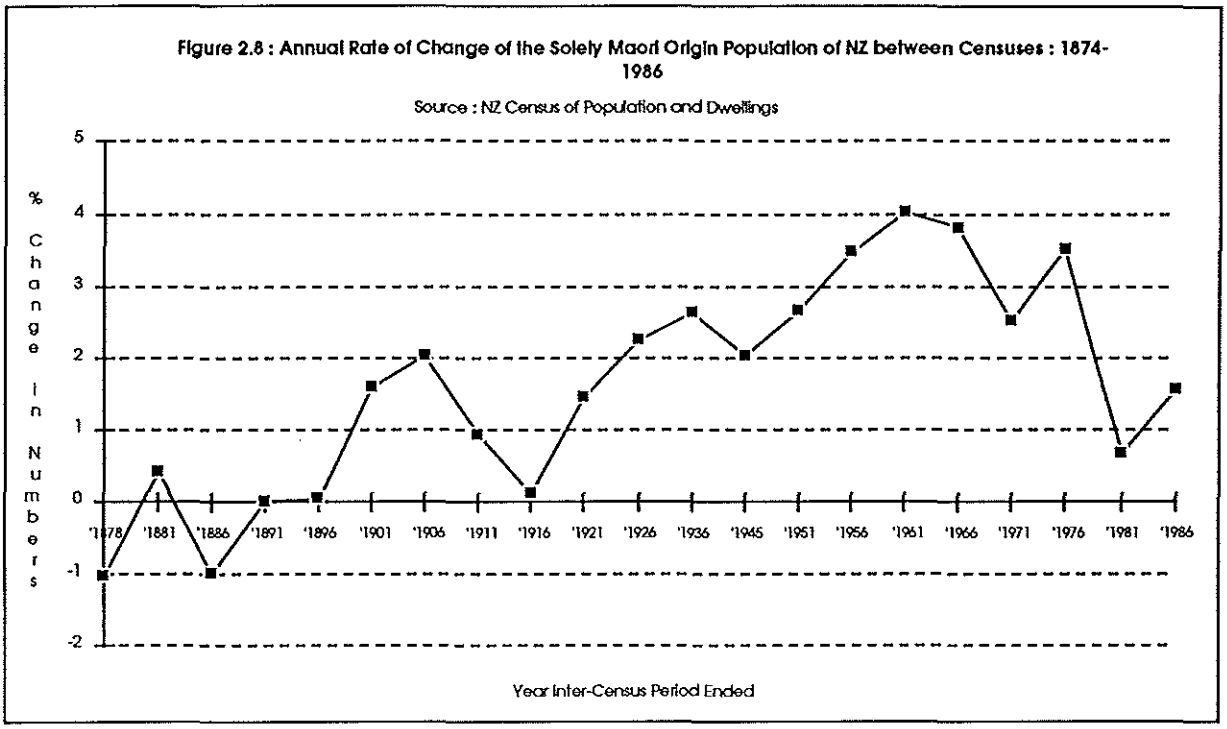


However, the age structure of the Kaitaia Maori population is distinctly different from that of the County as a whole, as is illustrated using 1951 data in Figure 2.7. The differences are a larger proportion of young school leavers and of young (adults 25-34 years) families, presumably with children.

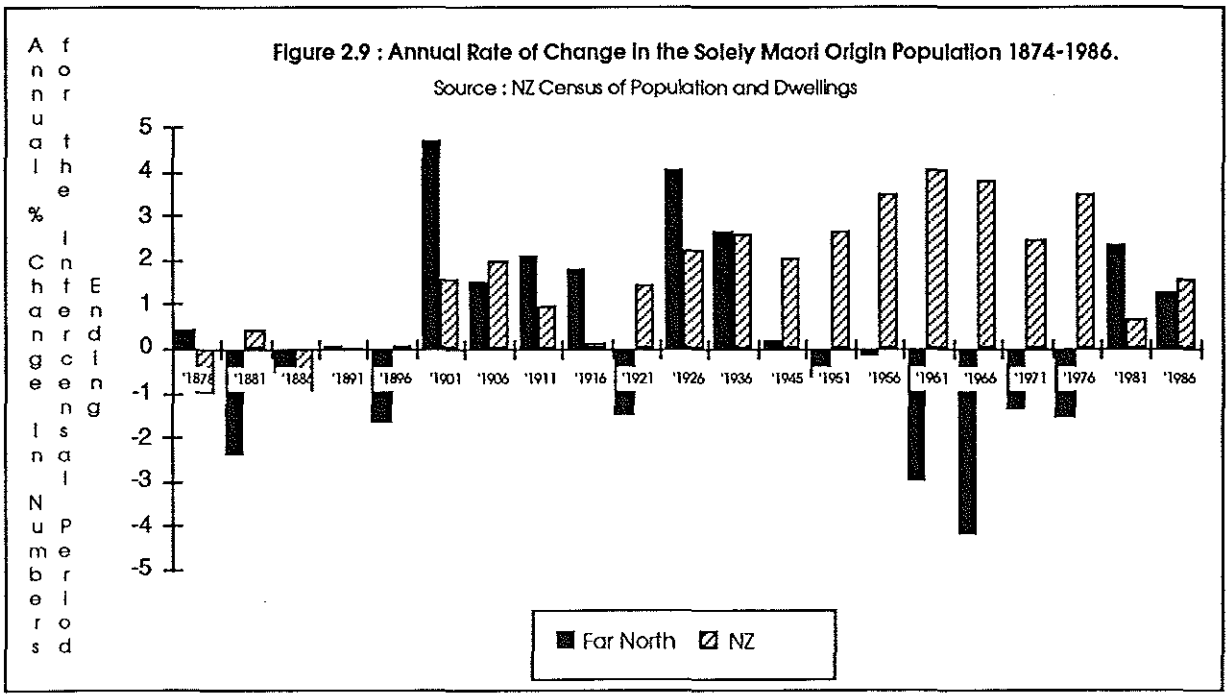
Inter-regional Migration

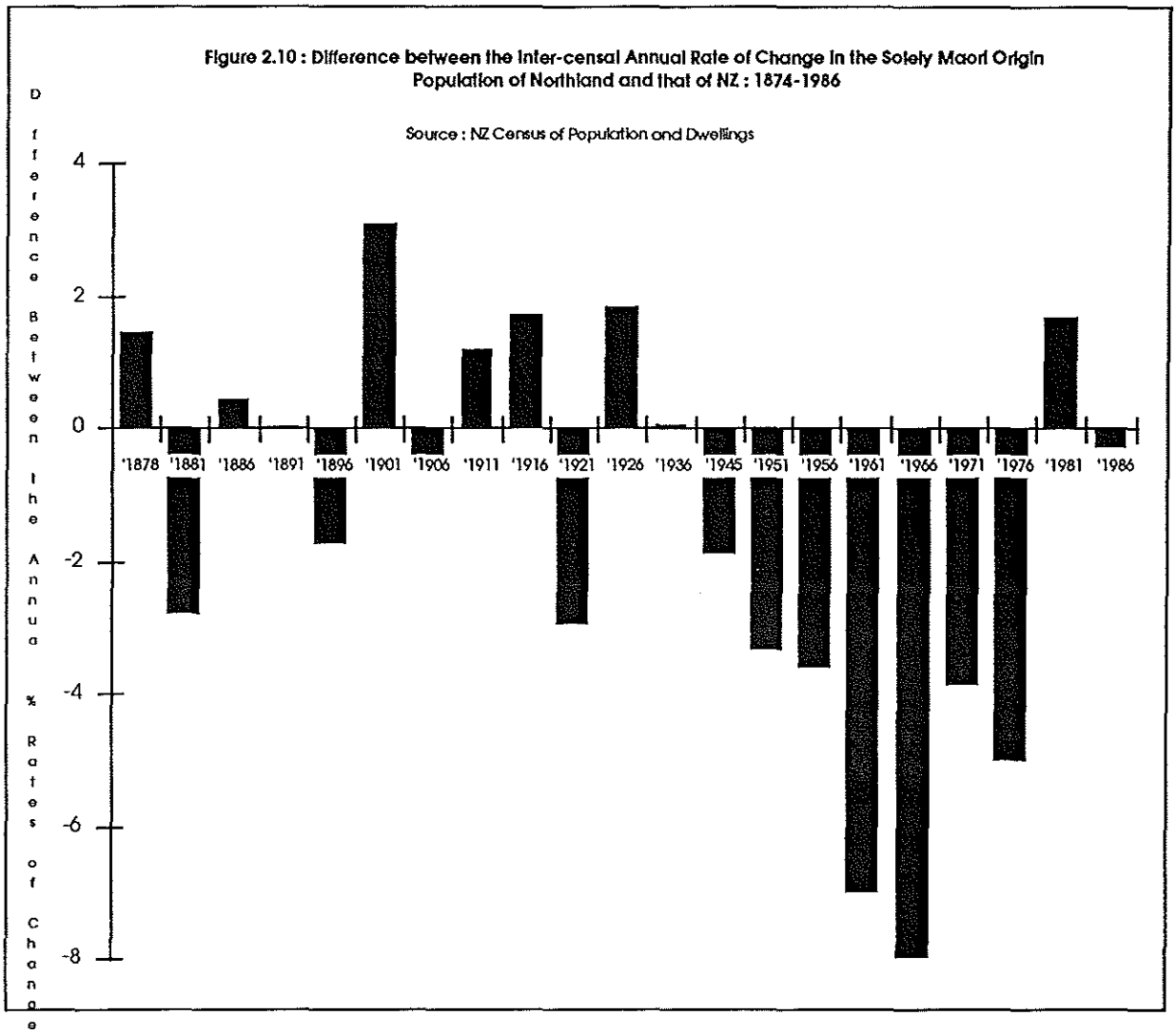
Movement between the Far North and other parts of Northland, Whangarei Urban Area for example, may also have been significant at some stage. However, the movement from the Far North to the major urban areas became a flood, extending over a period of 30 years or so at least.

Figure 2.8 shows the annual inter-censal rate of change of the NZ Solely Maori Origin population for the 1874-1986 period. The the rates of change for the Far North and the NZ Solely Maori origin



populations for the period 1874-1986 are shown in Figure 2.9, and the net difference in growth rates between the NZ and Far North rates of growth in Figure 2.10. Figure 2.11 shows the actual numbers of NZ Solely Maori Origin compared with non-Maori living in the Far North for the 1874-1986 period. If differences in fertility and mortality rates between Muriwhenua and the remainder of the New Zealand Maori population are assumed to be insignificant by comparison with the effect of migration, then the differences shown by Figure 2.10 can mainly be attributed to net





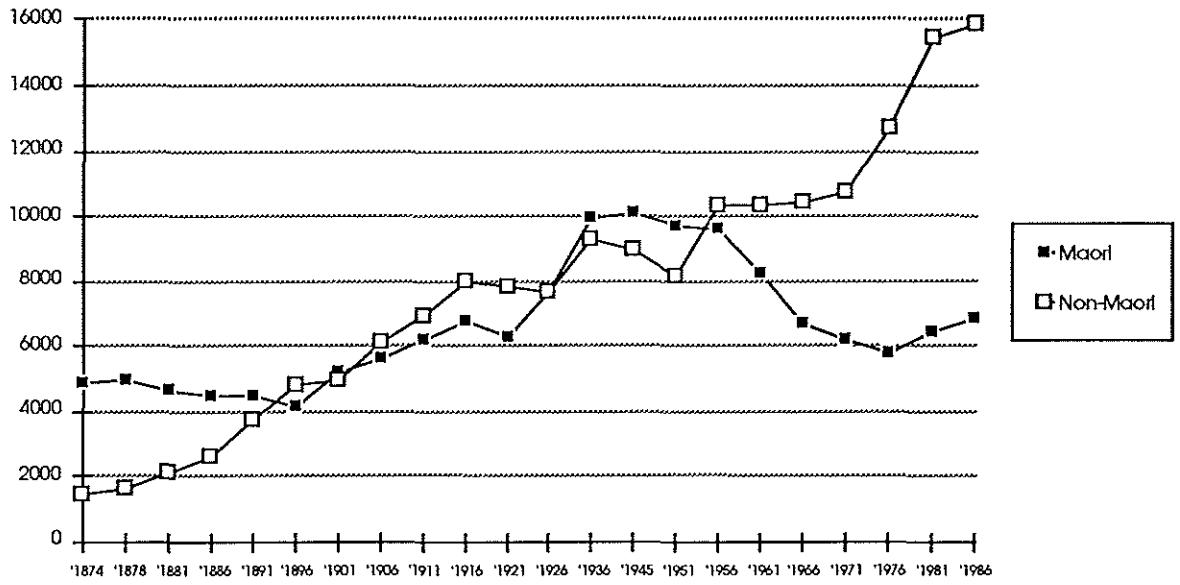
migration. It also assumes that net international migration is zero.

At the time of the early 1950's, the estimated error factor resulting from differing age structure of the local and New Zealand populations would only have been of the order of 10-20% of the observed differences in population growth rates (assuming of similar age related fertility). This diminishes to a figure of the order of 5% by the 1980's.

Looking at Figure 2.10, the suggested fluctuations in the migration rate shown over the 1901 to 1936 period must be interpreted with caution because of other short term influences such as epidemics and military service abroad. Migration estimates for the last century are dubious because of the rudimentary nature of the census's carried out at that time, and because that was a period at which major localised differences between local and national mortality rates often existed. However, it looks as if there was either significant net migration from the Far North

Figure 2.11 : Change in the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Far North 1874-1986

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings



between 1916 and 1921, but his could also indicate that the influenza epidemic that swept that country during that inter-censal period resulted in a much higher mortality rate amongst Maori of the Far North than those of other areas at that time.

Lowe's (1989) analysis of iwi population change between 1874 and 1951 suggested that Te Rarawa and Nga Puhi dominated an inferred pre-1951 migration to Auckland and Wellington. He inferred this by applying cohort survival and fertility estimates to the iwi age structures as at the turn of the century, and comparing these with the observed regional populations. He suggested that disparities between observed figures and those predicted by his demographic modelling work are consistent with pre-1951 migration of Te Rarawa and Nga Puhi to Auckland and Wellington.

According to Lowe's (1989) estimates of "growth potential indexes" (ie measures of the expected rate of growth of the population based on its age and gender composition) for all principal iwi groups, Te Rarawa had a considerably higher growth potential than the NZ population as a whole (1.22 versus 1.00 for the NZ population).

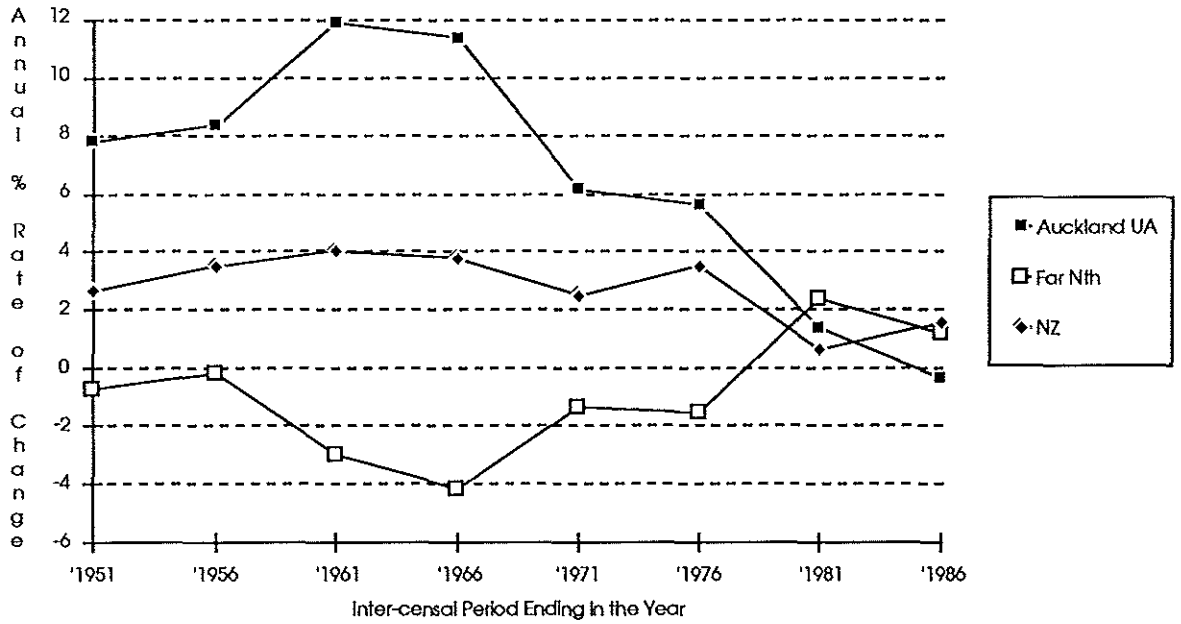
Lowe (1989) observed that this growth potential was not been reflected in the observed growth of the population in of the Far North area, and didn't appear to be borne out by comparison of the expected numbers of persons from that iwi group on the 1951 Maori Electoral Rolls and those actually recorded. The electoral roll data suggested that the growth rate of Te Rarawa was lower

than expected, perhaps more comparable with that of the NZ Solely Maori Origin population as a whole. However, the electoral roll comparison is of dubious value, since it is not known whether the significantly different proportion of some iwi listed on the general roll might explain discrepancies (eg because a greater proportion of some iwi had become urbanised with that as a consequence), and to what extent non-registration varied between iwi groups.

Age and Gender Aspects of Migration

Figure 2.12 : Annual Inter-censal Rates of Change in the Solely Maori Origin populations of NZ, the Far North and Auckland Urban Area 1945-86

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

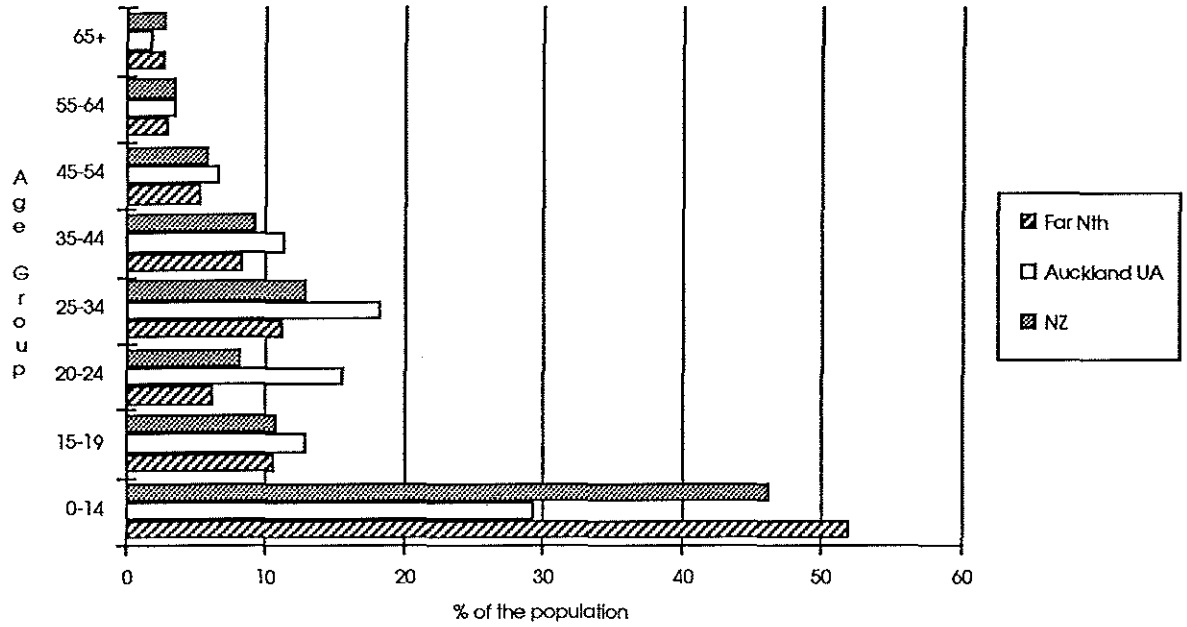


The change in overall population numbers is only part of the story. It is also useful and important to understand the age and gender composition of the remaining residents and those who migrated out. Where did the out migrants go to and what ages of the population were more strongly represented in the out migrants than the population left behind?. Analysis of the age composition of the population over time can be used to shed light on these matters.

It is assumed that a large number of the migrants from the Far North have moved to the Auckland Urban Area. This is suggested by Figure 2.12, which shows the inter-censal rates of change (%) in the Solely Maori Origin population of NZ, Auckland and the Far North over the 1945-86 period. Whereas the NZ Maori population increased by 250% over that period, the Auckland population increased 1350% (ie more than 5 times as fast), and the Far North population declined by 12%.

Figure 2.13 : Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of NZ, the Far North and Auckland Urban Area : 1945

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings



The 1945 migrants from the rural areas to the Auckland urban area consisted of a disproportionate share of those in the working/labouring age range of 20-34 relative to the population remaining in the Far North. Children were very significantly under represented, perhaps left at home with relatives while parents earned a living in Auckland or other urban centre, or perhaps a larger proportion of the Auckland Urban Area families were still young and growing (ie with children still to be born) and thus had lower parent to child dependent ratios than those of the

Figure 2.14 : Age Structures of the Solely Maori Origin Populations of the Far North, Auckland Urban Area and NZ : 1986

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

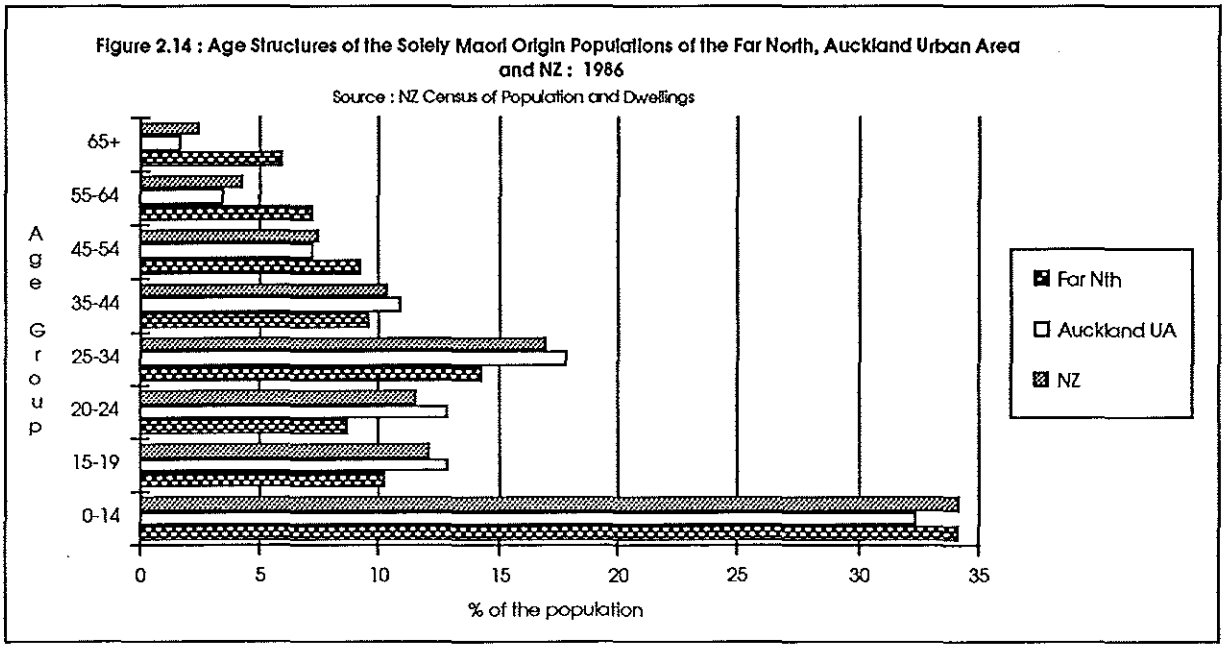
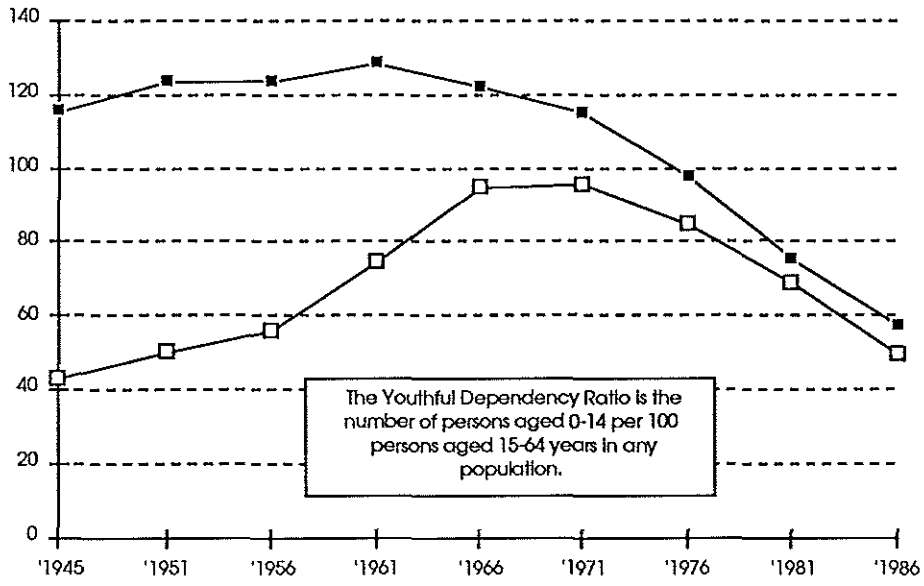


Figure 2.15 : Youthful Dependency Ratios for the Solely Maori Origin Population of the Far North and Auckland Urban Area : 1945-86

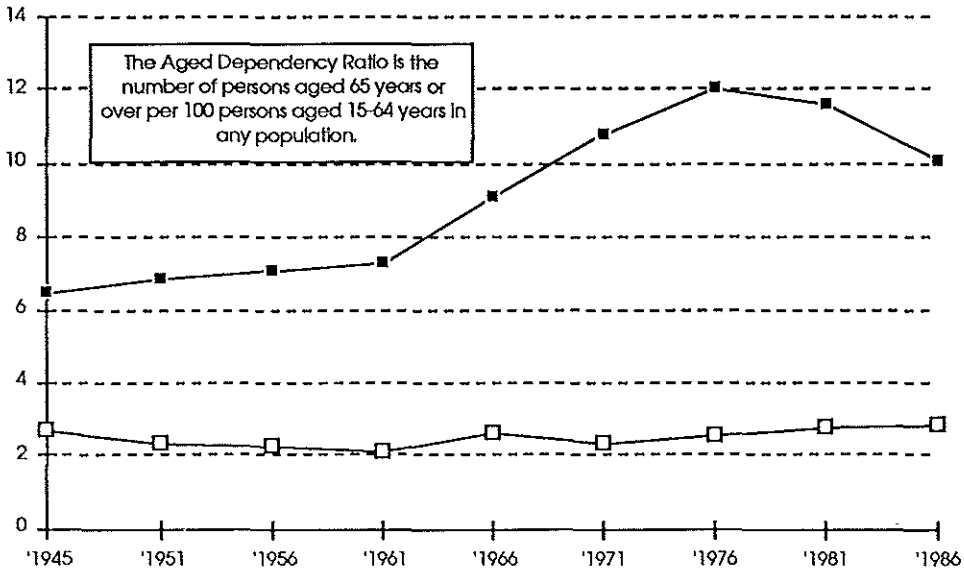
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

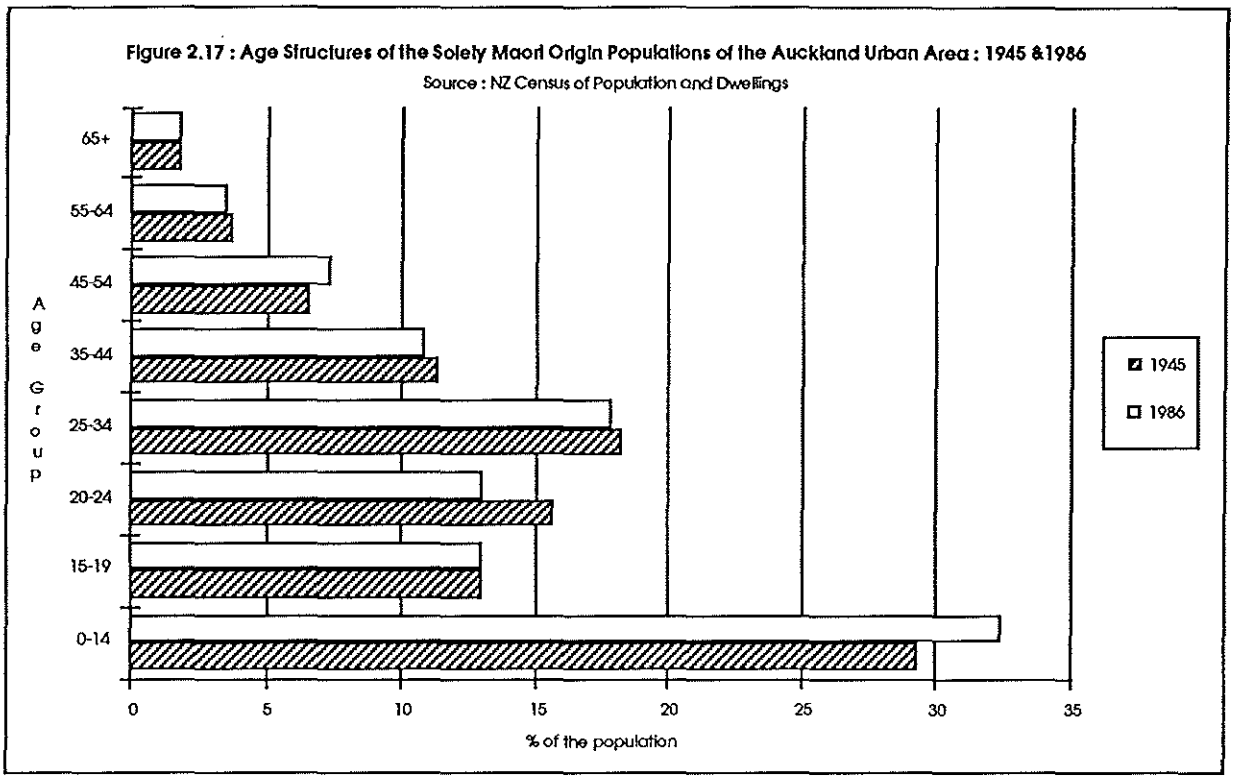


Far North. Figure 2.15 is not inconsistent with the Far North acting initially as a "dormitory" for many of the children of the Maori from local families working in Auckland (and other urban areas). Presumably, elder relatives who remained in the North cared for the children and the land while the younger workers earned cash in the cities. Comparison of Youthful Dependency Ratios for the Far North and Auckland Urban Area (Figure 2.15) suggest that any such pattern had become less

Figure 2.16 : Aged Dependency Ratios for the Solely Maori Origin Populations of the Far North, NZ and Auckland UA : 1945-86

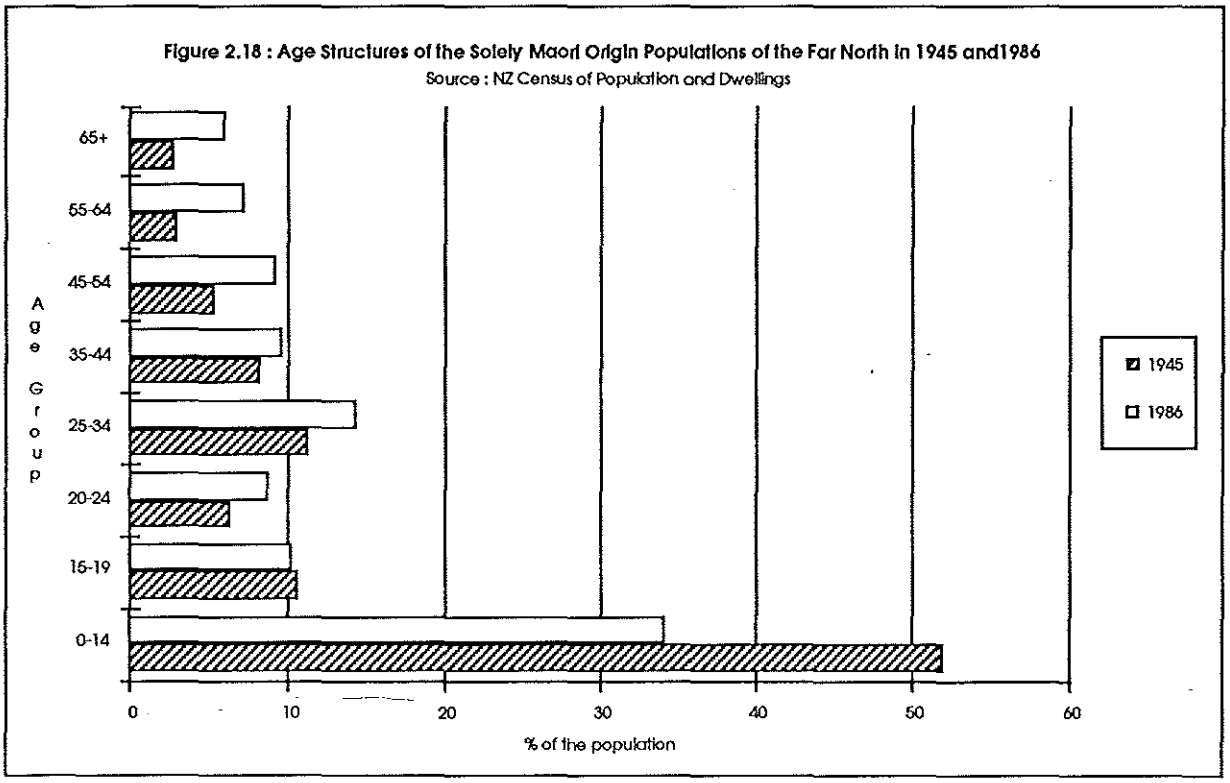
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

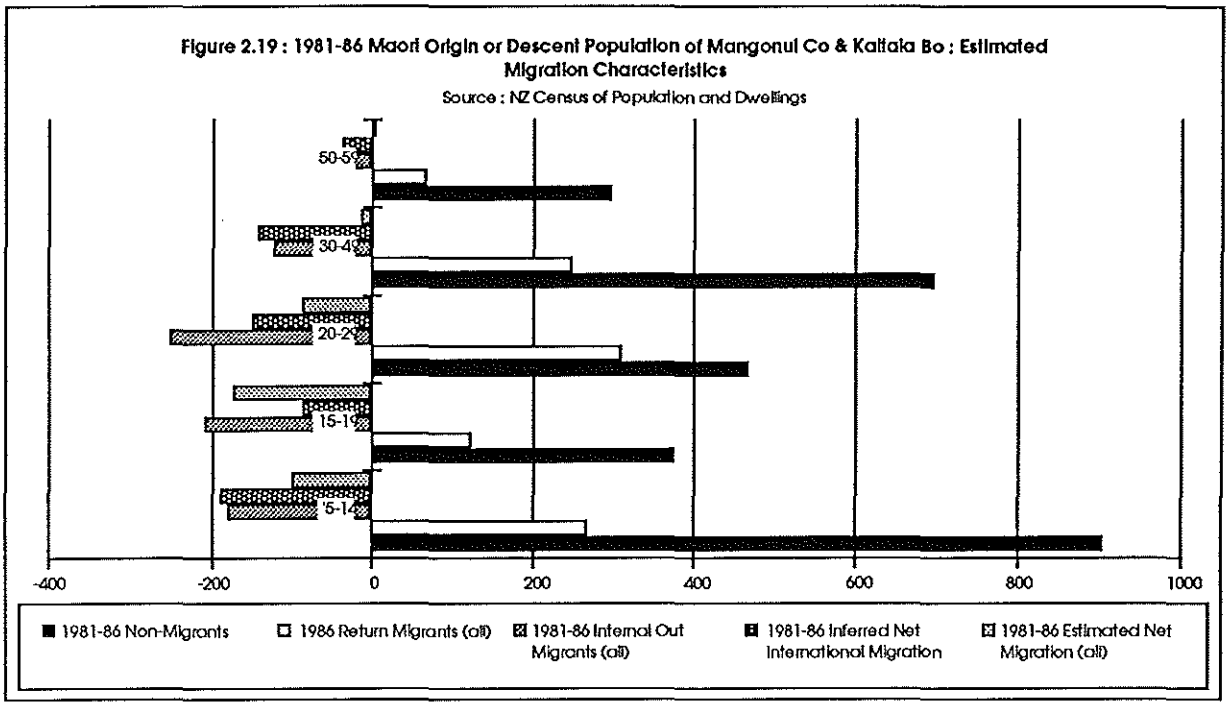




common by the early 1970's.

Trends of change in the age composition of the rural and urban populations over time are shown in Appendix A. The age structure of the Far North rural and Auckland urban Maori populations





have generally converged over time.

By 1976, a new equilibrium appears to have developed between the urban and rural Maori populations. The turn around to a modest net growth over 1976-81 of the Far North Maori population is illustrated by Figure 2.12. This is suggested by comparing the age and sex compositions of the main urban centre in Auckland and the Far North for 1945 (Figure 2.13) and 1986 (Figure 2.14) and considering current migration patterns. A major factor in the "dip" in the proportion of the elderly in the Far North population over the 1976-81 period is "dilution" of the

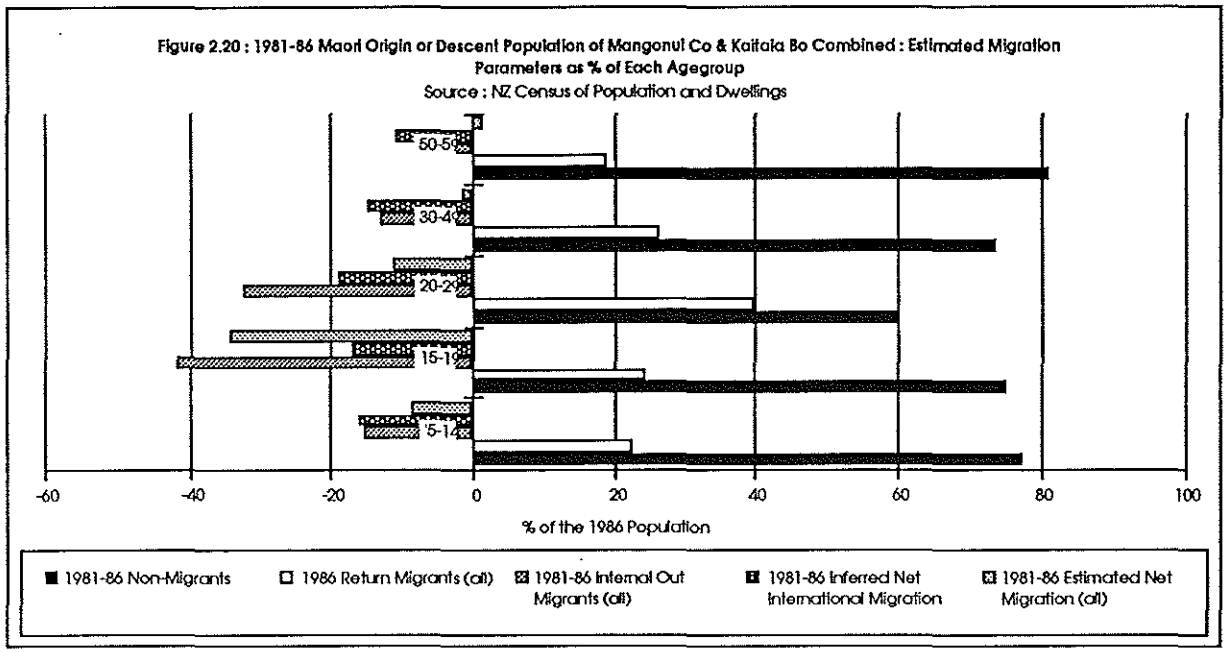
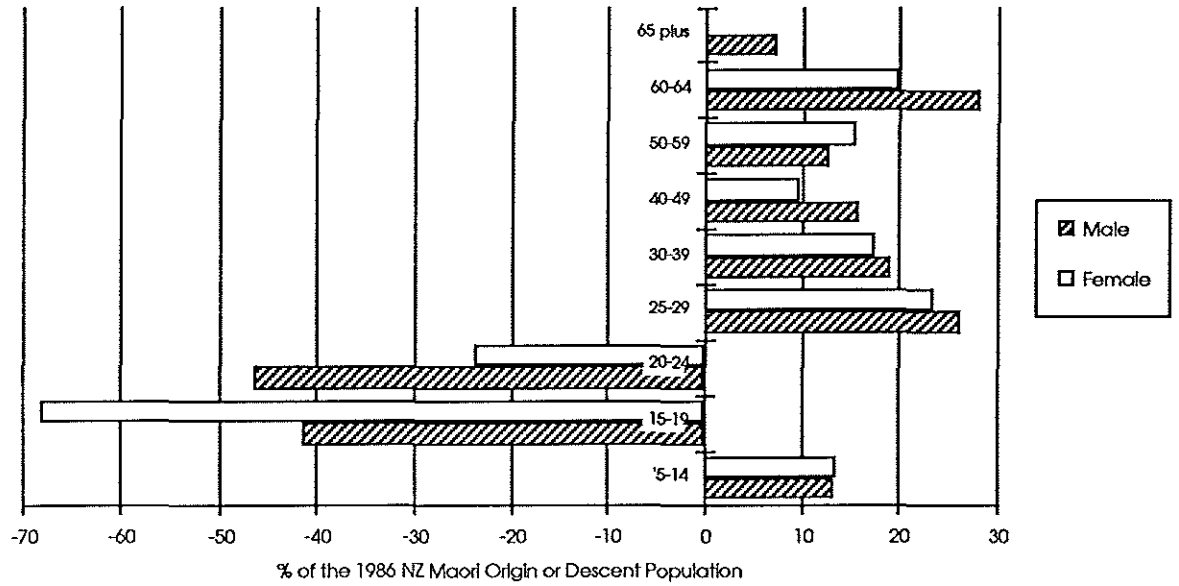


Figure 2.21 : Net Internal Migration 1981-86 by Age and Gender for the Maori Origin or Descent Population of the Far North
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings



remaining aged population of the Far North caused by return migration of younger age-groups and net return migration. Other factors that may be involved in this change of the proportion of aged in the populations include changes to the population age "pyramid" by normal aging, and inter ethnic mobility. I don't expect that the likely level of inter-ethnic mobility would significantly modify any of the conclusions suggested by this analysis of historical trends in the age structure of the urban and rural Maori populations.

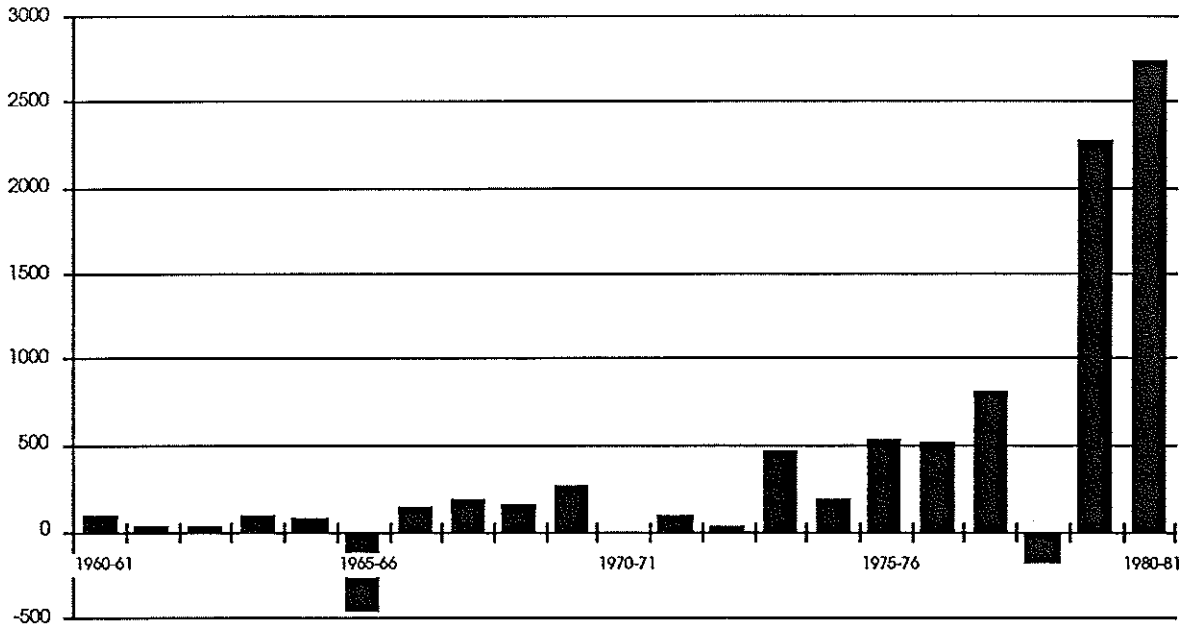
By 1986, the urban population had matured to a great extent. The proportion of elderly people in the Far North population, shown by the graph of Aged Dependency Ratios in Figure 2.16, had increased as a result of this "bleeding" of the youth of the north, but the share of elderly in the urban population had changed very little. The proportion of young dependents in the two communities was roughly the same. The age structure of the Far North had diverged from that of the NZ population as a whole. It would appear that the age structure of the Auckland Urban Area stayed about the same between 1945 and 1986 (Figure 2.17). However, this has been achieved through balance between two opposing trends. On the one hand, the fertility rate of NZ Maori declined from over 5 per woman in 1945 to somewhere in the order of two per woman in the 1980's (Pool & Pole (1987)). On the other, it is inferred that children of families living in the Auckland Urban Area were no longer sent back to the north in significant numbers. This is suggested by consideration of recent changes in Youth Dependency Ratios for the Far North and Auckland Urban Area (Figure 2.15). The age structure of the Far North in 1986 is dramatically

different to that recorded in 1945 (Figure 2.18), and has now diverged from the profile of the Solely Maori Origin population of NZ at this time (Figure 2.13).

Examination of the characteristics of internal migration for Mangonui County and Kaitaia Borough highlights some of the pressures and dynamics of the Far North Maori communities. This is illustrated by Figures 2.19 and 2.20, which show all migration in and out flows by number and percentage respectively of the age group for the Kaitaia and Mangonui areas over the 1981-86 period. Net internal migration is summarised in Figure 2.21.

International Migration

Figure 2.22 : Net International Migration of the NZ Maori : 1960/61-1982/83
Source : Department of Statistics



Ethnic based international migration statistics were collected up until the beginning of the 1980's and then discontinued. Net International migration of persons of Solely Maori Origin for the 1960/61-1982/83 is shown in Figure 2.22. It is very difficult to establish the level of net international migration since that time. The peak recorded net outflow over 1980/81 represented a net international migration rate for the Solely NZ Maori population of less than 1% per annum.

An upper limit on net international migration from the Far North over the 1981-86 period has been estimated. The difference between the population change predicted from cohort aging and

mortality, and the measurable effect of internal out and return migration estimated directly from the census records themselves, leaves a residual change in the age structure not accounted for by internal migration or normal aging and mortality of the population.

This residual consists of three components. The net loss of persons to the Maori Descent population resulting from "inter ethnic mobility", the loss resulting from incorrect enumeration of local authority of last residence 5 years previous to the 1986 census, and the net loss resulting from international migration. Estimates reported by Pool (1966) suggest that the loss due to inter-censal loss of persons of 1951 Maori Origin classification to a 1956 non-Maori origin classification was of the order of 2%.

The residual of the Far North Maori Origin or Descent Population not accounted for by internal migration or aging over the 1981-1986 inter-censal period has been calculated as of the order of 13%, ranging from 10 to 20% for each each group. This level of net international migration is of the same order as that which would have been expected if the levels of net international migration for the NZ Maori population as a whole estimated from ethnic arrival and departure data collected in the year prior to 1982 were sustained.

The error term resulting from incorrect answering of the residence 5 years ago question is not expected to be of this order of magnitude. It is expected that most of the overall net loss of 13% of the base population by age group is attributable to net international migration. Because of expected local variation in age specific national Maori mortality in the older cohorts, no estimates of international migration are ventured for the 60 years and over group.

Thus it would appear likely that net migration from the rural north to other parts of New Zealand was supplemented or replaced to some degree by high net international migration over the 1978-81 period, and beyond. This does not appear to be of the same scale as the peak of the internal urban migration seen in the late 30's to early 60's. However, it is very high, and may be of the order of 2% per annum of the base population.

The major factor behind this net international migration is likely to be economic. This is underscored by Figure 3.2, which shows the numbers of Maori persons actively engaged in the paid workforce as a % of all Maori persons in the 15-64 age group. It demonstrates the sharp drop in the workforce participation rate of persons of Solely Maori Origin between 1981-86. In a word, scarcity of job opportunities for unskilled or semi-skilled workers in all sectors.

2.6 Size of the Muriwhenua Affiliated Population

How many people of Solely Maori Origin are more closely affiliated with the peoples of the Far North than with other Maori iwi groups? At this point in time, the estimates for the 1986 Te Rarawa populations that are made here can only be regarded as inspired guess work. Improvement on that position is contingent on satisfactory coding and response to a question on iwi affiliation in the 1991 census, and/or adherence to recommendations made in the postscript to Lowe's (1989) study of Iwi population change. The approach used here rests on the simplest of assumptions, but should be adequate for an order of magnitude estimate.

The Maori population has not been consistently recorded on a tribal basis. The 1874, 1878, 1881, 1886, and 1896 census's all provide some enumeration of the Maori population on a tribal basis. However, the five tribal groups Ngati Kuri, Te Aupouri, Nai Takoto, Te Rarawa and Ngati Kahu (included under the Muriwhenua claim) were in most cases lumped into a wider tribal group termed "Rarawa". The 1874 census differentiated Aupouri, Ngati Kuri and Patu underneath a generic grouping of Rarawa. The 1878 differentiated Aupouri as a sub group of the wider Rarawa grouping. Lack of consistency between censuses generates little confidence in their reliability as a gauge to the relative sizes of the sub groups within the "Rarawa" wider grouping. However, the information available provides some basis for estimating the proportions of persons of Maori origin or descent in each locality who are most closely affiliated with the "Rarawa" tribal group from other tribal groupings.

Because of the absence of a breakdown of Maori persons in each area affiliated with the different tribal groups, the tribal affiliations of persons of NZ Solely Maori Origin have had to be assumed from the locality in which they live. That assumption would clearly not be tenable in a major urban area such as Auckland. The approach is also of diminishing accuracy as time goes on and migration of Maori people out of their home areas and the migration into those areas of persons of other lineage progresses. In the major urban areas, the majority of those of NZ Maori origin are not likely to be of the original tribal grouping who held occupation rights over the land in the 19th century. However, in some rural heart lands of the north island, such as northwest Hokianga and Te Aupouri Peninsula, the resident Maori population is still likely to closely represent the original tribal association with that land. In this study, the census statistics have limited the analysis of trends to those county/local authority areas of long standing. Those are the smallest units of analysis that have been possible.

As discussed in the introduction, this study has focussed on the population of Solely NZ Maori Origin

in the Mangonui, Hokianga and Whangaroa counties and enclosed local authority areas. This has been referred to as the "Far North Maori population". Statistics for the three counties have been amalgamated in the historical analysis in order to encompass the main geographic area inhabited by the five tribal groups who are represented by the Muriwhenua claim. Te Rarawa are found in Mangonui County to the southwest of Kaitaia, but also in the northwest of Hokianga County. However, Nga Puhi people are also heavily represented in Hokianga County, especially in the south and east. It is difficult to differentiate the Hokianga Te Rarawa from Nga Puhi over this time period. The Te Aupouri and Ngati Kuri subgroups were located within the Mangonui County at the end of last century.

Figure 2.23 : Solely NZ Maori Origin Population for some Far North Local Authority areas : 1874-1986.

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

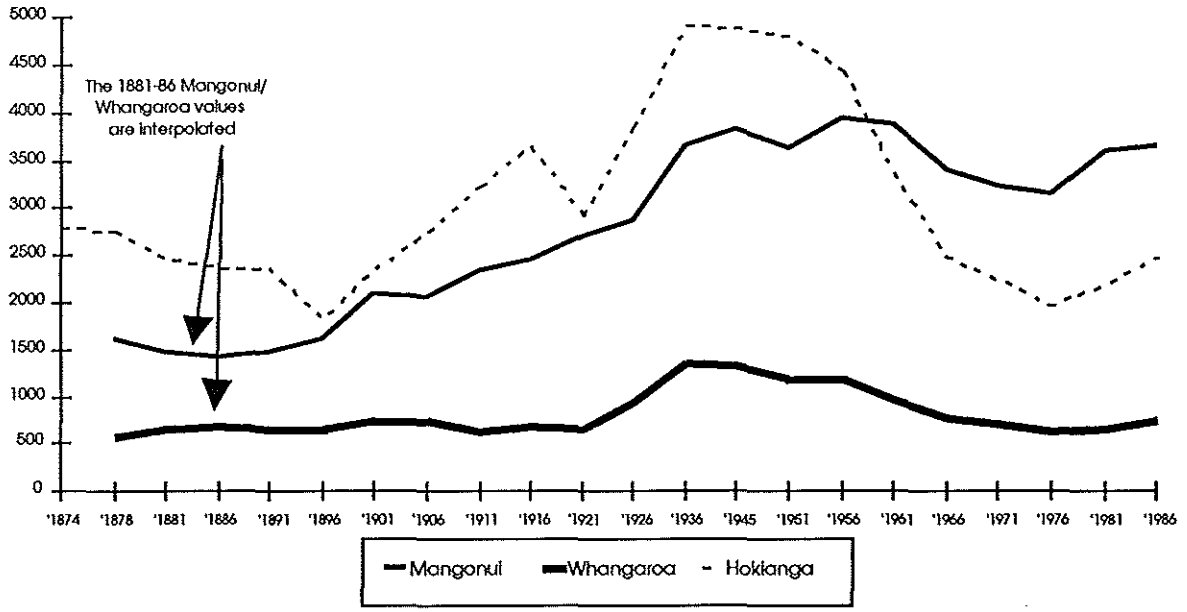


Figure 2.25 shows the size of the Solely NZ Maori Origin populations of the three northern local authority counties with their enclosed local authority districts, boroughs etc. over the 1874-1986 period. There are quite clear differences between the growth rates of these areas, although the overall form of the changes over the 1926 to 1986 period are similar. The pattern of Maori population change has been uneven. Whereas the overall pattern is similar, it would appear that there was a lower level of net out migration from Mangonui than from Hokianga County. The reversal to net return migration was also more rapid and of greater magnitude for Hokianga than Mangonui.

To estimate the total population who are most closely affiliated with each area, comparisons can

be made with the growth rate in the Solely NZ Maori Origin population as a whole over the same period. It can be assumed that where large inter-censal differences are observed, these are mainly attributable to net out migration. These differences are shown in Figure 2.10. It can also be assumed that the age and sex specific fertility and mortality rates of the Muriwhenua people are the same as those for the NZ Maori population as a whole. If this is done, then the results shown in Table 2.1 are obtained.

LOCALITY	1896 NZ Solely Maori Origin Population	1986 NZ Solely Maori Origin Population	Resulting Change in Population (%) 1896-1986	Estimated Affiliated Population (including those living elsewhere in NZ)	Ratio of Affiliated to Local Population	Estimated NZ Maori Descent or Origin Total, Including Affiliates
Mangonui	1,616	3,654	130%	11,500	2	16,000
Whangaroa	656	723	10%	5,000	5	6,000
Hokianga	1,839	2,481	35%	13,000	4	18,000
Far North	4,111	6,858	70%	30,000	3	40,000
New Zealand	42,113	301,548	620%	-	-	405,309

Table 2.1 : Estimates of the Far North Resident and NZ Affiliated NZ Maori Population of the Far North

The above estimate include a substantial number of persons from the Nga Puhi tribal group. The tribal composition of the three rural county areas as at the time of the 1896 census can be used to estimate roughly the share of the Maori population that might be associated with the wider Te Rarawa group rather than the Nga Puhi iwi. The result shown is Table 2.2. This represents a ball park estimate of the current numbers of persons of close affiliation with the "Rarawa" tribal groups. In this instance, "Rarawa" is used as an umbrella term to refer to all of the iwi groups encompassed under the Muriwhenua claim.

What it implies is that if we take Maori Origin or Descent as a criteria, then around 19,000 persons living either in the Far North or elsewhere in New Zealand may be affiliated with the Maori descendants of the "Rarawa" people living in the Far North as at 1896. In other words, for every person of "Rarawa" NZ Maori Origin or Descent currently living in the Far North, 5 may be affiliated and of Maori Descent or Origin but living elsewhere in the country.

To illustrate the approach that was used to obtain these estimates, between 1896 and 1986, the NZ Maori population grew by an estimated 620%, whereas the population of persons of NZ Maori origin living in the Far North grew by only 70% from 4111 in 1896 to 6858 in 1986 (Figure 2.11). Given these assumptions, it follows that there are likely to be 4 to 5 persons of related Far North "lineage" living elsewhere in New Zealand or overseas for every 1 currently residing in the Far North. This would imply that about 23,000 persons have affiliations with the persons of Solely Maori Origin

living in the three Far North county areas and associated towns.

I would expect that the numbers of persons most closely affiliated with the "Rarawa" tribal classification would best be expressed in a form such as "in the range of 15,000-23,000 persons of Maori Descent of Origin".

LOCALITY	1896 "Rarawa" (NZ Solely Maori Origin) Population	1896 "Nga Puhi and other NZ Maori" (NZ Solely Maori Origin) Population	1986 NZ Maori Descent or Origin Population	1986 Estimated NZ Maori Descent or Origin "Rarawa" Affiliated Population, Including those Living Elsewhere in NZ
Mangonui	1,459	157	4863	14,000
Whangaroa	20	636	879	200
Hokianga	483	1,356	2943	4,600
Far North	1,962	2,149	8685	19,000

Table 2.2 : Estimates of the Far North Resident and Affiliated NZ "Rarawa" Population of the Far North

The late Department of Maori Affairs published a working paper (Lowe (1989)) which considers the changes in demographic structure of the principal iwi over the 1874-1951 period and provides pointers to change since that time. Consideration of Lowe's results provides a check on the assumptions made above.

Lowe applied cohort survival and fertility estimates to the iwi age structures as at the turn of the century, and compared these with the observed regional populations. He suggested that disparities between observed figures and those predicted by his demographic modelling work are consistent with pre-1951 migration of Te Rarawa and Nga Puhi to Auckland and Wellington.

Lowe (1989) prepared population "growth potential indexes" (ie measures of the expected rate of growth of the population based on its age and gender composition as at 1901) for all principal iwi groups. He found that the Te Rarawa had a considerably higher growth potential than the NZ population as a whole (1.22 versus 1.00 for the NZ population). His estimate for Te Rarawa population as at 1951 ranged from 8,000-12,600 depending on the assumptions used. He examined 1951 Maori Electoral roll data and found that the observed number of Te Rarawa based on the electoral roll ranged from 71% to 54% of that expected. However, this was based on the assumption that all iwi groups were equally likely to register on the electoral roll. In the worst case, his projections may be wrong and electoral roll data right. In that instance the 1986 Te Rarawa population could easily be of the same order as that estimated here. If his projections were right then the 1986 Te Rarawa population would likely to be considerably above that estimated using the simplest approach outlined.

At this point in time, estimates for the 1986 Te Rarawa populations made here can only be regarded as inspired guess work. Improvement on that position is contingent on satisfactory coding and response to a question on iwi affiliation in the 1991 census and following of recommendations made in the postscript to Lowe's (1989) study of iwi population change. What they demonstrate with reasonable certainty is that the true size of the Muriwhenua affiliated population is much greater than that suggested by the Maori Descent or Origin population of the Far North. The majority of the Muriwhenua affiliated population is likely to be found outside of the Far North geographic area, with an unknown number found in Auckland and other NZ main urban areas, other regions, and probably in Australia. The size of the Muriwhenua affiliated population is likely to be about 4 times greater than the observed local population.

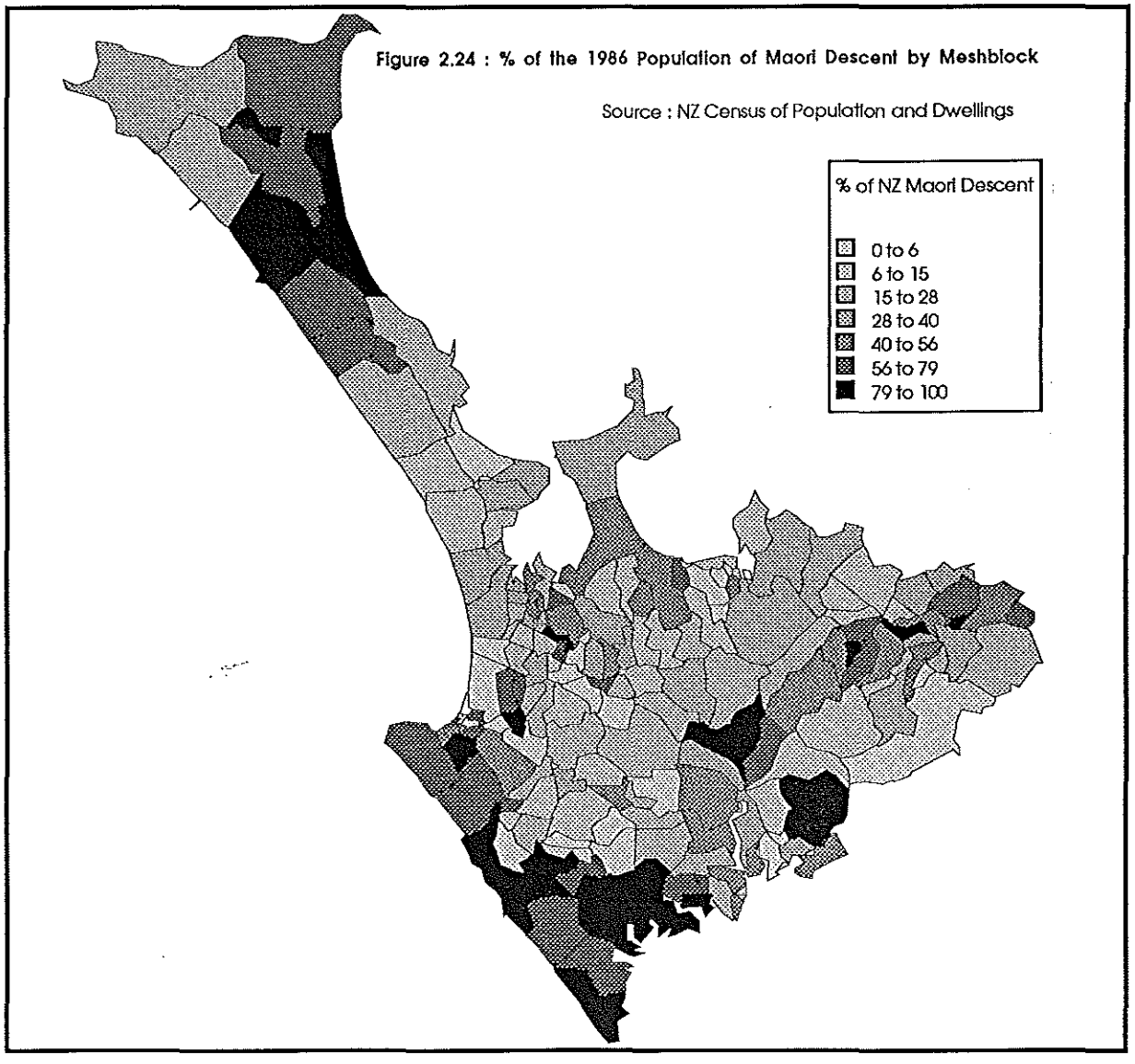
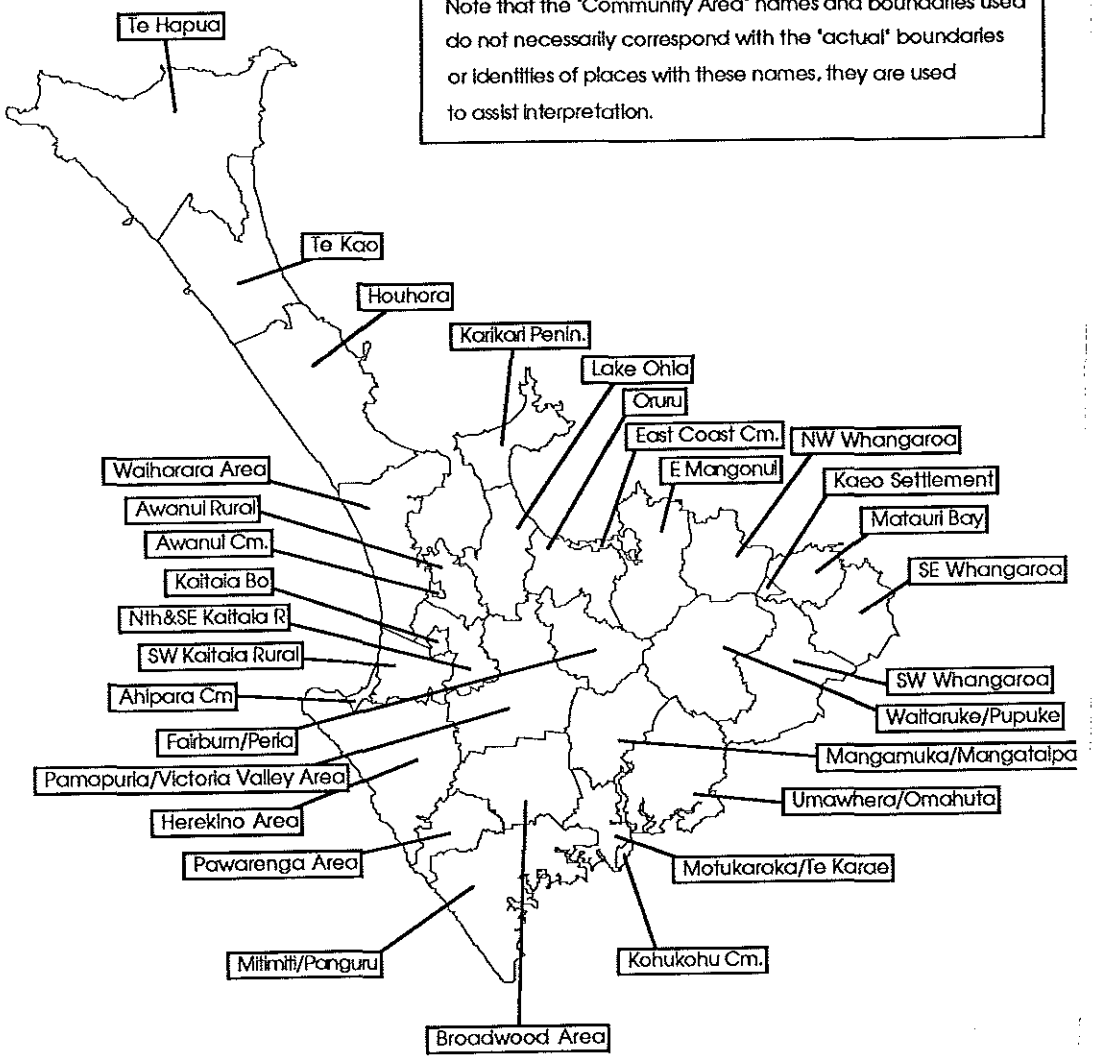


Figure 2.24 : % of the 1986 Population of Maori Descent by Meshblock

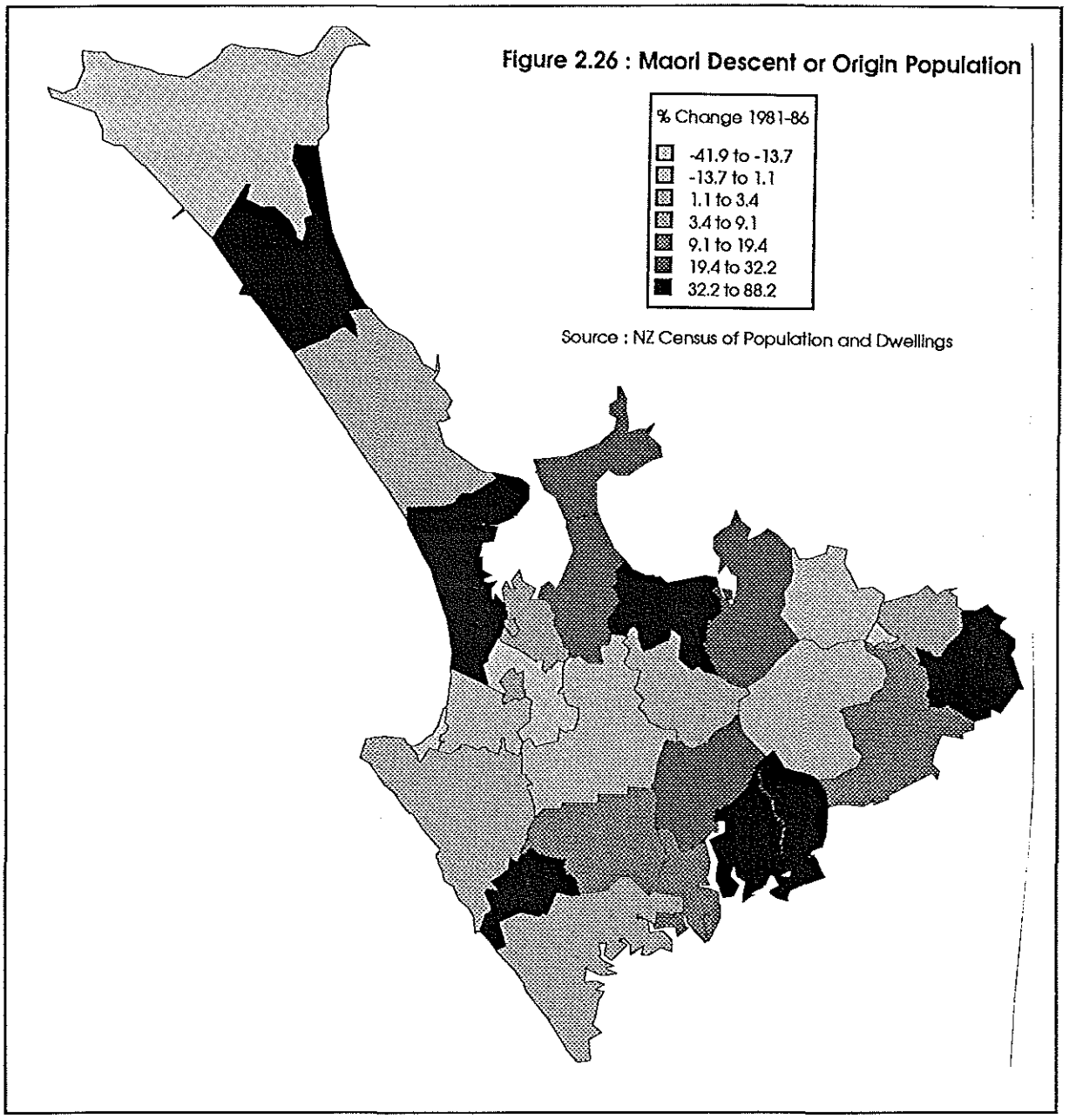
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

Figure 2.25 : "Community Area" Names Used in the Text



2.7 Geographic Distribution of persons of Maori Descent within the Far North

This is illustrated by Figure 2.24, which shows the percentage of the population who were of Maori Descent by statistics meshblock unit at the time of the 1986 census. The Maori Descent population is not uniformly distributed around the Far North. There are concentrations of Maori population in the Te Hapua/Te Kao, Ahipara, Panguru to Pawarenga, Mangamuka/Mangataipa, Umawhera/Omahuta, Awanui, and going through in a swathe from Matauri Bay across to Waitaruke/Pupuke areas. The named areas follow a classification develop by the author for aggregating meshblock



units into larger geographic units. These are referred to somewhat misleadingly as "community areas". They do not necessarily represent communities or areas as locally understood, but are simply necessary tools to make sense of the statistical data available. The areas are shown in Figure 2.25.

The change in the Maori descent population of these community areas over the 1981-86 period is illustrated by Figure 2.26. Figure 2.27 shows the Aged Dependency Ratio by Community Area of the 1986 population who were of Māori Descent or Origin at the time of the 1986 census. The Youthful Dependency Ratio by Community Area is shown in Figure 2.28.

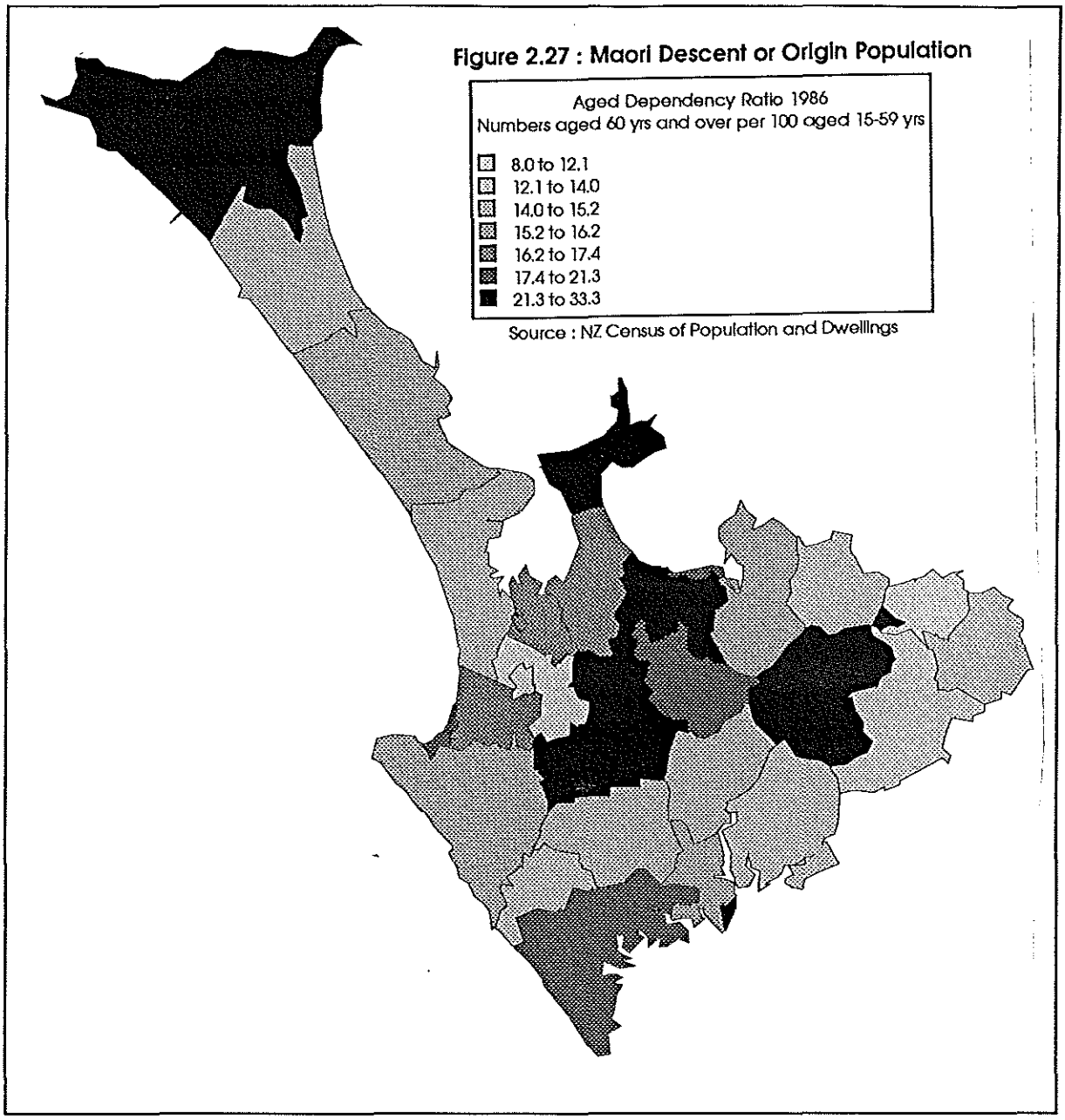


Figure 2.27 : Maori Descent or Origin Population

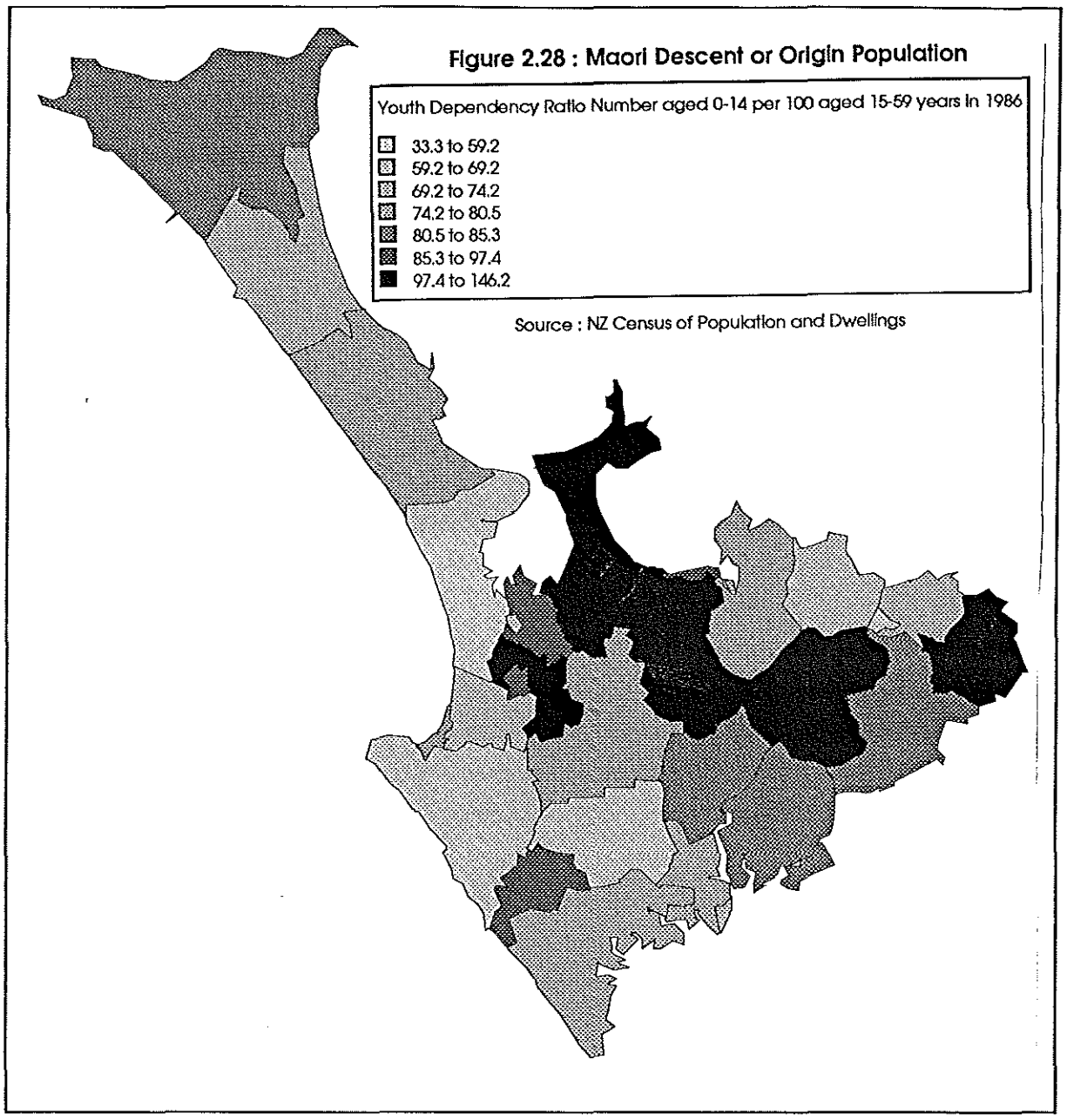


Figure 2.28 : Maori Descent or Origin Population

2.8 Summary

Life Expectation

Maori life expectation last century was very low relative to non-Maori and by any standards. Life expectation at birth was as low as 20 years. This was a factor that kept Maori population growth rates so low relative to non-Maori. The differential arose from the deprived social and economic condition of Maori people at the time, emerging from the era of the Land Wars, and vulnerable because of their lack of immunity to introduced diseases. Life expectancy for non-Maori women in the last century appears to have been much lower than for men. The proportion of young in the population was very low, and a very aged NZ Maori population structure existed at the time.

According to Pool (1987), there was a significant improvement in Maori survivorship from the late 19th century. Pool (1987) attributes the significant improvement in Maori survivorship observed from the 1890s to 1910 in part to the primary health care programmes of Te Rangihiroa, Pomare and Erihana, doctors from the health department. Overall, life expectation at birth and at age 15 gradually increased up until the present day. Maori life expectation at birth remained less than at age 15 until the beginning of the 1930s. For most of the historical period 1880 until the present day, Maori life expectation has remained far lower than for non-Maori, and a significant difference remains.

Fertility

Maori fertility was high, much higher than non-Maori, through at least the latter part of last century and much of this century. From the 1960s onward, declines in the total fertility rate have been very dramatic. Maori fertility rates are now only slightly higher than non-Maori.

Migration

The levels of migration, intra-regional, inter-regional and international have at different times been a major factor in determining the changes of the Far North Maori population.

The earliest intra-regional statistics suggest significant migration from the rural areas of the north to Kaitaia. This would appear to have been especially high between 1926 and 1936 and remained so until the end of the 1940s. As for most migration from the rural north, rates of migration

out were highest for young people of school leaver age, young adults and young families with children.

It seems likely that the Te Rarawa were one of the first Maori peoples to move to the Urban Areas of Auckland and Wellington in large numbers pre 1951. There was a huge migration from the Far North to other areas, probably mainly the major urban areas, especially Auckland from 1940s to 1960s. There seems to have been a return migration 1976-81 which has since stabilised. There would appear to have been high net international by Far North Maori between 1981 and 1986.

In general terms, Maori people of Far North origin form three closely linked but geographically (and probably socially and economically) distinctive parts to their society. These are simply the urban, Far North rural and international communities. The net changes in population of these parts of Maori society mask very high gross flows of population which link them together.

In the early years of the great urban migration NZ Maori, the age structures of these communities were very different. Migrants from the Far North appear to have been predominantly young persons from school leaving age to young adulthood and probably many young families. The highest rates of net migration remain amongst those aged 15-24, especially young women aged 15-19 years. This is reflected in the age composition of the Auckland Urban area as compared with the Far North Maori populations.

Whereas the age structures of these areas differed sharply during the early years of the urban migration, they have converged and stabilised. The ratio of young dependents to those in the active working years was initially much lower in Auckland than in the north. This strongly suggests that there was a lot of fostering of children from young urban families by their relatives in the Far North. This appears to have declined significantly by the end of the 1960s.

In recent years, there appears to have been a high net return migration to the Far North of NZ Maori in the older age groups, especially those 25-29 years and those 60-64 years.

The picture is one of a cycle of net movement out of youth, and net return of older persons presumably after some time living elsewhere (eg in the Auckland urban area).

Population Size and Distribution

Overall, negative or very low rates of population growth characterised the last century. With the exception of the two world wars and isolated episodes such as the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, the period from 1896 to the beginning of the 1970s is characterised by rapid growth in the Maori population. High fertility rates and declining mortality rates are likely to have under pinned this growth phase. The rate of growth in the Maori population has declined since the end of the 1960's as a result of a sharp drop in the fertility rate.

The Muriwhenua claim comes from a series of separate and distinct Maori tribal groups who share much common history and occupied much of the area that has been described as the Far North in this report. The statistics on the Maori population were primarily on the basis of principal tribe. The principal tribal association enumerated for the Far North was referred to as the "Rarawa" and referred to the sum of all of the parties to the Muriwhenua claim. The groups who both separately and jointly make the Muriwhenua claim include Ngati Kuri, Te Aupouri, Ngai Takoto, Te Rarawa and Ngati Kahu. The statistics here do not enable the interests and history of these peoples to be separated. There are some statistics which refer to the Te Aupouri, Ngati Kuri and Te Rarawa in the earliest census results of 1874 and 1878. Their accuracy is highly questionable.

It is important for some indication to be given of the overall present day population of the people encompassed by the Muriwhenua claim. This is despite the major limitations inherent in the estimates that can be offered at this time.

It seems likely that there are currently somewhere between 15,000 and 25,000 persons, say 20,000 persons persons for a best estimate on the assumptions made, of Maori Origin or Descent who originate from the 1896 "Rarawa" principal tribal base. Of these 20,000, say only 4,000 odd currently live in the Far North, and most of these in Mangonui/Kaitaia area, but with a very large pocket in the north of Hokianga. The remaining 16,000 odd would largely be found in the Auckland and Wellington urban areas, but there would also be some in the some of the major primary producing rural areas of the North Island and in the South Island, and also substantial expatriate communities in Australia.

The areas of the Far North where "Rarawa" are likely to be most concentrated relative to others, both Maori and non-Maori, are the north west of Hokianga County, Te Hapua/Te Kao on the Aupouri peninsula, Ahipara, Awanui and Kaitaia.

3. EMPLOYMENT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter weaves together information provided by the census of population and dwellings to prepare a statistical picture of Maori compared with non-Maori employment, and of Maori peoples role in the workforce. It uses information on work force participation, employment status, occupation and industry. These are looked at over time and in association with age and gender. This is because gender and age are often correlated with employment and income.

It was established earlier in this report that the age composition of Maori and non-Maori populations are quite different. It is important to show what differences between Maori and non-Maori populations which may not be attributed to the differences in age structure. The comparison of the role that Maori women play in the workplace and the household group vis-a-vis Maori men is different than for non-Maori. Moreover, many details of the recent history of changes as they affect Maori and non-Maori women are different. It is important to segregate out the changes that are due to divergence and convergence in the role of Maori and non-Maori women.

Questions that are considered are :

what has been the employment history of NZ Maori;
what trends are shown in that history;
what is the recent history and current situation of NZ Maori.

There is no census information on the long term employment trends of the Maori of the Far North alone, but indications can be gained from a time series analysis of the employment pattern of the NZ Maori population as a whole.

It was 1926 when the Maori census first included information on NZ Maori employment. This was also the first time that individual Maori filled in the census questionnaire. It was 1951 when Maori first filled in the same questionnaire as non-Maori. Some data is available from 1926 onwards, but there was little standardisation between the questions asked of Maori as compared with non-Maori, and the classification used was only partly compatible with that used in subsequent censuses.

The period covered by the time series employment data is 1926-1986. This was a period over which the NZ economy underwent several major transformations, including rapid urbanisation of the NZ Maori.

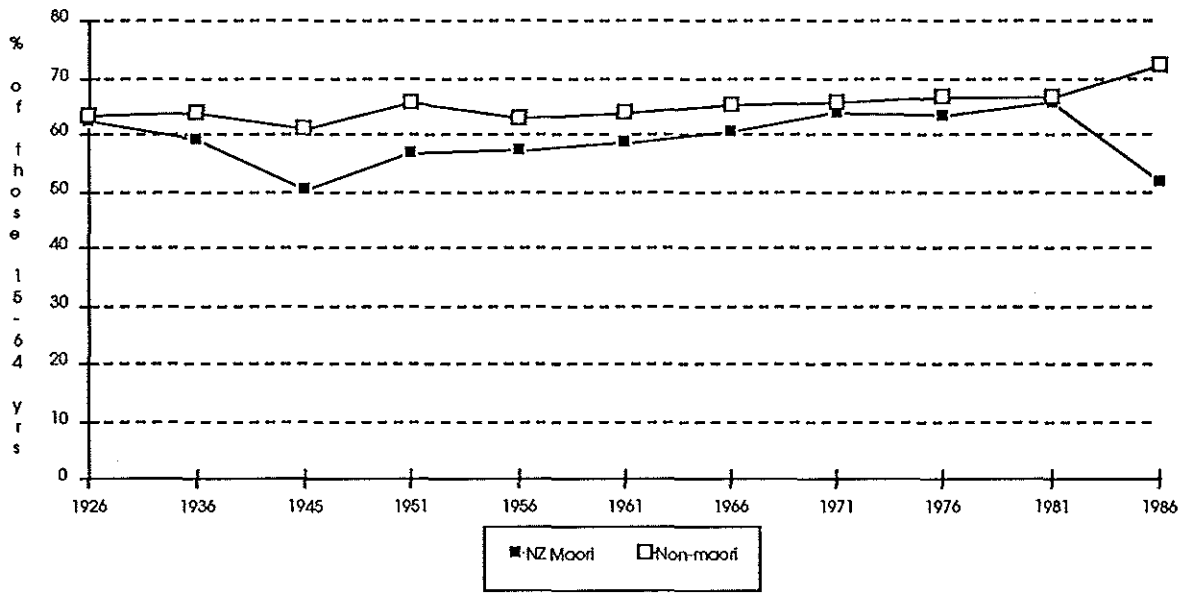
3.2 Workforce Participation

Definitions

I am not sure whether there is a standard meaning for this in general use. As referred to here, it is the number of persons actively engaged in paid employment (whether full- or part-time) as a percentage of those in the age range 15-64 years. This measure has the advantage that it is quite unambiguous, and objectively measurable.

Historical Changes

Figure 3.1 : Workforce Participation Rates in NZ Industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin :1926-86



The changes in the workforce participation rate over time need to be seen in the context of the change in the Maori population over that time, as shown in Figure 2.6.

Workforce participation rates by Solely Maori Origin for the 1926-86 period are shown in Figure 3.1.

It would appear that the 1926 Maori participation rate was about the same as that for the non-Maori. Between 1926 and 1945 the Maori participation rate for both sexes declined at a time when there was only a slight overall decrease in the non-Maori rate. The number of Maori in the 15-64 year age group increased by 49% over that period, but the number of Maori actively engaged in paid employment increased by only 20%. By contrast, the number of non-Maori in the 15-64 year age group increased by only 20% and the number actively engaged in paid employment increased 15% over the same period. Persons on overseas military service at the time were not included in the census.

In a work that reviewed the role of the Maori People in the NZ Economy, Butterworth (1974) observed that only 11% of the Maori lived in towns at the time of the 1926 census. He suggested that the outlook for Maoris who did not possess land or whose land was not worth developing during the depression was bleak and, with some exceptions, the position of farming as an economic activity amongst the Maori community prior to the 1930's was precarious.

At that time,

> the first (government funded) land development schemes were launched to utilise Maori land and to absorb the unemployed. Although the employment provided was less than its sponsors hoped, these schemes did help reduce the burden of the depression years. Many Maoris for the first time received regular employment and became accustomed to a regular income. . . Compared with farming in preceding decades, the development in the 1930's was a significant step forward. (Butterworth (1974))

It is hard to corroborate this from census data. Whereas the numbers of NZ Maori employed in the primary sector increased by about 10% between 1926 and 1936, the numbers of non-Maori increased by over 16% over the same period.

Butterworth also suggested that

> . . . it seems that by 1926 Maoris were already starting to move from their home areas in search of employment and new opportunities in the Pakeha centres of population. The depression of 1930-34 checked this trend. (Note : but only until for a few years)

It is assumed that these observations are based on oral evidence. However, his suggestion of major movement from rural to urban areas before the 1926 census is not inconsistent with net migration from the Far North for the 1921-26 period that is suggested by the sharp difference between the NZ and Far North Solely Maori Origin populations (Figure 2.7).

Workforce participation rates by gender and Maori Origin (Figure 3.2) show that workforce

participation rates for Maori women have always been lower than those for non-Maori women. These differences between Maori and non-Maori were lowest over the 1971 -81 period.

However, the workforce participation rates of persons of Maori Origin of both genders dropped down steeply between 1981 and 1986 to a degree comparable with that seen between 1926 and 1936, the result of the "great depression". No comparable drop in non-Maori participation rates was observed for the 1981-86 period. In fact, there was a very sharp increase in the participation rates of non-Maori women over the 1981-86 period.

It needs to be recognised that part of the difference between Maori and non-Maori participation rates is a result of a lower rate of participation in full-time post secondary education and training by Maori. The proportion engaged in full-time study has been increasing recently, and is probably the reason for the gradual decline in workforce participation rates of non-Maori men for the 1951-86 period shown in Figure 3.2. A comparable trend is not shown for men of NZ Maori Origin.

Figure 3.2 : NZ Workforce Participation Rates by Gender and Solely Maori Origin : 1926-86

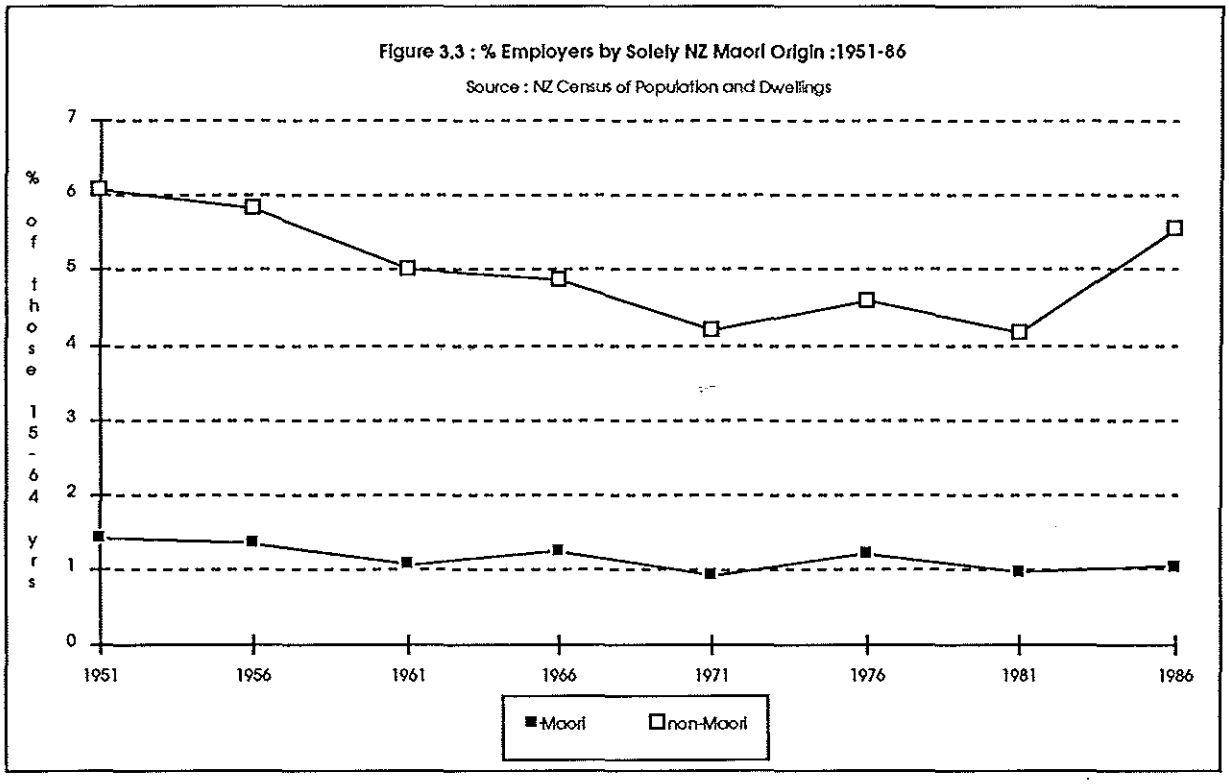
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

3.3 Employment Status

Definitions

This is whether people are wage and salary earners, self-employed etc. It provides some insight into the role that a particular group is playing in the economy. Being self-employed is a very different situation to being a wage and salary earner. Historic changes in the economy involve changes in the employment status of individuals as well as in the type of industries and occupations they are engaged in. This question has only been available for Maori persons since 1951.

Historical Changes



Over the 1951-86 period there are differences in the employment status of Solely NZ Maori Origin persons full-time in the labour force and others. Figure 3.3, the proportion of Maori who are employers has always been markedly lower than for non-Maori. The proportion of Maori who are self-employed without employees (eg farmers) shows the same general pattern as for non-Maori, but has remained lower throughout (Figure 3.4). The recent (1981-86) sharp increase in the self-employed is seen for both groups, but the magnitude of change for non-Maori is higher and starts

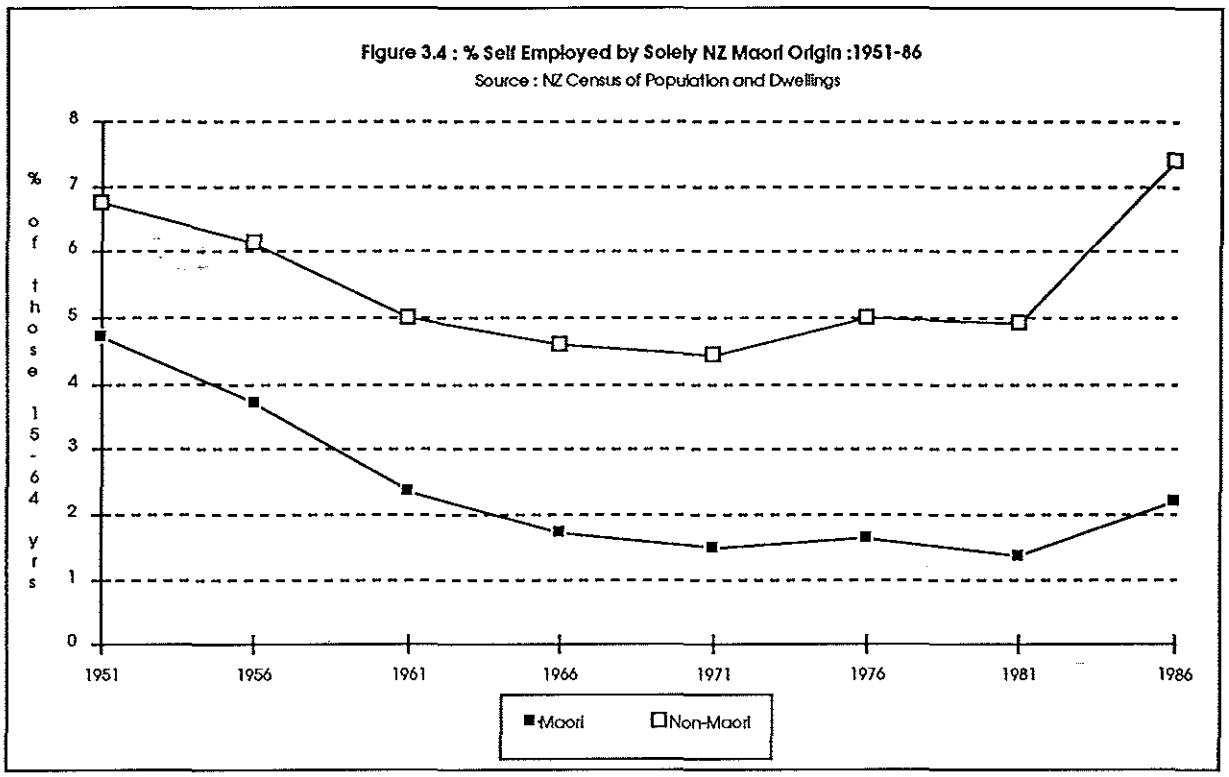


Figure 3.4 : % Self Employed by Solely NZ Maori Origin :1951-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings
% of those 15-64 yrs
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori
Non-Maori

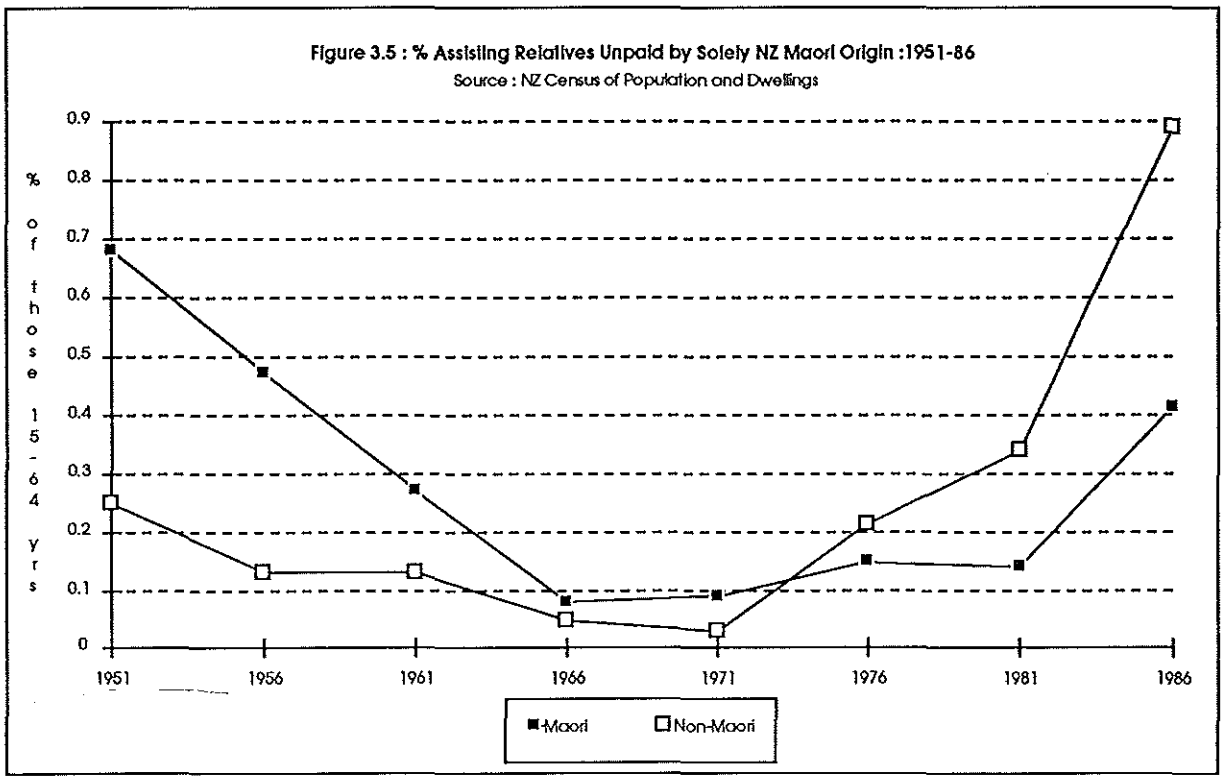


Figure 3.5 : % Assisting Relatives Unpaid by Solely NZ Maori Origin :1951-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings
% of those 15-64 yrs
0
0.1
0.2
0.3
0.4
0.5
0.6
0.7
0.8
0.9
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori
Non-Maori

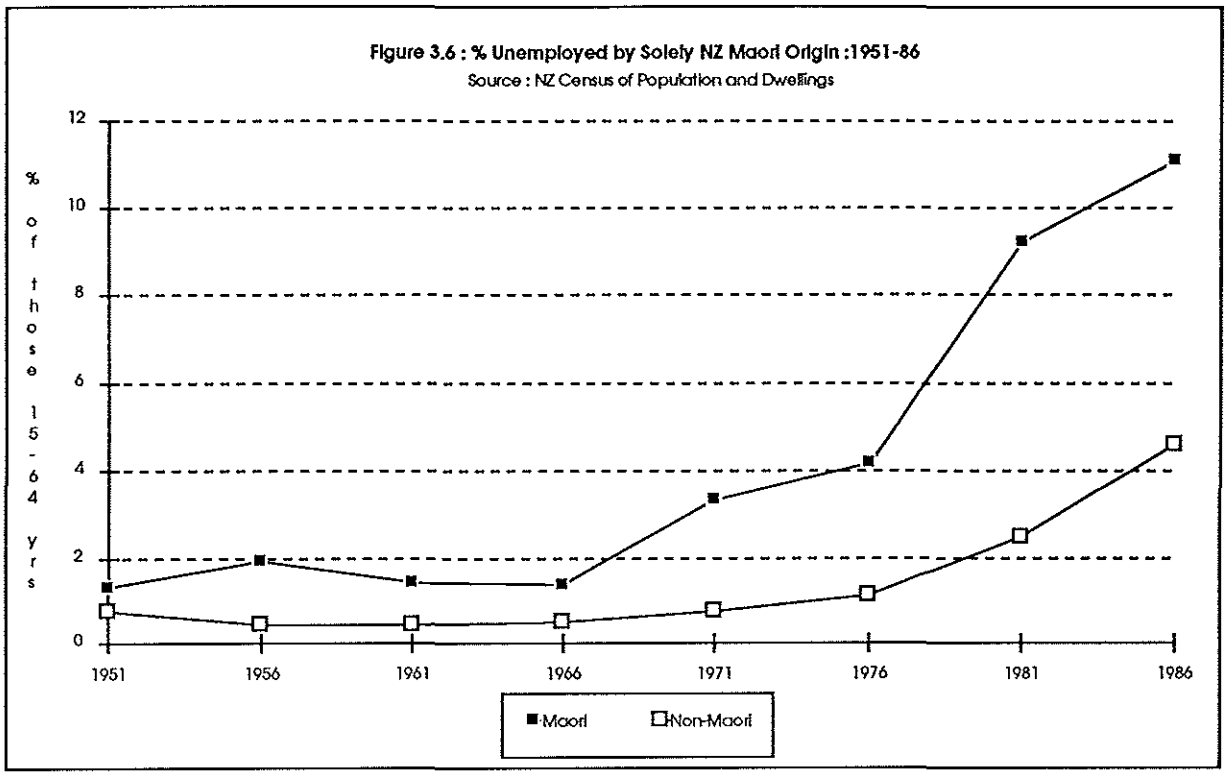


Figure 3.6 : % Unemployed by Solely NZ Maori Origin :1951-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings
% of those 15-64 yrs
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori
Non-Maori

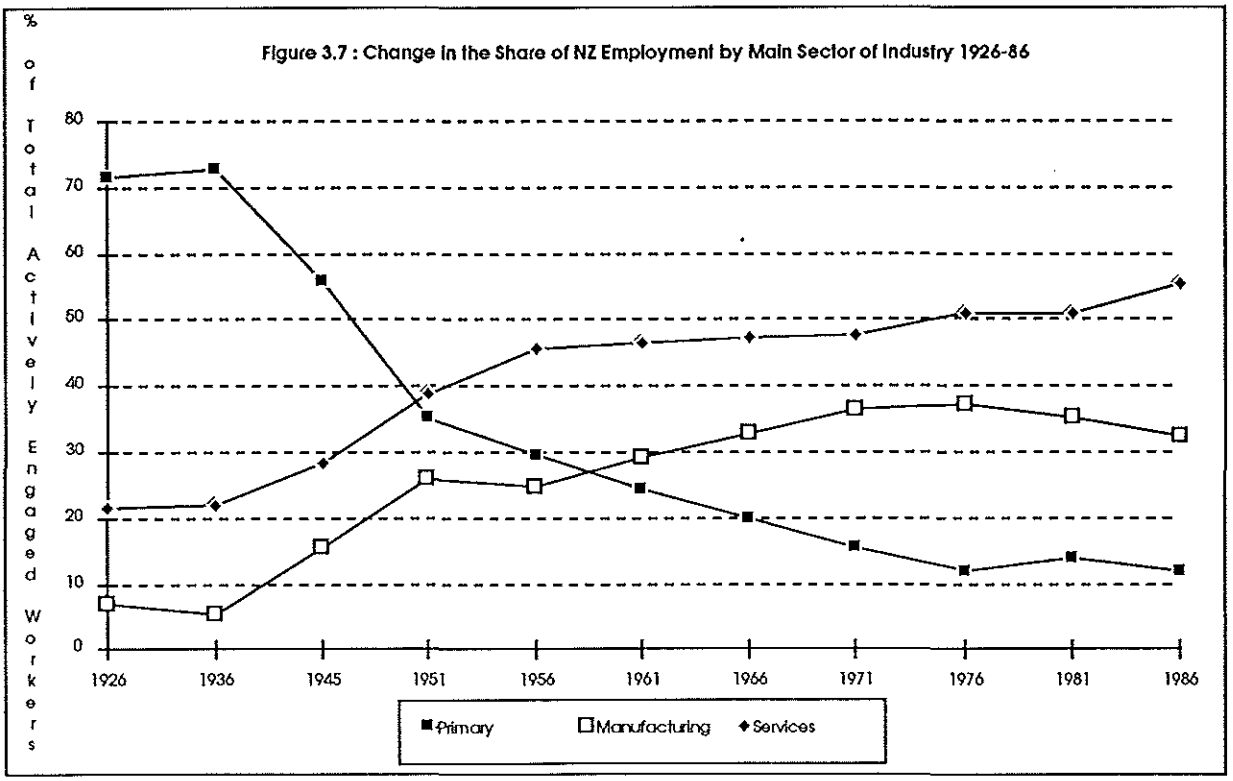


Figure 3.7 : Change in the Share of NZ Employment by Main Sector of Industry 1926-86
% of Total Actively Engaged Workers
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Primary
Manufacturing
Services

The proportion of those doing unpaid work to assist a relative (Figure 3.5) was much higher for Maori than non-Maori at the start of the period, but dropped to the same general level by the mid 1960s. The rate for Maori has risen again recently, somewhat later than recent increase amongst non-Maori, and to a lower level so far. It is quite plausible that the high proportion of Maori working unpaid for relatives at the beginning of the 1950s represents workers on whanau farms in the rural areas and is a reflection of a much more widespread practice that declined as the urban migration of the Maori progressed. Throughout the 1951-86 period, the proportion of Maori in the full-time labour force working as wage and salary earners has remained about the same as for non-Maori.

The proportion of those aged 15-64 years of Solely Maori Origin who were unemployed and seeking work over time is shown by Figure 3.6. The level has remained higher for Maori than for non-Maori over the 1926-86 period. Between the late 1960s and the early 1970s a sharp increase in the unemployment rate of Maori was experienced without a comparable increase amongst non-Maori. This presumably was a result of the entrance of an increasing number of relatively unskilled young Maori onto a job market already close to saturated with unskilled workers. The 1971-76 period saw a gradual rise in the unemployment rate for both Maori and non-Maori workers and a further and much sharper rise in the Maori unemployment rate also occured. This slowed slightly but still continued up until 1986. Over the 1976-86 a more gradual rise in the unemployment rate of non-Maori was also observed.

3.4 Industry

Definitions

The "Industry" is the type of activity undertaken by the organisation, enterprise or business unit within which a person is employed. At its simplest, the economy can be divided into primary, secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary industry. Primary industries include the forestry, livestock farming, cropping and horticulture, hunting and trapping, fishing, and mining and quarrying industries. Manufacturing (or secondary) industries have to do with processing products from the primary industries. They include such things as clothing and wool processing, forestry processing, export meat processing etc. Service (or tertiary) industries involve the distribution of manufactured items, marketing, transport, finance, business services, utilities, community and personal services etc. The full classification follows a NZ Standard Industry Code (NZSIC) based on an international standard classification.

Historical Changes

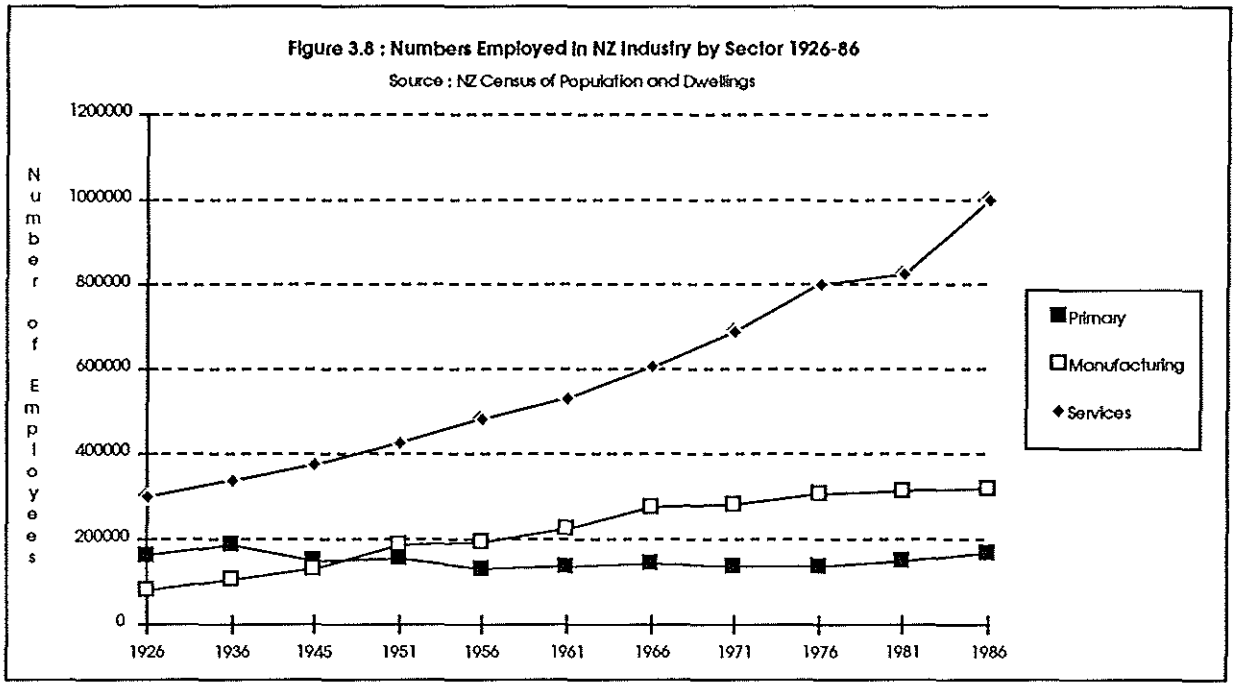
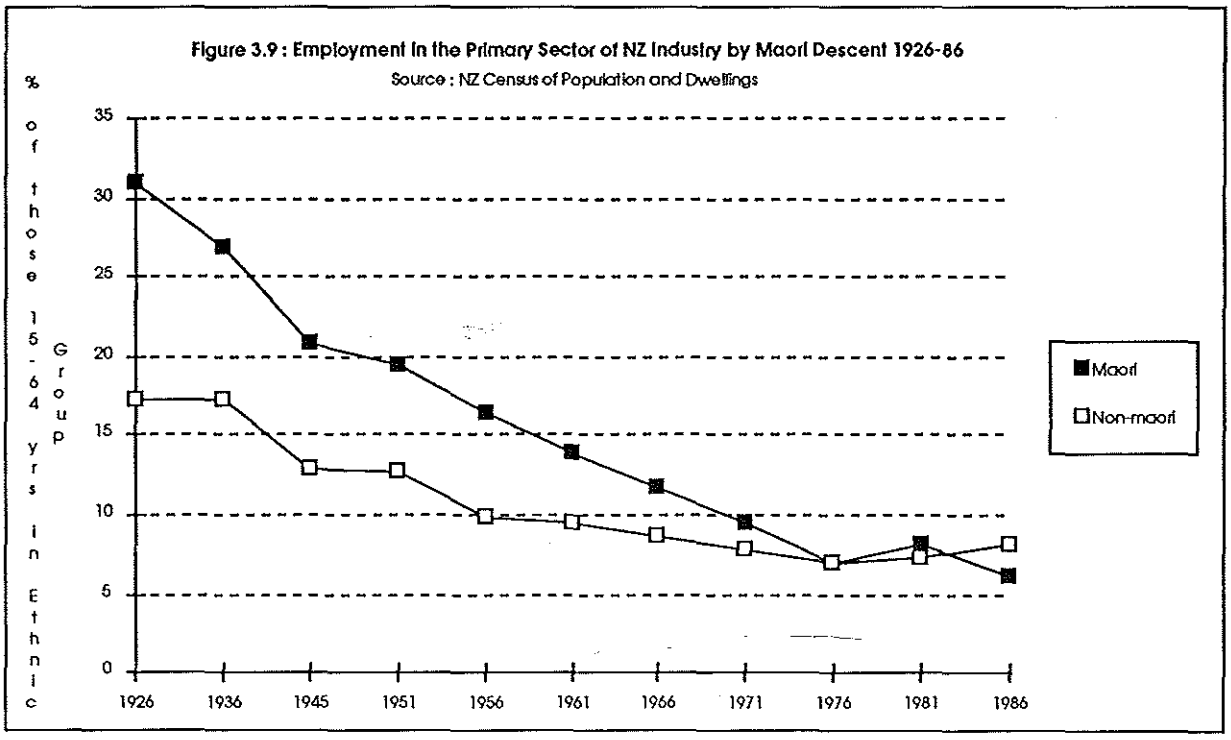


Figure 3.6 shows the changes in the proportion of those actively engaged (and for whom a sector of employment could be assigned), and Figure 3.7 the actual numbers who were employed in the primary, manufacturing and service sectors of the NZ economy over the 1926-86 period.

(1) Primary Sector (Figure 3.9)



Overall

There was a long term decline in the proportion of those actively engaged working in the primary sector.

The proportion so employed dropped sharply between 1936 to 1951, and then declined steadily from 1951 to 1976.

Maori Population

The proportion of the NZ Maori employed in the primary sector declined sharply between 1926 and 1936, when the proportion of non-Maori employed in the sector stayed about the same.

Between 1936 and 1976, the rate of decline in the proportion of NZ Maori employed in the primary sector was faster than that for non-Maori.

The proportion of NZ Maori employed in the primary sector jumped sharply between 1976 and 1981, but then declined even more sharply to lower than for non-Maori between 1981 and 1986. In 1986, the proportion of persons of Solely NZ Maori Origin employed in the primary sector was lower than for non-Maori for the first time recorded in NZ history.

(2) **Manufacturing Sector (Figure 3.10)**

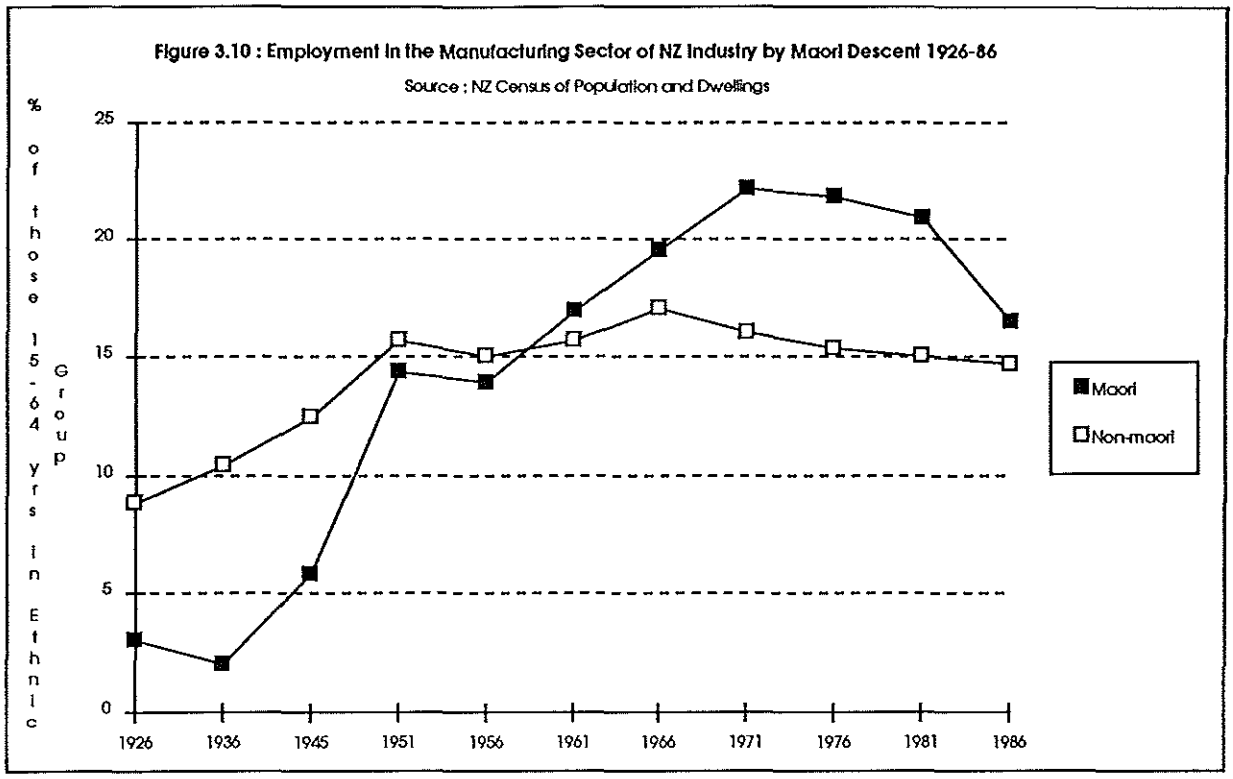
Overall

There was a decline in the manufacturing sector from 1926-36.

This was followed by a sharp rise in the proportion so employed between 1936 and 1951.

The proportion employed in manufacturing declined slightly between 1951 and 1956.

This was followed by a gradual increase in the proportion employed in manufacturing, tailing off by 1976.



There was a marked decline between 1976 and 1986 in the share of jobs provided by manufacturing.

Maori Population

The proportion of NZ Maori employed in the sector declined sharply between 1926-36, whereas the proportion of non-Maori employed in manufacturing continued to rise over the same period. According to Butterworth(1974), this is explained by competition from non-Maori for jobs in manufacturing combined with a government programme of providing subsidised assistance to redevelop the farming base of the Maori rural economy encouraged NZ Maori to return to or remain in the rural areas.

Over the 1936 and 1951 period, the rate of growth in the proportion of NZ Maori employed in manufacturing was much more rapid than that of the non-Maori.

Up until 1971, there was a steady increase in the proportion of NZ Maori employed in manufacturing.

The recent decline in the proportion of non-Maori employed in Manufacturing

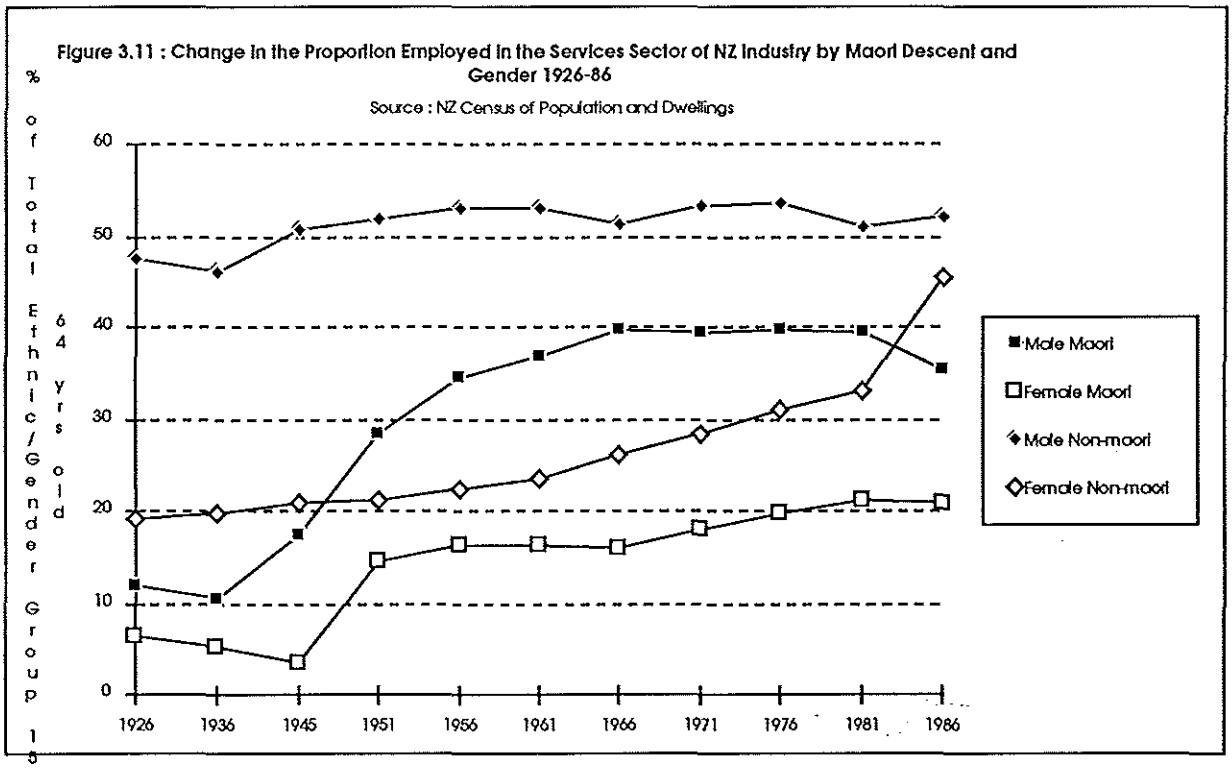
started in 1966, five years earlier than for the NZ Maori.

There was a step decline in the proportion of NZ Maori employed in manufacturing between 1981 and 1986, at a time when there was only a gradual decrease in the share of non-Maori employed in the sector. The reason why the decline was so severe was that there was an 8% decrease in the number of persons of Solely NZ Maori Origin (the first decrease since 1936) at the same time that there was a 17% increase in the number of Maori aged 15-64 years. The total number of jobs in NZ manufacturing increased by 3% over the period, indicating a sharp slide in the ability of NZ Maori to compete for the type of jobs available.

(3) Services Sector (Figure 3.11)

Figure 3.11 : Change in the Proportion Employed in the Services Sector of NZ Industry by Maori Descent and Gender 1926-86

Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings



Overall

Employment in the services sector declined between 1926 and 1936.

It grew steadily between 1936 and 1956.

It continued to grow more slowly and spasmodically since that time, but the rate of increase appears to have accelerated since 1981.

Maori Population

The historical pattern of change in NZ Maori employment in the Services sector is quite similar to that for the manufacturing sector, but some of the critical dates and rates of growth differ.

NZ Maori employment in the services declined between 1926 and 1936.

Growth in NZ Maori employment in services continued but at a reduced rate through the 1951 to 1956 period.

Between 1966 and 1981 the proportion of NZ Maori employed in the services sector remained about the same, but the proportion of NZ Maori women employed in the sector increased slowly but steadily up until 1981.

The proportion of NZ Maori males employed in the services sector decreased sharply, and the proportion of NZ Maori females employed remained static between 1981 and 1986. At the same time, the proportion of non-Maori women employed in the services sector jumped sharply from 33.0% to 45.6% of those aged 15-64 years.

The competitive position of Maori persons in the labour force is indicated by their participation in different industries as compared with their representation in the labour force as a whole over time. The change in Maori employment by Industry Group is shown in Tables 3.1 (numbers) and 3.2 (% of those actively engaged excluding not adequately defined). Appendix B holds time

Table 3.1 : Numbers of Persons of Solely NZ Maori Origin Employed by Industry Group 1926-86

INDUSTRY	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Agriculture	8443	10008	9055	9773	9676	9141	8667	7603	6651	8784	7300
Forestry	1507	1041	854	853	689	1116	1472	1948	2191	3213	2784
Hunting	82	38	21	74	78	79	88	85	85	72	47
Fishing	148	100	111	131	122	140	181	226	242	255	354
Agric,Hunting,Forestry,Fishing	10180	11312	10041	10831	10565	10476	10408	9862	9169	12324	10485
Mining & Quarrying	117	125	360	641	855	895	879	713	607	669	828
Manufacturing	1011	846	2877	8457	9657	13787	18760	24672	30952	33183	30777
Electricity etc	37	13	103	359	521	708	1093	1082	1406	1533	1626
Construction	795	1259	1874	3699	5484	6585	7955	7829	9746	8061	9501
Wholesale & Retail etc	118	99	307	878	1163	1687	2168	5486	7639	8451	10506
Transport Storage etc	541	483	1394	2658	4368	5553	7165	8118	9666	9936	9390
Financing etc	2	27	0	102	43	69	132	684	1225	1671	2658
Cmmty, Social & Personal etc	1639	1510	1633	5016	6144	7193	8339	9051	12570	18369	18975
Not Adequately Defined	6344	9426	6535	948	1045	865	1314	3401	6749	9987	1671
Total	20784	25100	25124	33589	39845	47818	58213	70898	89729	104184	96417

Table 3.2 : For Solely NZ Maori Origin Actively Engaged (Excl. Not Adeq Def), % Employed by Industry Group 1926-86

INDUSTRY	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Agriculture	58.47	63.85	48.71	29.94	24.94	19.47	15.23	11.26	8.02	9.33	7.7
Forestry	10.44	6.64	4.59	2.61	1.78	2.38	2.59	2.89	2.64	3.41	2.94
Hunting	0.57	0.24	0.11	0.23	0.2	0.17	0.15	0.13	0.1	0.08	0.05
Fishing	1.02	0.64	0.6	0.4	0.31	0.3	0.32	0.33	0.29	0.27	0.37
Agric,Hunting,Forestry,Fishing	70.5	72.17	54.02	33.18	27.23	22.31	18.29	14.61	11.05	13.08	11.07
Mining & Quarrying	0.81	0.8	1.94	1.96	2.2	1.91	1.54	1.06	0.73	0.71	0.87
Manufacturing	7	5.4	15.48	25.91	24.89	29.36	32.97	36.55	37.3	35.23	32.48
Electricity etc	0.26	0.08	0.55	1.1	1.34	1.51	1.92	1.6	1.69	1.63	1.72
Construction	5.51	8.03	10.08	11.33	14.13	14.02	13.98	11.6	11.74	8.56	10.03
Wholesale & Retail etc	0.82	0.63	1.65	2.69	3	3.59	3.81	8.13	9.21	8.97	11.09
Transport Storage etc	3.75	3.08	7.5	8.14	11.26	11.83	12.59	12.03	11.65	10.55	9.91
Financing etc	0.01	0.17	0	0.31	0.11	0.15	0.23	1.01	1.48	1.77	2.81
Cmmty, Social & Personal etc	11.35	9.63	8.78	15.37	15.84	15.32	14.66	13.41	15.15	19.5	20.03
Not Adequately Defined	43.93	60.14	35.16	2.9	2.69	1.84	2.31	5.04	8.13	10.6	1.76

series plots of the numbers of Maori for each major industry group compared with Maoris as a percentage of the total labour force at that time This highlights the problems that Maori people have had in the employment front in recent years.

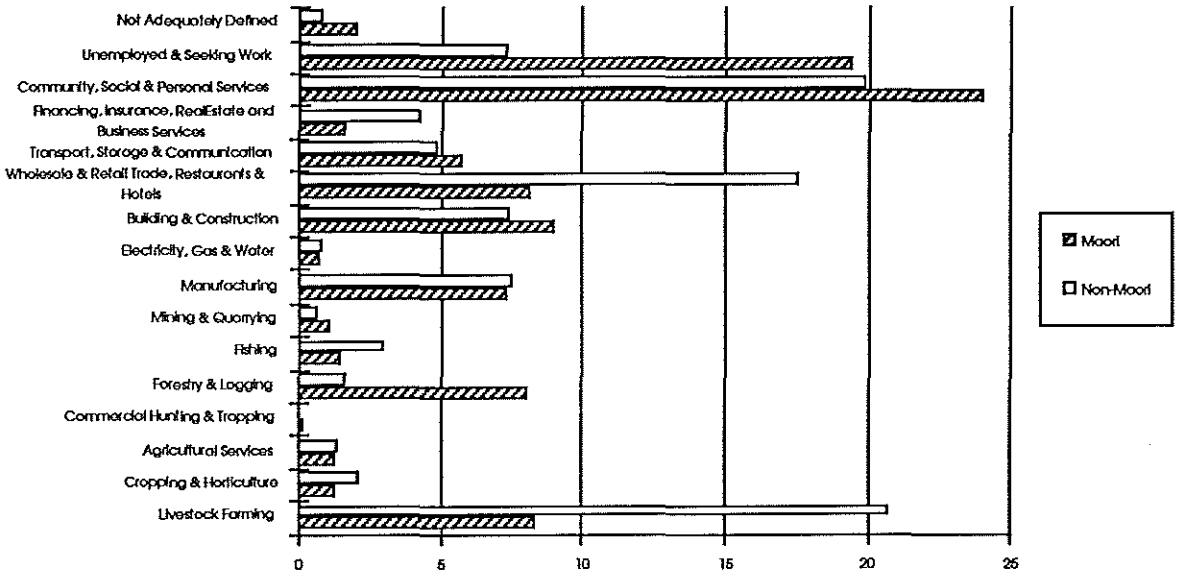
A useful analysis is to compare the share of total jobs provided by each industry group, the rate of change of that group over the 1981-86 period, and the proportion of the Maori persons actively engaged who are employed in that group and the change in that proportion over the 1981-86 period. This is shown by the changes in employment of those of NZ Maori Origin or Descent for the Far North over the 1981-86 period summarised in Table 3.3. There are certain industry groups which have historically been heavy employers of Maori persons. These are some of the same sectors that are declining in real terms.

Table 3.3 : FAR NORTH : Indicators of Performance of Persons of NZ Maori Descent or Origin in Gaining Jobs by Industry Group 1981-86

INDUSTRY	% of Total Jobs	% Change in Maori Employees	% Change in non-Maori Employees	Index of Maori Performance	Industries Share of Total Jobs, 1986	Rate of Growth of Industry 1981-86
Livestock Farming	0.87	-27.84	8.49	-3300	19.34	0.87
Cropping & Horticulture	20.93	37.5	17.14	79.17	2.16	20.93
Agricultural Services	-26	-42.11	-16.13	61.96	1.54	-26
Commercial Hunting & Trapping	0	0	0	0	0.04	0
Forestry & Logging	6.45	11.48	-3.13	77.98	4.11	6.45
Fishing	0	-7.69	1.82	-522.53	2.82	0
Mining & Quarrying	81.82	80	83.33	-2.22	0.83	81.82
Manufacturing	4.06	-8.82	10.85	-317.24	8.51	4.06
Electricity, Gas & Water	90.91	50	114.29	-45	0.87	90.91
Building & Construction	49.32	38.18	56.04	-22.59	9.05	49.32
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Restaurants & Hotels	30.32	9.52	35.63	-68.6	16.76	30.32
Transport, Storage & Communication	4.44	2.13	5.68	-52.03	5.85	4.44
Financing, Insurance, RealEstate and Business Services	37.14	55.56	34.43	49.6	3.98	37.14
Community, Social & Personal Services	16.4	32.03	9.51	95.3	24.15	16.4
All Actively Engaged	14.98	9.47	17.2	-36.78	100	14.98

Figure 3.12 shows how the Maori and Non-Maori population of the Far North are distributed around the different industries.

Figure 3.12 : Far North 1986 : % Employed in Different Industries by Maori Descent or Origin/Not



3.5 Occupational Status

Definitions

Occupation refers to the job, trade or profession that a person is employed in full-time or part-time. A person could be employed as a window cleaner in a public hospital. Window cleaner would define the occupation whereas public hospital would define the industry. The classification follows the NZ Standard Classification of Occupations (NZSCO) adapted from an international standard classification.

Historical Changes

Table 3.4 : Occupational Status by Solely NZ Maori Origin

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	% 1971		% 1986		% Change in # 1971-86		% Change in Propn 1971-86	
	Maori	Non-Maori	Maori	Non-Maori	Maori	Non-Maori	Maori	Non-Maori
Professional, Technical & Related Workers	4.02	13.16	5.93	15.77	106.15	60.48	47.51	19.83
Managers, Administrators & Officials	0.21	2.72	0.95	5.26	545.32	158.89	352.38	93.38
Clerical, Office & Related Workers	6.75	16.93	10.86	18.1	124.82	43.25	60.89	6.91
Salesmen & Related Workers	2.18	10.95	3.51	10.7	125.36	30.82	61.01	-2.28
Service Workers	10.06	7.9	10.64	10.05	47.77	70.34	5.77	27.22
Agricultural,Forestry, Fishermen and Related Workers	13.92	11.58	10.83	10.95	8.68	26.65	-22.2	-5.44
Production, Transport, Equipment Op & Labourers	62.86	36.75	57.29	29.18	27.37	6.39	-8.86	-20.6

The change in Solely NZ Maori Origin compared with non-Maori occupational composition is shown Table 3.4. The areas of growth in the occupational composition of the economy over the 1971-86 period have been in :

Service workers;

Clerical/Office & Related Workers;

Managers, Administrators & Officials; and

Professional, Technical & Related Workers.

The key areas of growth over the near future seem likely to be in Managers, Administrators & Officials; and Professional, Technical & Related Workers. The disparity that existed between Maori and non-Maori employment in these occupational groups was very high. The performance of Persons of Solely NZ Maori Origin in increasing their share of employment in these occupational groups has been good, as is indicated by Table 3.3. However, at this rate of catchup, it will take many generations before Maori and non-Maori are equally represented in these occupational groups.

3.6 Summary

Workforce Participation Rates

Workforce participation rates for persons of Solely Maori Origin have been comparable to but lower than non-Maori for much of the period 1926-86 for which statistics are available. The disparity between the two was least over the 1966-81 period. The period before and after the Second World War and the 1981-86 period (the most recent for which statistics are available) were the times when these disparities have been largest. As shown in Figure 3.1, the rate of recent divergence in workforce participation rates for Maori compared with non-Maori is the fastest recorded. As is shown by Figure 3.2, the contrast between the recent changes in Maori and non-Maori participation rates of women is most strikingly. The participation rates of non-Maori women have increased while those for Maori women have decreased sharply.

Employment Status

Unemployment rates of NZ Maori have been higher than non-Maori since 1951, the time when the earliest records are available. Although there was very rapid increase in Maori unemployment in the late 1960s and especially in the late 1970s, non-Maori unemployment rates increased more rapidly than Maori over the 1981-86 period (Figure 3.6). The proportion of NZ Maori who are self-employed without employees or employers has been lower than for non-Maori, and the gap between the two appears to be widening (Figures 3.3 & 3.4). In the early 1950s, a higher proportion of Maori than non-Maori workers were engaged in unpaid work for family businesses (Figure 3.5). This form of work became less common, bottoming out in the late 1960s, before increasing again, especially between the 1981 and 1986 censuses. But in 1986, non-Maori were much more likely than Maori to be employed in unpaid work for a family business.

Employment by Industry

At the industry sector level, the number of jobs in primary industry has changed very little overall since 1926, but its share of total jobs in the economy dropped sharply between 1936 and 1951, being supplanted by major growth in the manufacturing and services sectors (Figure 3.7). This trend continued at a slower rate from 1951 to 1976. Post-1976 the share of manufacturing sector jobs in the economy declined whereas those in service industries increased.

The proportion of Maori actively engaged working in the manufacturing sector declined slightly

between 1926 and 1936 as a result of the depression, but then rose steeply to a similar level to non-Maori by 1951. Between 1956 and 1971 the proportion of Maori employed in manufacturing again increased rapidly and reached a much higher level than for non-Maori. The decline in the share of total jobs provided by the manufacturing sector that set in at the beginning of the 1970s hit Maori workers much harder than non-Maori, as it also did during the 1930s depression (Figure 3.10).

The history of Maori employment in the Services sector parallels performance the manufacturing sector. As shown by Figure 3.11, it is clear that Maori workers have lost ground to a big increase in employment of non-Maori women over the 1981-86 period. This has most heavily affected Maori males.

Table 3.3 provides a detailed summary of the employment changes of persons of Maori Descent or Origin by Industry Group of the Far North over the 1981-86 period. Growth industries where Maori employment growth has been better than non-Maori include community, social & personal services; financing, insurance, real estate & business services; and the cropping & horticulture industry groups. By contrast, the Maori workers have slipped back sharply relative to non-Maori in the utilities, livestock farming, fishing, manufacturing, and wholesale,retail trade, restaurants and hotels industries.

Figure 3.12 shows the proportion of employees in each industry group of the Far North in 1986 who were of Maori Descent or Origin. Relative to non-Maori, Maori workers had a much lower share of the jobs in wholesale,retail trade, restaurants and hotels; livestock farming; fishing, cropping & horticulture; and financing, insurance, real estate & business services industries in particular.

Occupational Status

Maori workers are under represented in the professional, technical & related workers, managers, administrators & officials; and the clerical office & related workers occupational classes. The first two are relatively skilled occupational groups and have shown very significant growth in total numbers of jobs between 1971 and 1986 and in the last inter censal period. The rate of increase in the proportion of Maori employed in these occupational classes has been much faster than for non-Maori. Nevertheless, if that rate of catchup was sustained and all other things being equal, it could take well into the next century for parity to be achieved. In the meantime, the rate of change and decline in some of the other occupational classes in which Maori have traditionally been employed (agricultural, forestry etc. and production, transport, equipment

operators & labourers) creates a more immediate problem. At the very least, many of the children of those workers must move into the other occupational classes, face unemployment or migrate to where their labour is required.

4. SUMMARY OF POPULATION TRENDS 1874-1986

What follows breaks the time since the first Maori census into a number of discrete and distinctive periods of recent Maori history, discusses some their characteristics and the obvious contributing factors based on the preceding chapters in the previous chapters.

4.1 Period 1874-1901

The published statistics show an overall decline in numbers from the earliest consistent census figures of 1874 until the end of the 19th Century. The evidence for the duration and extent of such a decline is discussed in detail by Pool (1977) and Lowe (1989). A range of factors, including the incidence of disease, war, economic pressure, pressure on the resource base of the Maori (their land, fisheries etc.), changes in their system of trade and exchange, as well as less tangible changes in their social organisation and individual behaviour may all have contributed to the demographic changes observed.

The **age/sex composition** of the Solely Maori Origin population of Mangonui County (including Kaitaia) at the time of the 1891 Census is shown in Figure 2.3. **The apparent increase in the male to female ratio at older age-groups is noteworthy.** It suggests a much higher survivorship for Maori males at that time. This is highlighted by Figure 2.4, which displays the male to female ratios for that same data and compares it to the 1986 male to female ratios for the Mangonui (including Kaitaia) Solely Maori Origin population. In the New Zealand Maori population of the 1980s, the ratio of males to females tends to decrease with increasing age except where a higher migration rate of females has occurred. Just the reverse is shown by the 1891 data. This same pattern is corroborated for the NZ Maori population as a whole at that time, and is also borne out by the 1896 and 1901 census results. The likely explanation is higher mortality of women. This is consistent with the very low life expectation at birth and age 15 years for Maori women for 1890 estimated in Pool (1982).

Elderly males formed a surprisingly high proportion of the population, much higher than is observed in the 1986 Mangonui Maori population. That 1986 Mangonui population has a disproportionately high ratio of elderly to other age-groups relative to the NZ Maori population as a whole resulting from selective sustained high net migration of young Maori over a 30 year period.

Pool (1987) observes that the aged population structure of the New Zealand in the late 19th

century is consistent with a significant increase in the age specific mortality rates of those of younger age-groups in the mid to late 19th century, thus resulting in a disproportionate number of elderly Maori (males). Pool (1982) examines Maori age structure and age specific mortality rates in terms of health and welfare issues. I quote :

> . . Maori levels of life expectation were extremely low indeed in the late nineteenth century. This can only be counted as a scandalous situation in a country which was already priding itself on its health record. Differences in access to medical technology, health infrastructure and health administration were not to blame for the differential between Maoris and non-Maoris because, as I have noted above, these factors were of little importance to non-Maoris either at this time. Instead, the differential arose from deprived social and economic condition of Maori people at that time, plus their lack of immunity from introduced diseases. . . It was the effect of extremely high levels of mortality which had reduced numbers at most younger ages to seven or eight percent of the New Zealand total, and produced the very old age structure which typified the Maori population of that time. (Pool , 1982)

Pool (1987) also attributes decline in the solely NZ Maori Origin population between 1891 and 1896 (Figure 2.8) to a major influenza epidemic which took a particularly heavy toll on the NZ Maori population.

4.2 Period 1896-1916

From 1896 to 1916, the Far North Maori population gradually recovered, but at a rate slower than the increase in the non-Maori population.

In a memorandum of 2 July 1917 included as part of the report on the 1916 Census, the Under-Secretary to the Native Department, C B Jordan, reported that 1916 census estimates of the NZ Maori population were likely to be understated due to reluctance of some Maori to come forward. This was because some Maori believed the enumerators were somehow connected with the recruiting officers for the military. Some several hundred Maori were overseas with the Expeditionary Force at the time of the census, and were not included in the enumeration. The enumerator for the Northland region, C P Newton, reported that quite a large percentage of the Maoris who had enlisted had come from the northern districts.

4.3 1916-1921 Period

The 1916-1921 period, which encompasses the First World War, saw a sharp but temporary decline in both Maori and non-Maori populations of the Far North. This contrasts with the substantial increase measured in the NZ Maori population as a whole.

It seems likely that the increase between 1916 and 1921 was less than the published census figures suggest due to under counting in 1916. The under enumeration would have been an outcome of the already cited confusion between the role of enumerators for the census and the recruiting officers for the military.

Contributing factors to the decline in the Far North population would have been :

- migration associated with war service;
- reduced fertility due to males being away on war service or war work;
- perhaps a higher coverage of Far North Maori than NZ Maori as a whole at the time of the 1916 census;
- casualties from the war; and
- the major influenza epidemic of 1918-19.

The influenza epidemic of 1918-19 claimed approximately 1,500 Maori lives NZ wide (Appendix A, Maori Census of NZ, 1921, Page 1).

Judging by the higher than normal growth rate for 1921-26, there was probably a major, but short-lived, net out migration of Far North Maori to other areas in 1916-21, reversed in 1921-26. This would be entirely consistent with the much higher rate of population increase observed in the Far North Maori than for NZ Maori as a whole.

4.4 1921-1936 Period

The period 1921 to 1936 saw a very rapid increase in the Maori population of the Far North. As already discussed, comparison of the Maori population growth rate of the Far North with NZ as a whole, suggests that there was some migration of Maori to the Far North between 1921 and 1926.

It appears that between 1926 and 1936 there was a decline in the proportion of Maori aged 15-64 actively engaged (refer Figure 3.1). This happened at a time when, despite an economic depression which occured during the period, the net proportion of non-Maori actively engaged had increased slightly. It suggests that Maori people were finding it difficult to obtain work at that time, perhaps resulting from a combination of the effects of depression and major expansion of the size of the Maori labour force. The figures on employment in industry by Solely NZ Maori Origin show a reduction in the proportion of Maori employed in manufacturing over that period. This shows that the depression encouraged return of local Maori to the North from urban centres.

4.5 1936-1976 Period

The 1936-45 period saw a slight but short lived decline in the apparent rate of growth of the NZ Maori population as a whole. Contributing factors would have been delayed childbearing by women whose partners were away at Second World War, mortality of Maori in the War, and the fact that about 1,300 Maori were overseas at the time of the census and were not included in the count.

The 1936-45 period marked the beginning of a long period of high out migration of persons of solely Maori origin from the Far North.

The much lower observed rate of growth of the Far North Maori population than that of the NZ Maori population as a whole strongly suggests significant net out migration from the Far North over this period, and this is backed up by more careful analysis by Lowe (1989). Figure 2.10 shows the difference between the rates of growth of the NZ Maori and Far North Maori populations over the 1874-1986 period. Some of the difference would be accounted for by other factors. The level of out migration appears to have peaked in the early 1960's.

This period of Far North demographic history continued up until 1976. It is documented and discussed by a number of authors, notably Metge (1964), Johnston (1973) and Pool (1977). It had the effect of substantially reducing the population of the Far North over the late 30s to early 70s. Part of the reason for this is likely to have been economic, as is suggested by a concurrent decrease in the number of Maori persons actively engaged as a proportion of the population 15-64 years old over the period (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.7 shows the change in the deployment of labour between different sectors for the 1926-86 period. 1936-51 was a period of major economic change in New Zealand. The military service experience.and shortage of labour for war industries coincided with and probably helped precipitate major changes in the NZ economy which occured before and shortly after the Second World War. This is likely to have opened up employment opportunities for Far North Maori in other areas of New Zealand, especially the major centres and service towns.

Figure 3.9 shows that the number of Maori employed in the primary sector since 1926 has remained relatively static, whereas the number of Maori in the labour force has increased with the recovery in the population. The proportion of total Maori labour employed in the primary sector declined as Maori secured their livelihood in other sectors of the economy. Over the 1926-

51 period, the Maori people of New Zealand were transformed from a primarily rural/primary sector based culture (Figure 3.9), to one economically dependent on manufacturing and service industries (Figures 3.10 & 3.11), and mainly urban-based. The direction of this economic change continued for a further 20 years, up until 1971.

Mass migration of persons of Maori origin from the Far North was a feature of Northland from 1936-1976, a period of 40 years. Out migration reached its peak over the 1961-66 inter-censal period. The 1966-76 period saw out migration from the Far North continuing at a much reduced rate.

4.6 Post 1976

Post 1976 the period of major net internal out migration of the Far North Maori population ended, but it appears that significant net international migration has and probably still is taking place. The net effect is an increased rate of growth in the Far North Maori population.

1. By 1976, a new equilibrium appears to have developed between the urban and rural Maori populations. This is suggested by comparing the age and sex compositions of the main urban centre in Auckland and the Far North for 1945 (Figure 2.13) and 1986 (Figure 2.14) and considering current migration patterns.

In the simplest terms, the rural mode represented by the Far North was the predominant one in 1945, and this is reflected in the close correspondence between the age structures of the Far North and those for NZ as a whole at that time. They contrast sharply with those of the solely Maori Origin population of the Auckland Urban Area.

The age structure of the Auckland Urban Area did not change a great deal in net between 1945 and 1986 (Figure 2.17). However, the age structure of the Far North in 1986 is dramatically different to that recorded in 1945 (Figure 2.18), and has now diverged from the profile of the Solely Maori Origin population of NZ at this time (Figure 2.14).

In 1945, the solely Maori origin population of the Auckland Urban Area had a much lower proportion of young dependents (0-14 years) and of aged dependents (65 years or over) and a much higher proportion of persons in the 20-34 age groups than the Far North or NZ as a whole. In summary, the 1945 Auckland Urban Area population was essentially a working one, with many of the children of those working people remaining in the Far North.

By 1986, the proportion of young dependents in the two communities was roughly the same, but the proportion of aged dependents in the Far North had increased sharply. The age structure of the Far North had diverged from that of the NZ population as a whole. It would appear that the age structure of the Auckland Urban Area stayed about the same between 1945 and 1986 (Figure 2.17). However, this has been achieved through balance between two opposing trends. On the one hand, the fertility rate of NZ Maori declined from over 5 per woman in 1945 to somewhere in the order of two per woman in the 1980's (Pool & Pole (1987)). On the other, it is inferred that children of families living in the Auckland Urban Area were no longer sent back to the north in significant numbers. This is suggested by consideration of recent changes in Youth Dependency Ratios for the Far North and Auckland Urban Area (Figure 2.15).

2. Gross and net internal migration since 1981 can be directly measured and net international migration estimated by referring back to the census records.

The current migration pattern involves a large proportion of youth, especially the young women, moving to urban areas on leaving school. After being in the city for some time, a net back migration of older persons, often with children, is observed.

There appears to have been some net return migration to the Far North between 1976 and 1981. This appears to have been return migration of older persons following a period of urban life, and is balanced by the continued loss of younger persons. Over the 1981 to 1986 period a smaller net internal back migration of Maori people to the Far North is indicated (Figure 2.19).

3. At the same time, a major net international migration is inferred. This has already been discussed in detail earlier in the chapter. It does not appear to be of the same scale as the peak of the internal urban migration seen in the late 30's to early 60's. However, it is very high, with an upper limit of 13% of the base population over the 1981-86 period.

4. The major factor behind the net international out migration is likely to be economic. This is underscored by Figure 3.1, which shows the numbers of Maori persons actively engaged in the paid workforce as a % of all Maori persons in the 15-64 age group. The major growth in the Maori labour force of the early 1980s has been at a time of tightening employment conditions in the urban areas of New Zealand. It would appear that young Maori people have not been able to compete as successfully as others for the diminishing jobs available in many traditional areas of employment.

As a result, pressure has mounted for Maori persons to emigrate in search of more favourable employment opportunities overseas. This trend has its parallel with the migration of rural Maori to the cities in the 30s to 50s, when the same sorts of pressures were operating in their rural communities. Jobs in farming remained static while Maori rural population grew at an explosive rate. The land base was finite and becoming fragmented. Migration was probably the most attractive option for many young people.

It is possible to describe the Muriwhenua affiliated population as having at least two arms, an urban and a rural one. It is fair to say that the needs and thus the policies and allocation of resources to different types of services are likely to be different. Therefore it is important to characterise these two related but distinct "communities", to understand what implications this has for the means of delivering services and what the general differences in service requirements are.

4.7 Recent Trends

The slight recovery of population growth in the Far North is not as strong as the growth that was experienced in the early 20th century. The reasons for this recovery trend and what it means for the future development of the northern communities is difficult to assess without better information on the effect of the most recent changes. The longer term outlook cannot yet be determined given the rapid recent changes over the last couple of years. Economic influences probably determine the magnitude of the recent reduction in net out migration. The population recovery may be short lived.

A worrying feature of major restructuring throughout New Zealand economy has been reduced the living standards and an increased rate of unemployment amongst those with relatively few formal skills, who are more likely to be Maori than Non-Maori. This comes on top of a markedly worsening situation for Maori vis a vis non-Maori since the mid 1970s. The return of a substantial number of adult Maori to the north may be tied up with worsening economic conditions for persons of Maori origin in the urban areas.

Rapidly falling fertility rates amongst Maori people have sharply reduced the rate of Maori population growth since the beginning of the 1970s and that factor will also have contributed to the reduction in the rate of net out migration. There is less population growth in the Far North communities, and this reduces the competition for resources and the need for out migration.

GLOSSARY

The following provides explanation for the meaning of some terms as used in the text.

age structure
The proportion of the population in each age group. This assists comparisons between different populations or the population of the same area at different times.

aged dependency ratio
This relates the numbers of older aged people to the number in the working age groups at a particular time. A common measure is the number of persons aged greater than 65 years of age or over to every 100 persons aged 15-64 years in a population.

cohorts
Studying how populations change now or in the future requires breaking it into groups based on equal span of years. This assists with identification of changes in death rates and birth rates are occuring in the population.This and other information is used in preparing projections of future populations. The equal length age groups used are called cohorts. New Zealand has a census every five years. As a result, it is standard practice to use cohorts that are 5 years in length.

enumeration
Counting

fertility
The general terms, the numbers of children born to a woman in the population over her expected life-span.

inferred
That is implied by

inter-censal
Between censuses. Usually a five year period in New Zealand.

inter ethnic mobility
Change in a person's description of their racial origin at different times (ie in different censuses).

i

mortality

Death rates, ie the probability that a person of a given age group say will die within a defined period.

residual change

What is left over after accounting for identified causes of change.

time series

A set of statistics that provides a range of consecutive values for a particular measure, say birth rates, over a period of time.

youth dependency ratio

This relates the numbers of young people to the number in the working age groups at a particular time. A common measure is the number of persons aged less than 15 years of age to every 100 persons aged 15-64 years in a population.

REFERENCES

DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS 1988 : **Report of the Review Committee on Ethnic Statistics 1988**

LOWE, R J 1989: **Te Puawaitanga O Nga Iwi 1874-1951 (Iwi in Demographic Change 1874-1951)**
Department of Maori Affairs Working Paper, June 1989

POOL, D Ian 1966: **The Rural Urban Migration of the Maoris : A Demographic Analysis**
Pac. Viewpoint 7 (1) : 88-96

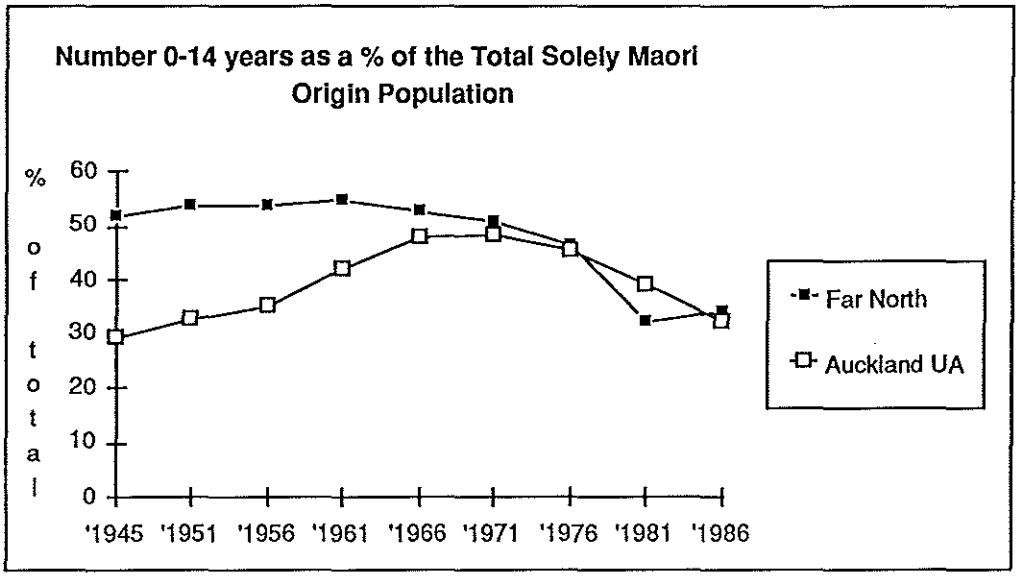
POOL, D Ian 1977: **The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971**
Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press

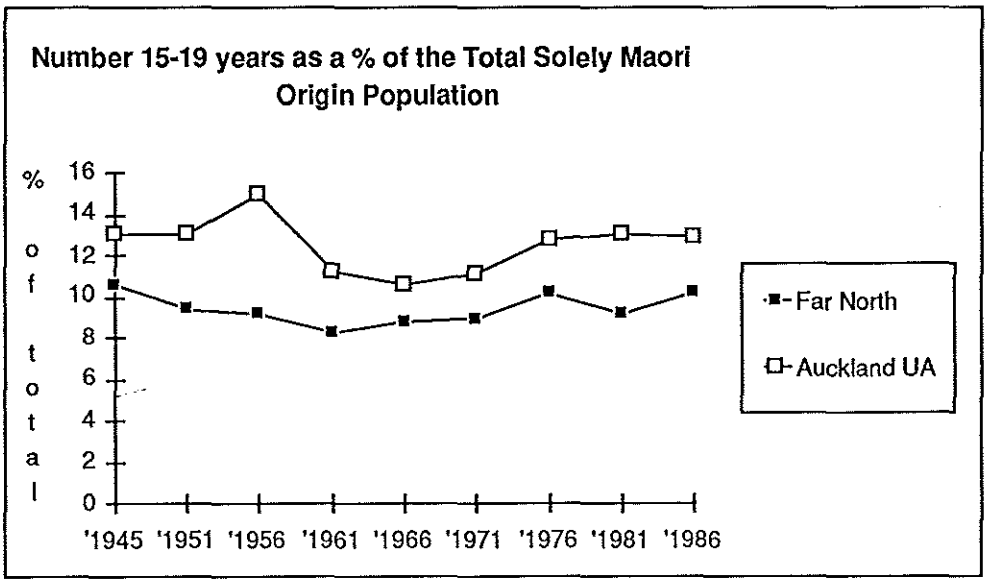
POOL, D Ian 1982: **Is New Zealand a Healthy Country?**
NZ Population Review 8 :2-27

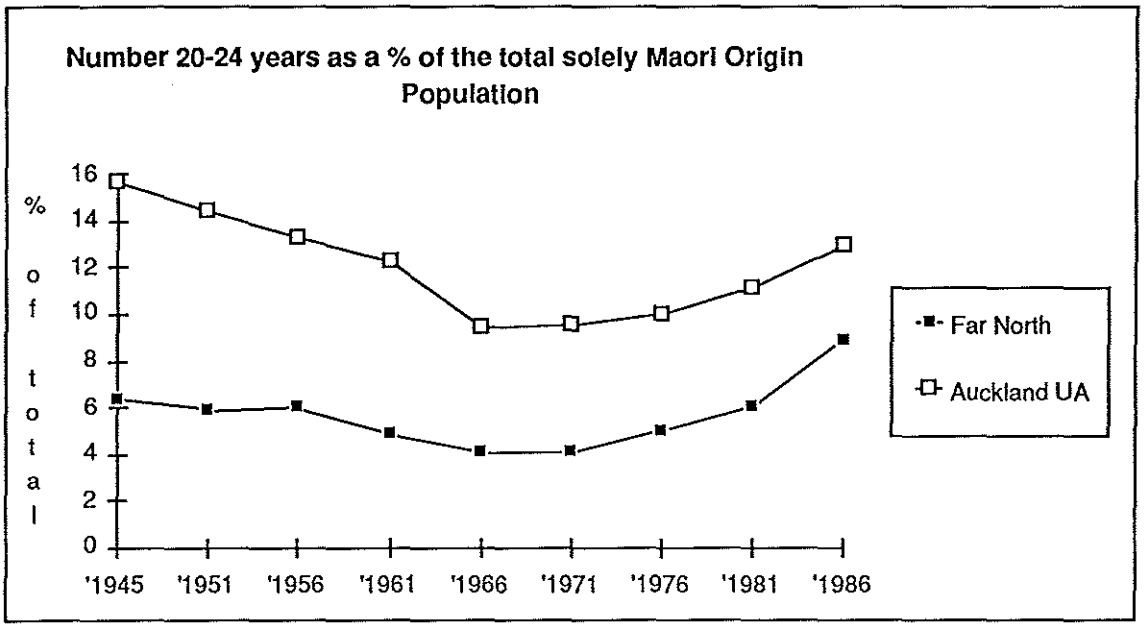
POOL, D Ian ; PAGE, N 1987: **The Maori Population to 2011 : Demographic Change and its Implications**
NZ Demographic Society Technical Paper No 1

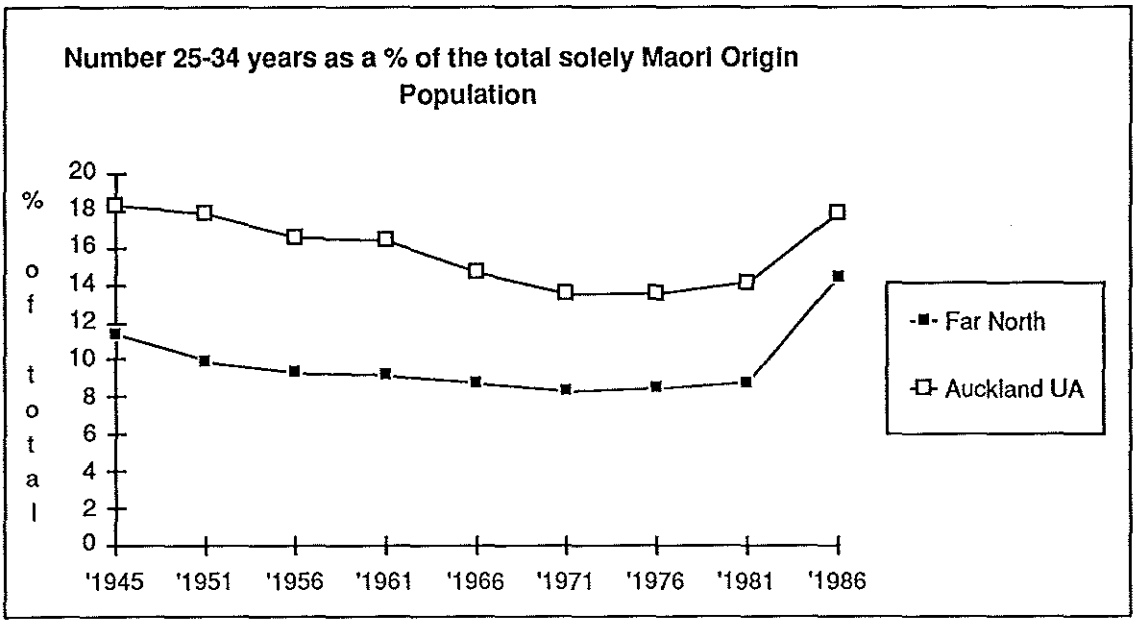
METGE, Joan 1964: **A New Maori Migration : Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand**
Athalone Press, University of London

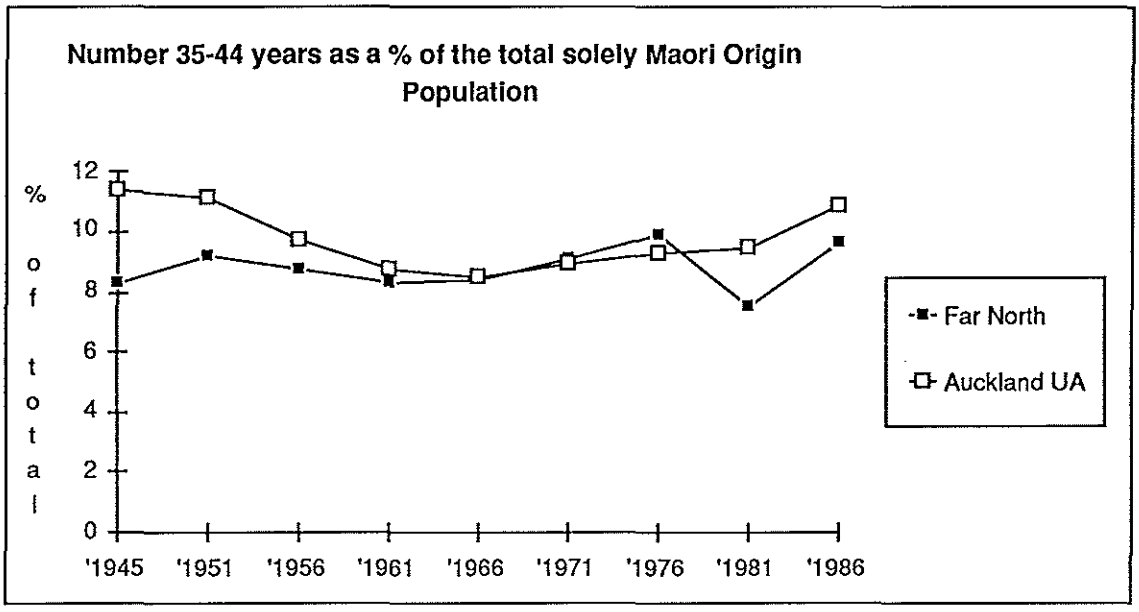
JOHNSTON, RJ (ed.) 1973: **Urbanisation in New Zealand**
Reed Education

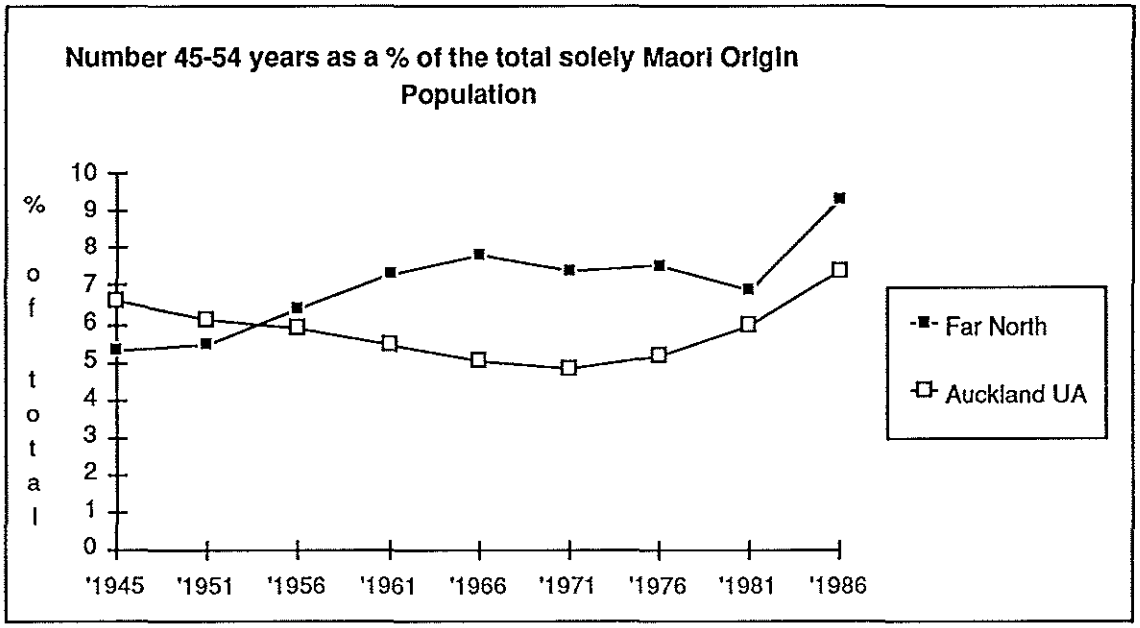

Number 0-14 years as a % of the Total Solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
'1945 '1951 '1956 '1961 '1966 '1971 '1976 '1981 '1986
Far North
Auckland UA

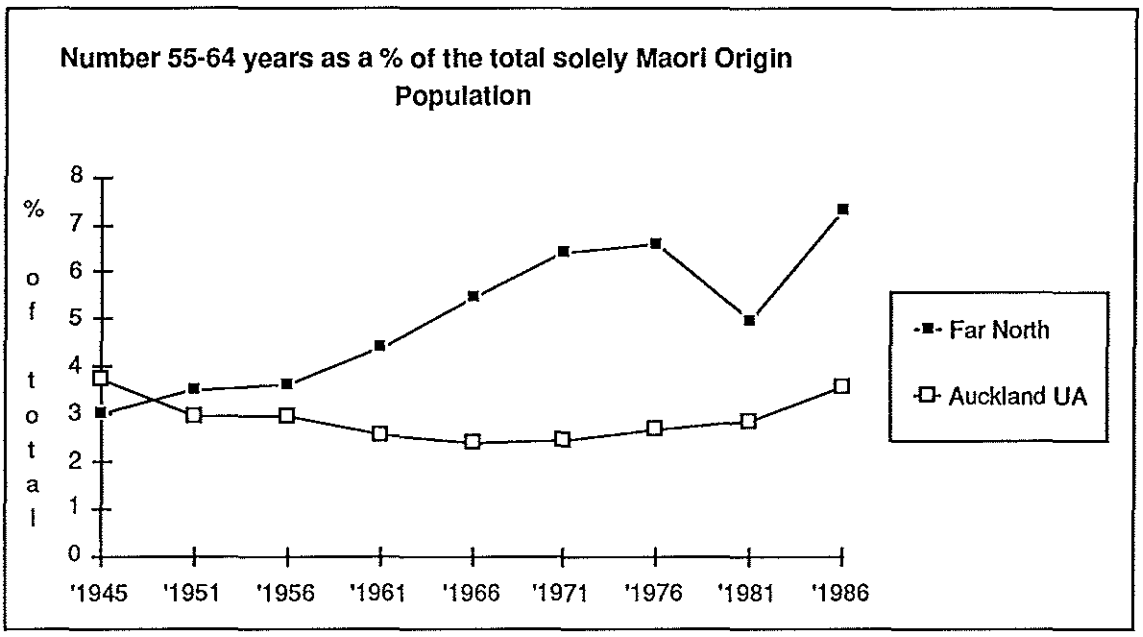

Number 15-19 years as a % of the Total Solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
'1945 '1951 '1956 '1961 '1966 '1971 '1976 '1981 '1986
Far North
Auckland UA

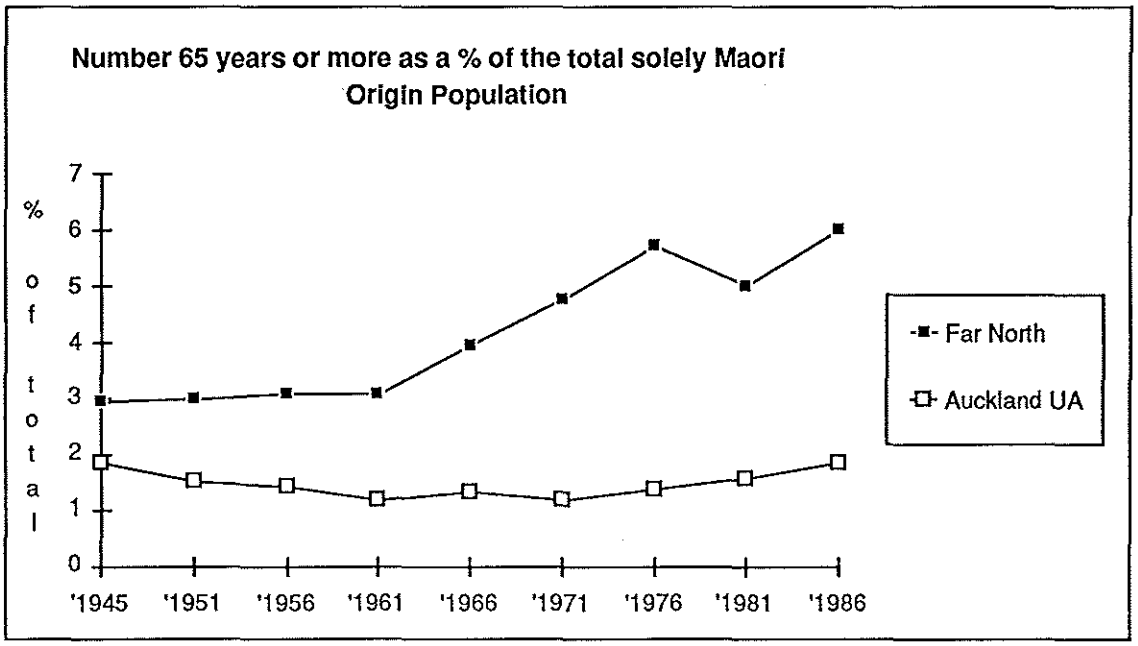

Number 20-24 years as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA

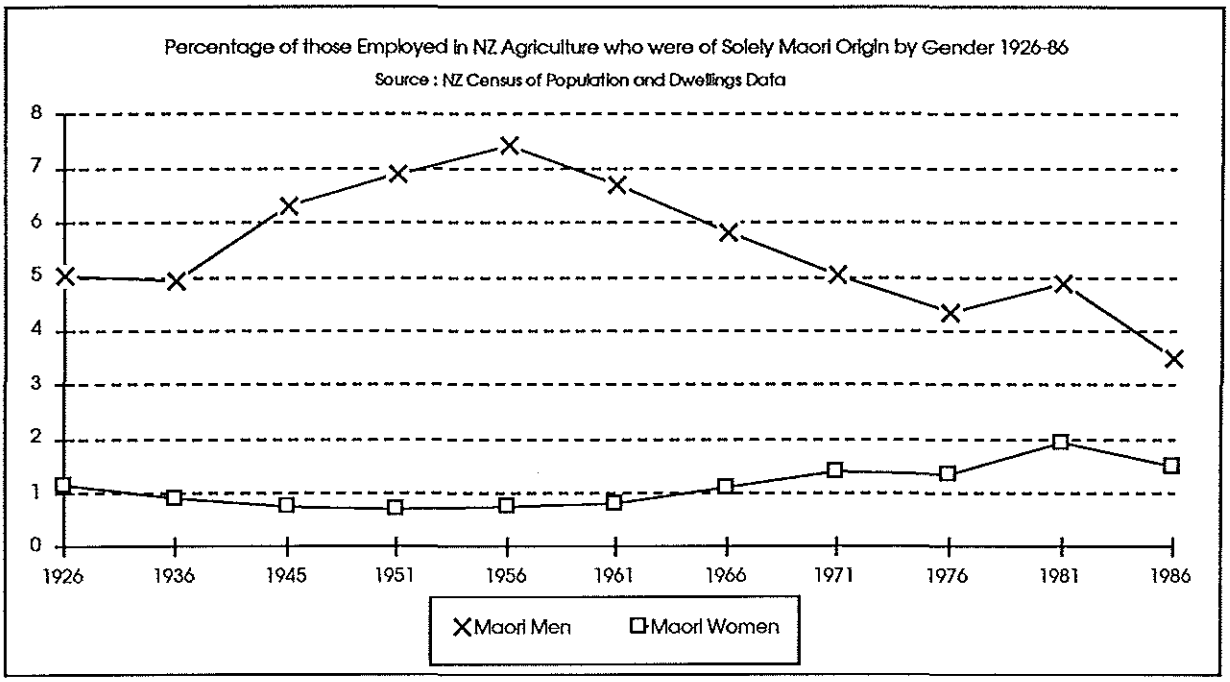

Number 25-34 years as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA

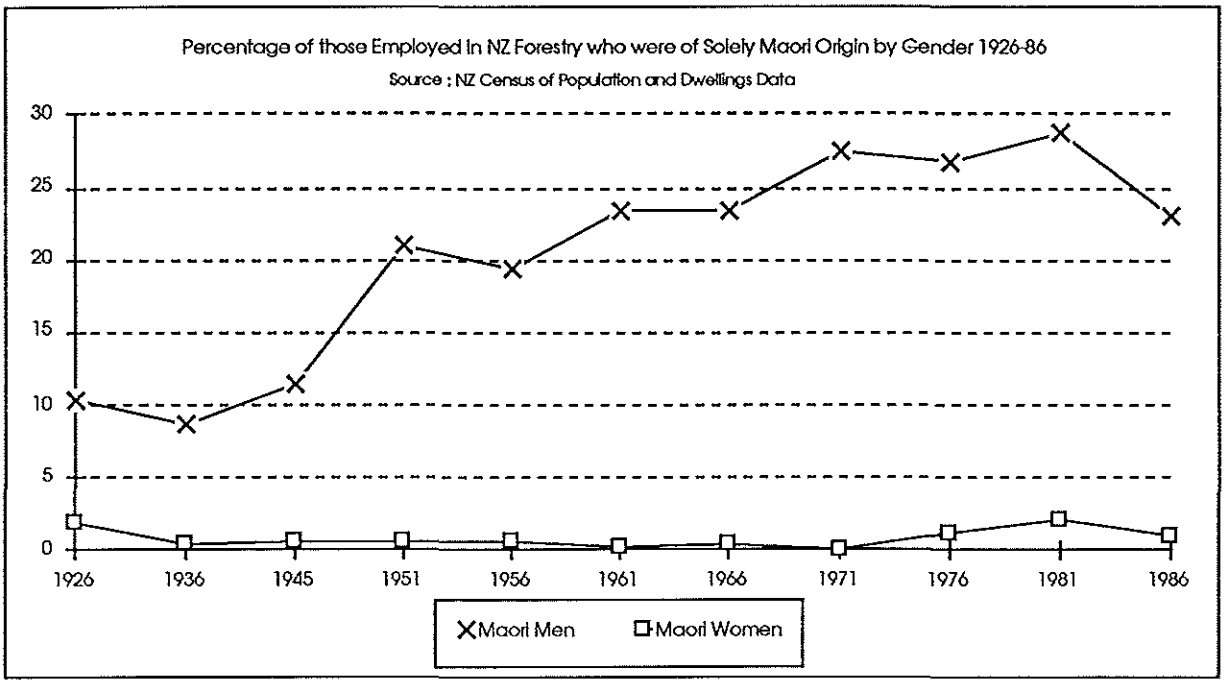

Number 35-44 years as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA


Number 45-54 years as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA


Number 55-64 years as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA

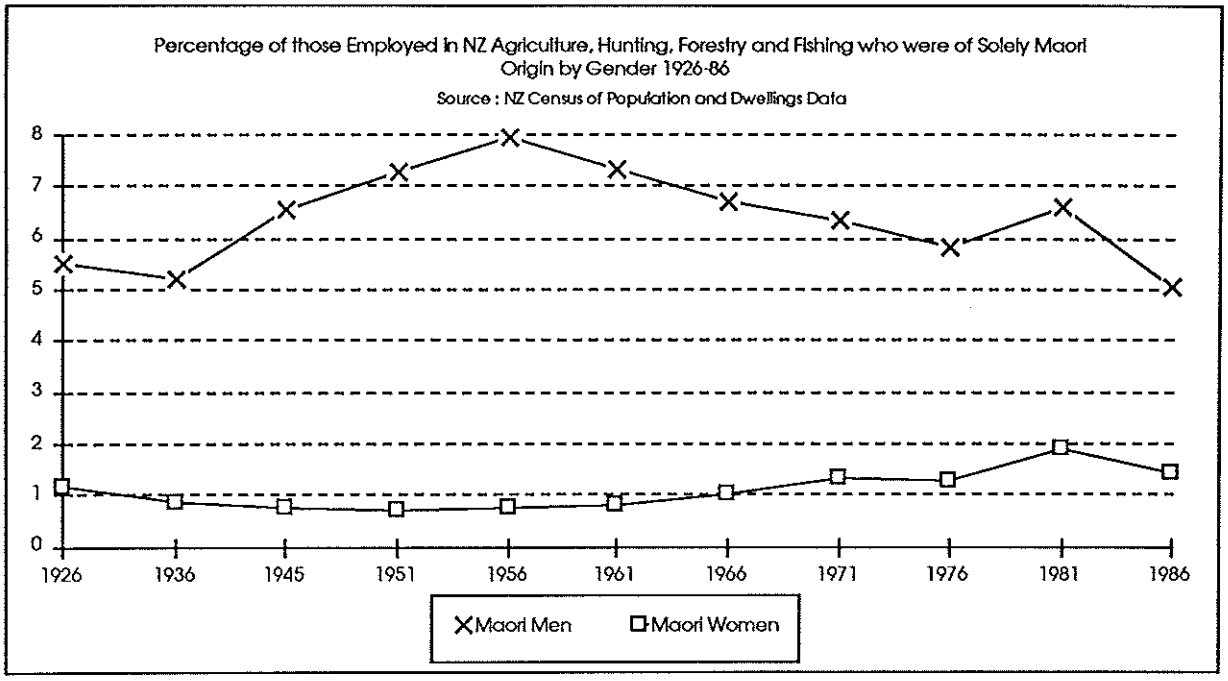

Number 65 years or more as a % of the total solely Maori Origin Population
% of total
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
'1945
'1951
'1956
'1961
'1966
'1971
'1976
'1981
'1986
Far North
Auckland UA

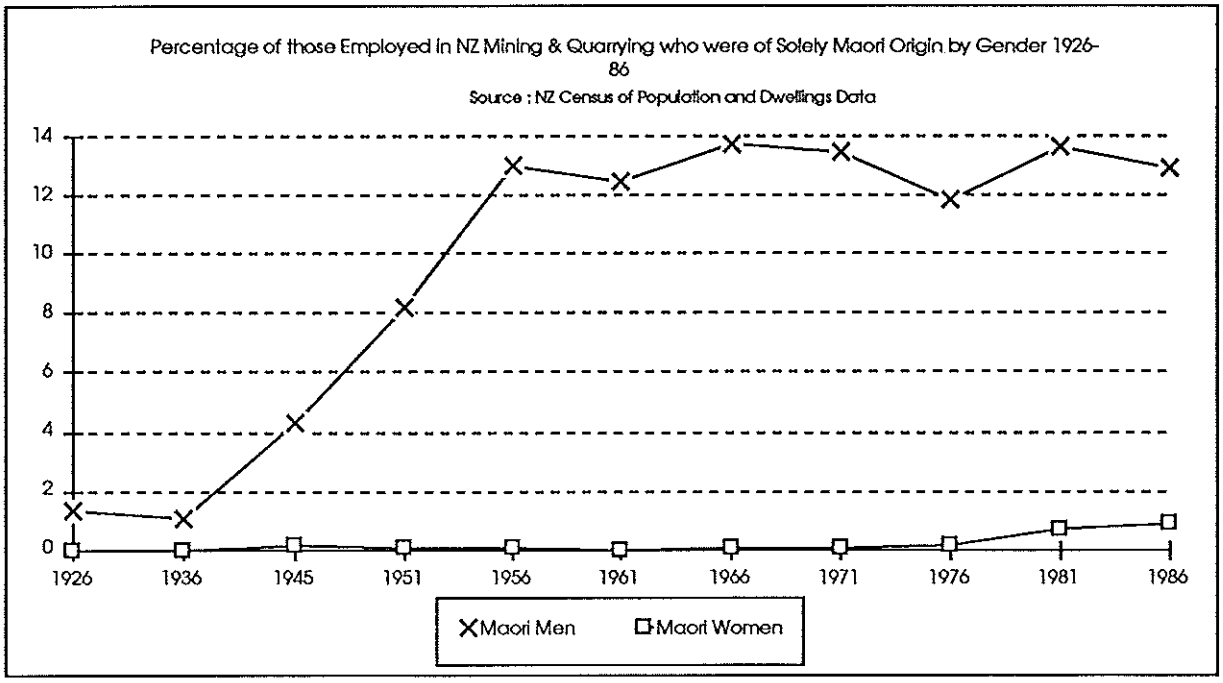

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Agriculture who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

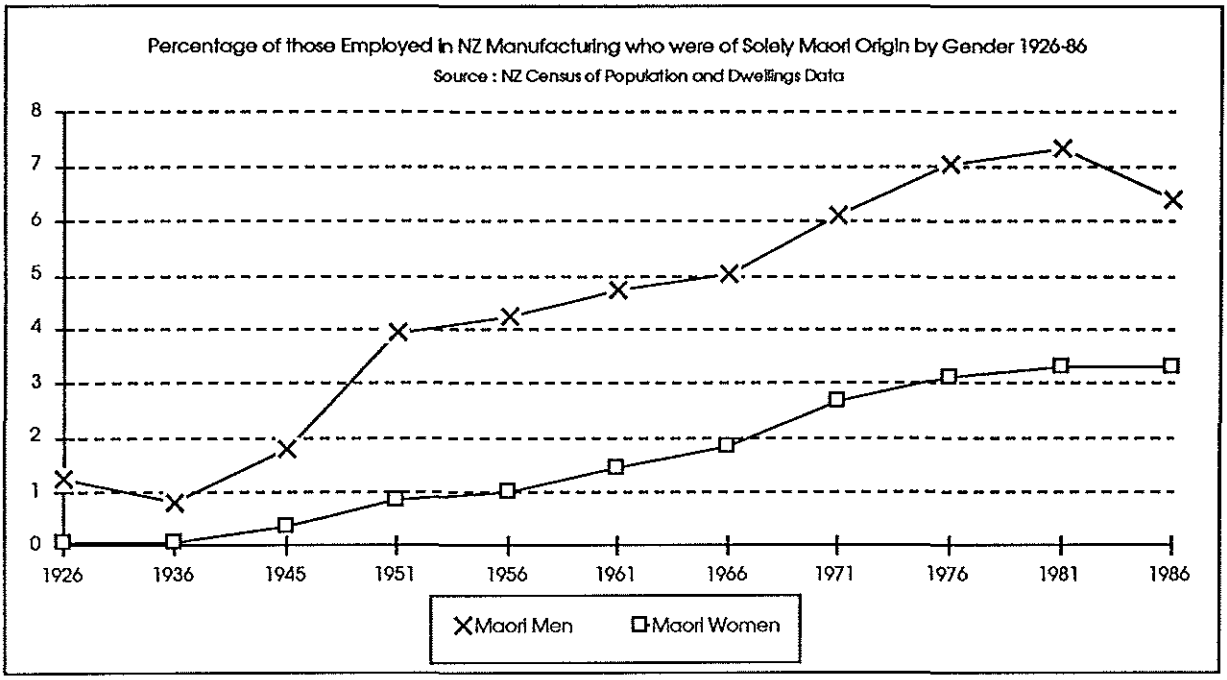

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Forestry who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

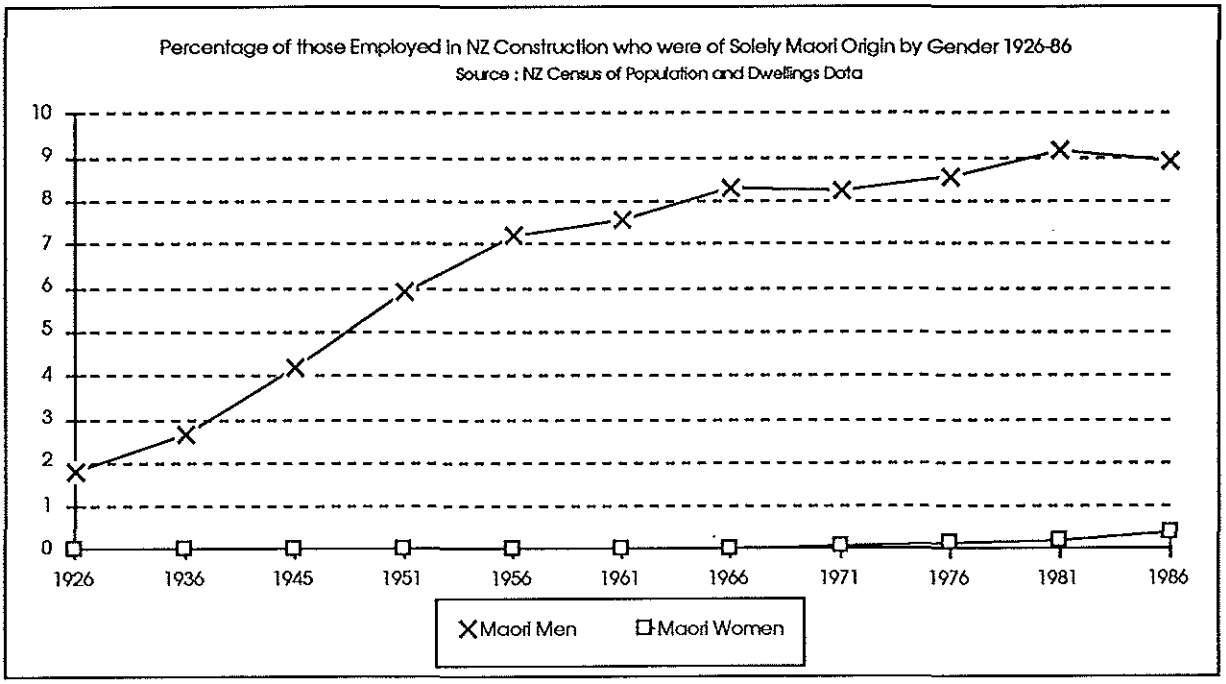
Percentage of those Employed in NZ HUnting who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

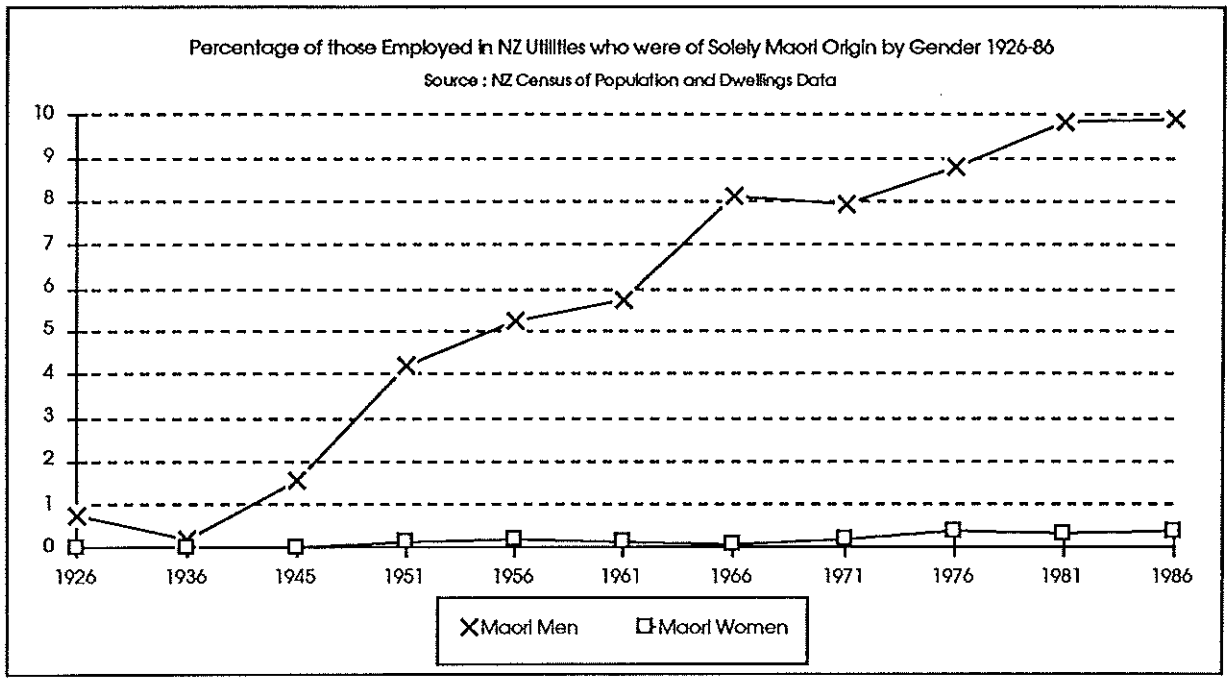
Percentage of those Employed in NZ Fishing who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

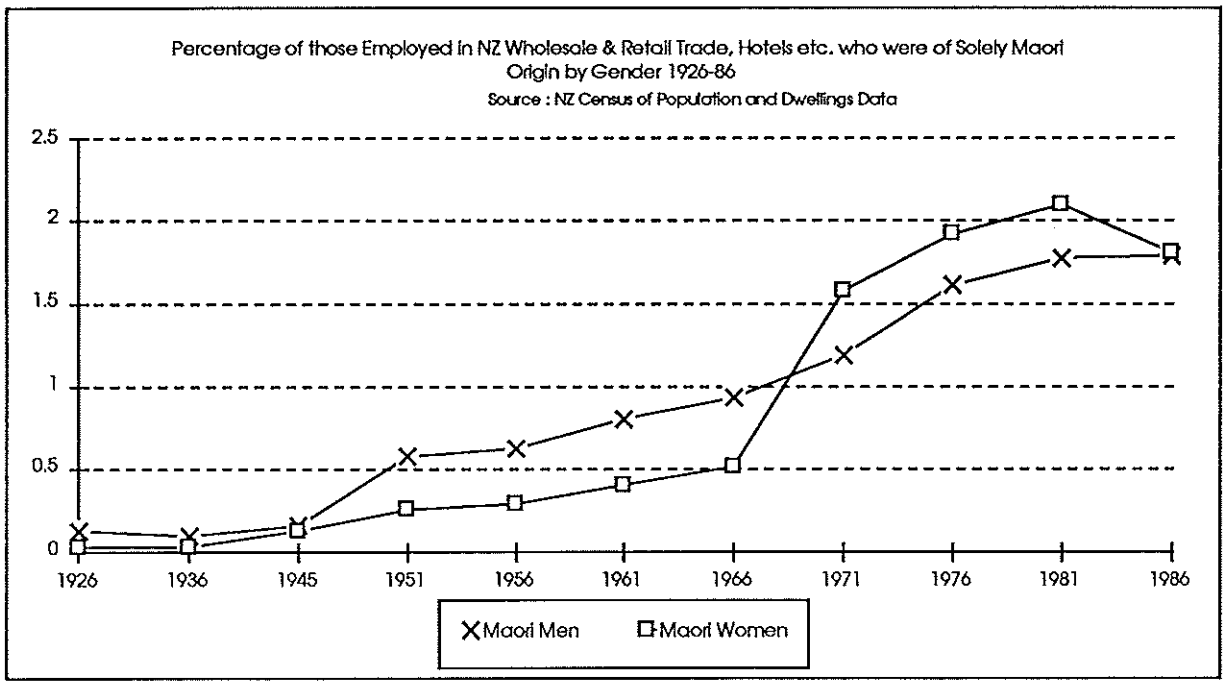

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

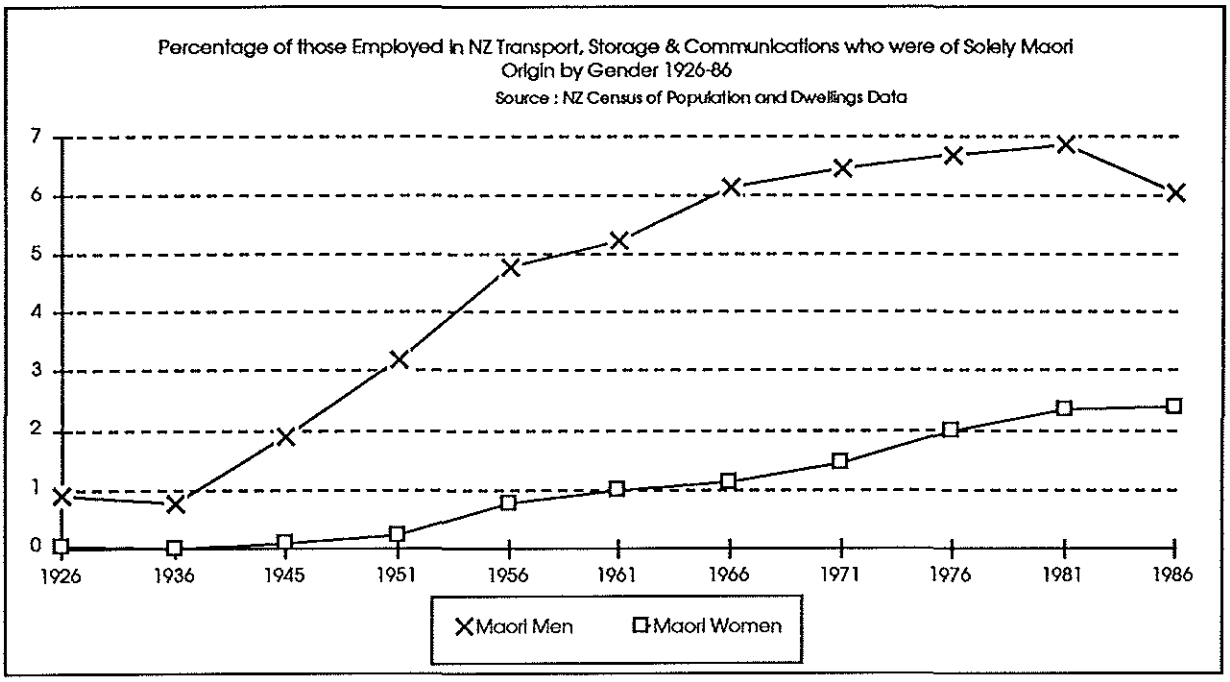

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Mining & Quarrying who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

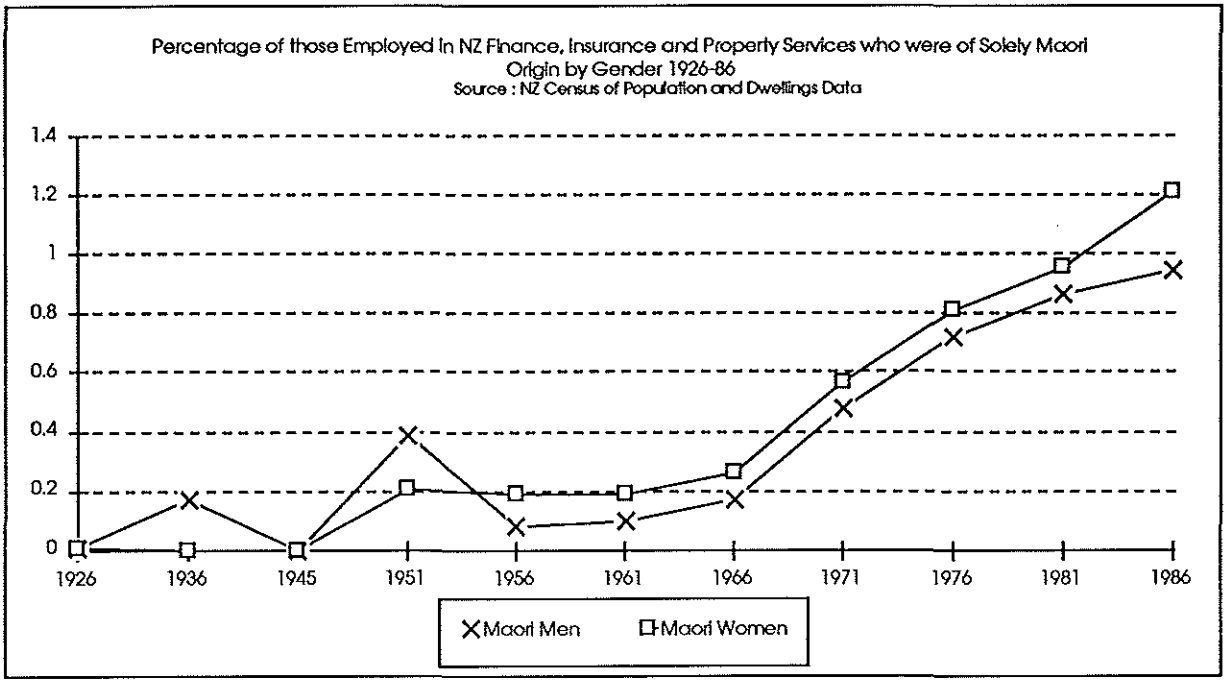

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Manufacturing who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women

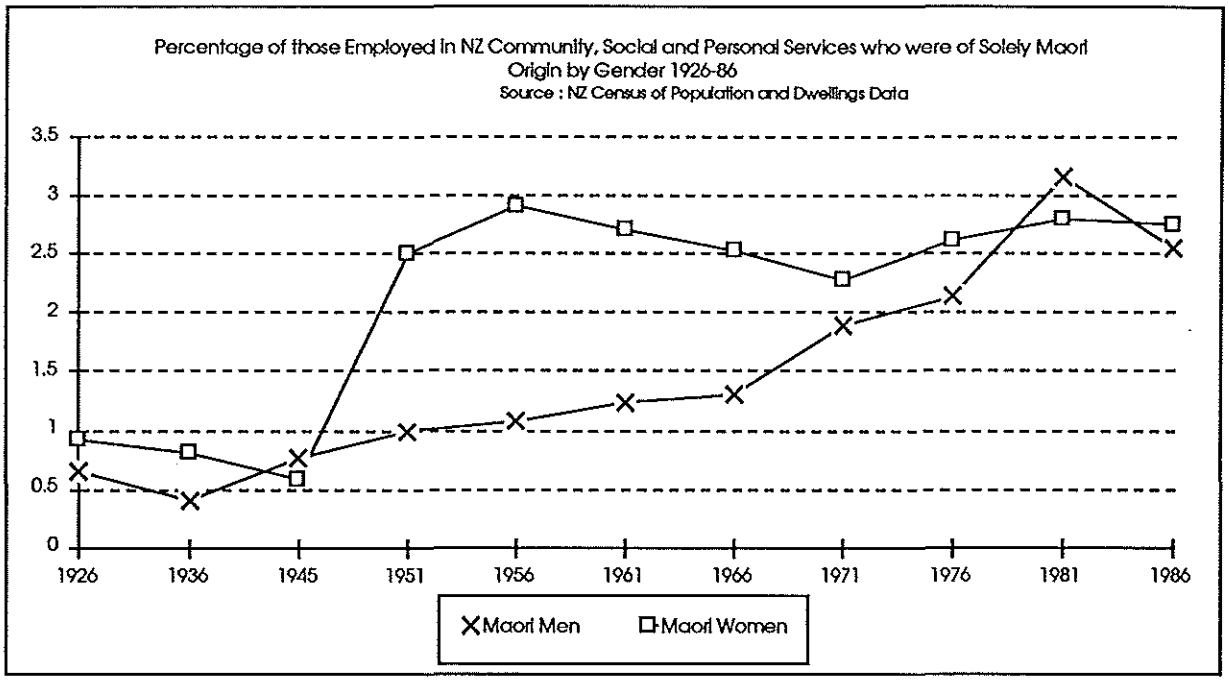

Percentage of those Employed in NZ Construction who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women


Percentage of those Employed in NZ Utilities who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women


Percentage of those Employed in NZ Wholesale & Retail Trade, Hotels etc. who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women


Percentage of those Employed in NZ Transport, Storage & Communications who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women


Percentage of those Employed in NZ Finance, Insurance and Property Services who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
1.4
1.2
1
0.8
0.6
0.4
0.2
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women


Percentage of those Employed in NZ Community, Social and Personal Services who were of Solely Maori Origin by Gender 1926-86
Source : NZ Census of Population and Dwellings Data
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
1926
1936
1945
1951
1956
1961
1966
1971
1976
1981
1986
Maori Men
Maori Women