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MĀORI HETEROGENEITY IN REGIONAL AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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Overview

This brief discusses work undertaken to map the heterogeneity of the Māori population across regional Aotearoa New Zealand. It reflects on the impacts of the rural-urban migration on Māori over time and through the use of iwi census data and spatial analysis, maps the distribution of mana whenua and mātāwaka populations at a regional level. The results of the research inform a discussion about the rights and interests of Māori in regional development at a time when many regional settlements are either being enveloped by urban growth or are isolated and unsupported. Understanding the heterogeneity of Māori in regional Aotearoa New Zealand is both an under-researched topic and an often-ignored issue in policy making and local government planning, where a homogenous Māori population is typically assumed.

Context

The migration of Māori (the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa Zealand) from rural to urban areas has been recognised as one of the most rapid migrations by a population globally (Kukutai 2011, 2014). At the start of the 20th century, 85% of the Māori population lived in rural areas and 15% in urban areas. At the start of the 21st century this ratio had reversed with 85% living in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand 2006; Kukutai 2014). This migration accelerated following World War II as the New Zealand government encouraged Māori to move to cities to boost post war industry.

In previous research Ryks, Pearson and Waa (2016) commented on the effects of the rural to urban migration and provided a spatial analysis of the heterogeneity of the Māori population in urban settings. Rather than considering the Māori population as homogenous, Ryks et al (2016) presented a conceptualisation of a heterogeneous Māori identity that considered the spatial distribution of Māori through those Māori that reported iwi (tribal) affiliation as well as those that do not report kinship ties.

In this research, the effects of the rapid migration of Māori on regional Aotearoa New Zealand are explored alongside a deeper conceptual understanding of heterogeneity and diversity and its relevance to Māori. Specifically, the research seeks to understand how the spatial distribution of Māori across the Central North Island region of Aotearoa New Zealand can enrich a discussion about the rights and interests of Māori in the planning and development of regions.

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Context—continued

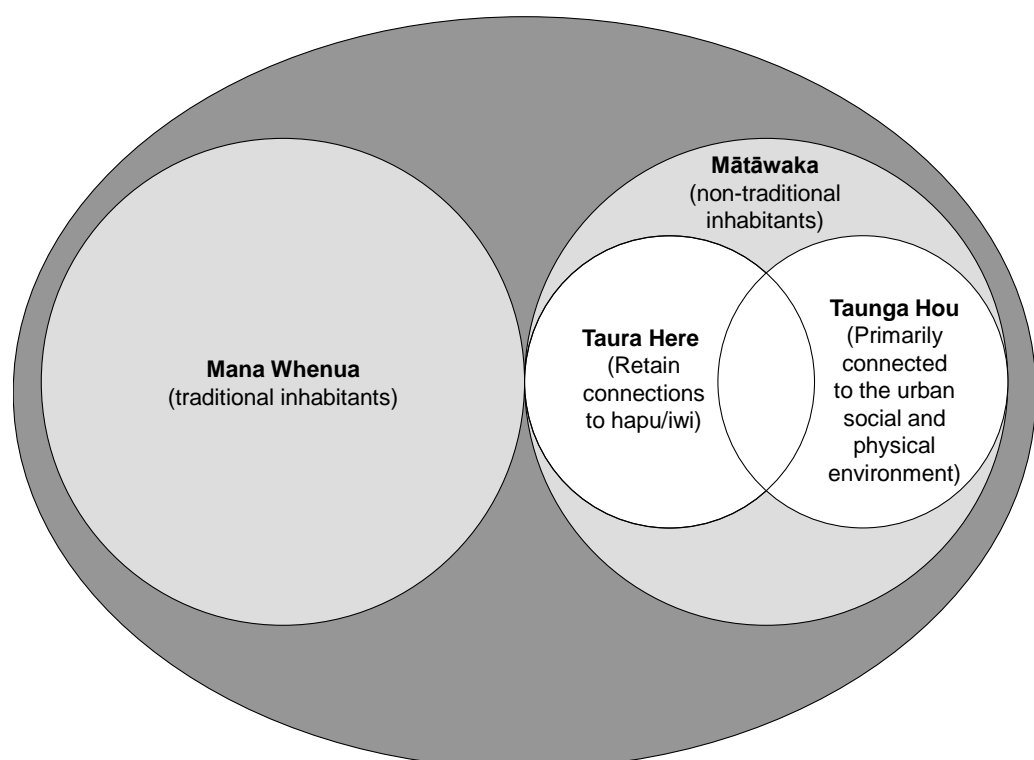
This focus is important given that many smaller regional settlements are either being drawn into the rapid growth of major urban areas, or are geographically isolated and unsupported. Census data for 11 Central North Island towns were analysed to understand how Māori sub-populations are spatially distributed at a regional level, these settlements being Pōkeno, Raglan, Huntly, Kawhia, Ōtorohanga, Te Kuiti, Taumaranui, Tokoroa, Te Puke, Kawerau and Ōpōtiki. The research then explores the use of census data based on questions about voluntary and unpaid activities outside the household as a proxy (and exploratory) indicator of social capital for Māori in the regions. This brief provides a summary of findings from the 11 towns and a more in-depth focus on three towns in particular: Pōkeno, Huntly, and Tokoroa.

Conceptualising regional Māori

As Ryks et al (2016) show, any discussion of the spatial distribution of the Māori population would not be complete without a deeper understanding of the distribution of mana whenua and mātāwaka. Mana whenua are those iwi (tribe) or hapū (sub-tribe) that traditionally inhabited an area and who retain mana (traditional authority) over the whenua (land). Mana whenua are often incorporated as legally recognised rūnanga (iwi councils), and across regions there may be more than one mana whenua iwi. Because of their association with the land and the Treaty of Waitangi, mana whenua usually have specific rights and responsibilities in relation to, and access to, the management of natural resources. In this way, mana whenua have an important role in the development and revitalisation of regions, although many barriers and challenges exist for their meaningful participation in local-level decision-making (for example, see Ryks, Kilgour, Whitehead, Whetu and Whetu, 2019). Mātāwaka are non-mana whenua Māori migrants (and descendants) who have moved away from their traditional homes. Mātāwaka can be further disaggregated into those who continue to actively associate with their iwi (often called taura here, see Carter, 2006) and those who, through decision or circumstance, no longer do so (in this research called taunga hou - a term Ryks et al (2016) use to define a Māori sub-population that are of Māori descent and self-identify as Māori, but do not report tribal affiliation). Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between these three groups and is the basis for the research approach that follows.

For this study, the conceptualisation of regional Māori shown in Figure 1 is used in conjunction with customised iwi population data derived from the 2013 New Zealand Census to explore and map the distribution of different Māori sub-populations.

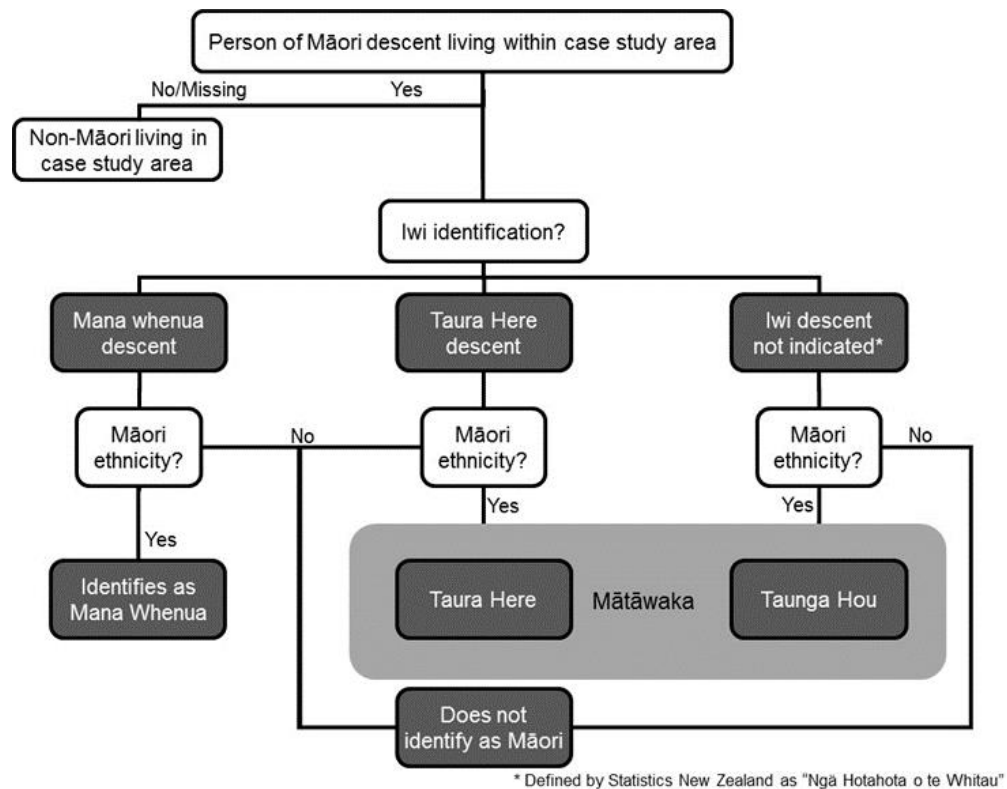
Figure 1: Conceptualising urban Māori (Source: adapted from Ryks, Waa, and Pearson, 2016: 30).



Approach

At the time of this research, data from the 2018 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings was being released but as Te Mana Raraunga (the Māori Data Sovereignty Network) have emphasised, there are concerns about the validity and reliability of the results of the census for the Māori population and that Census 2018 may yet turn out to be the poorest quality enumeration of Māori in recent history due to the fact that “full or partial information has only been received for about 90 percent of individuals, compared with 94.5 percent for the 2013 Census” (Te Mana Raraunga, 2018). Accordingly, it was determined that the 2013 Census would provide a more robust source for data. Figure 2 describes the process through which regional mana whenua, mātāwaka, taura here and taunga hou were identified. These classifications provided the basis of a regional Māori population analysis, although at the same time recognising the limitations of examining regional Māori identity in this way.

Figure 2: Classifying regional Māori (Source: adapted from Rykás, Waa, and Pearson, 2016: 30).



The use of census data with the conceptualisation of regional Māori introduced earlier is based on census responses relating first to a question about Māori descent and then, within that group, those Māori resident within the 11 areas of interest. The iwi identification and ethnicity questions are then used as additional filters to build mana whenua, taura here and taunga hou population profiles. Census Area Unit (CAU) population data from the 2013 census was requested for all Māori living within the 11 towns, with counts provided by each sub group: mana whenua, taura here, and taunga hou. In cases where there were more than one mana whenua group within a single CAU these groups were collectively counted and coded as ‘mana whenua’ as the purpose of this analysis is to distinguish between mana whenua and non-mana whenua groups. In addition, geographic boundary data for (year 2013) CAUs were obtained from Statistics New Zealand. CAUs are the second smallest unit of dissemination of census data in Aotearoa New Zealand. CAUs are aggregations of meshblocks often defining neighbourhoods and suburbs.



Spatial analyses

ESRI's ArcMap 10.6 GIS software was used to display the distribution of regional Māori by category. The regional Māori population data were joined to CAU boundary files. Population counts of mana whenua, taura here and taunga hou, as a percentage of the total Māori population for each CAU were then calculated. Quantiles of these percentages were then used to produce maps of the distribution of Māori sub-populations in the regions.

Spatial query of marae, Māori land and population data

Using available spatial data about marae locations and Māori land, all marae and Māori land within and directly adjacent to the study area CAUs were selected using the buffer function and a new feature layer was created from the selection. The use of population thresholds were explored to see if there was clustering of the mana whenua populations around marae and Māori land. The use of 20%, 35% and 50% thresholds were explored to determine if mana whenua (as a proportion of the total Māori population) clustered around marae. To contrast, the same was done for taura here and taunga hou to see if any inverse relationship existed.

Analysis of census data about unpaid activities outside the home to understand Māori social capital

As Statistics New Zealand (2001) describe in their outline for a New Zealand framework for the measurement of social capital, three independent elements of social capital can be identified, these being behaviours (what people do), attitudes (what people feel) and population groups (what people are). In exploring the social capital of Māori sub-populations in the regions, the focus of this component of the research was focused on behaviours through an emphasis on unpaid or voluntary activity by mana whenua, taura here and taunga hou. Data based on responses to two questions from the 2013 Census about unpaid activities was used as the basis for analysis. These two questions were "Looking after a child who does not live in own household" and "Other helping or voluntary work for or through any organisation group or Marae". Response rates for each group were calculated for all CAUs. Single factor analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then performed to compare response rates among mana whenua, taura here and taunga hou across CAUs. Post-hoc comparison testing was conducted to understand variance between each group. It was beyond the scope of this study to explore any spatial relationships across individual CAUs but the use of spatial regression to understand these differences is something that could be explored in the future.

Summary of findings

- There were significant differences in the numbers of Māori who identify as mana whenua, taura here and taunga hou within and across towns, from 69% mana whenua in Te Kuiti to 76% taura here in Te Puke.
- There were higher mana whenua counts in areas in close proximity to marae and Māori land. This is not surprising but does for the first time provide some indication of the degree to which mana whenua still maintain a geographical connection to, what is still in many cases, ancestral land.
- High taura here counts seem related to employment and industry, where non-mana whenua Māori have come to a town or region and continued to live there, perhaps regardless of whether that industry is in decline.
- Using data about unpaid activity outside the home, including childcare and other volunteering work, mana whenua have significantly higher rates of social capital across the towns studied. This is both in towns where there are high mana whenua numbers but also in towns where there are low numbers.
- Table 1 provides an overview of the Māori sub-population distribution across the 11 regional towns. Table 2 provides an overview of how each population group answered the social capital questions across the 11 regional towns.



Table 1 - Māori sub-population distribution across 11 regional towns

	Mātāwaka			Total Māori by town
	Mana whenua	Taura here	Taunga hou	
Pōkeno				
No.	60	108	57	225
%	27	48	25	
Raglan				
No.	336	240	69	648
%	52	37	11	
Huntly				
No.	1584	774	408	2766
%	57	28	15	
Kawhia				
No.	126	21	27	174
%	72	12	16	
Ōtorohanga				
No.	564	207	123	894
%	63	23	14	
Te Kuiti				
No.	1314	369	207	1893
%	69	19	11	
Taumaranui				
No.	786	906	303	1992
%	39	45	15	
Tokoroa				
No.	465	3033	672	4170
%	11	73	16	
Te Puke				
No.	186	1233	204	1626
%	11	76	13	
Kawerau				
No.	1146	1833	279	3258
%	35	56	9	
Ōpōtiki				
No.	1110	708	159	1980
%	56	36	8	
Total				19626

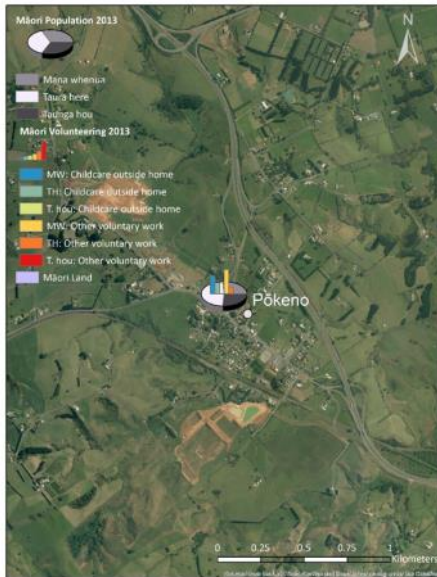


Table 2 - Māori subpopulation group response rates to Census questions about unpaid activities outside the home for 11 regional towns

	Mana whenua - looking after child who does not live in own household	Taura here - looking after child who does not live in own household	Taunga hou - looking after child who does not live in own household	Mana whenua - other helping or voluntary work	Taura here - other helping or voluntary work	Taunga hou - other helping or voluntary work
Pōkeno	33	20	0	44	12	0
Raglan	26	28	22	29	28	0
<i>Huntly West</i>	32	22	27	35	19	15
<i>Huntly East</i>	29	27	22	26	23	13
Huntly Total	30	24	24	31	21	14
Kawhia	28	0	0	52	0	29
Ōtorohanga	32	26	37	22	22	21
Te Kuiti	29	24	19	23	19	14
<i>Tarrangower</i>	24	19	0	38	29	17
<i>Taumarunui Central</i>	29	30	25	31	31	20
<i>Sunshine-Hospital Hill</i>	33	22	0	27	26	0
<i>Manunui</i>	30	25	43	40	35	0
Taumarunui Total	29	24	17	34	30	9
<i>Mangakaretu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Paraonui</i>	42	28	22	42	17	0
<i>Parkdale</i>	0	39	60	0	31	0
<i>Matarawa</i>	36	28	33	29	16	22
<i>Stanley Park</i>	39	23	28	22	19	17
<i>Tokoroa Central</i>	50	22	29	67	20	0
<i>Aotea</i>	23	28	28	18	18	14
<i>Strathmore</i>	33	30	19	27	17	10
Tokoroa Total	28	25	27	26	17	8
<i>Te Puke West</i>	36	28	12	21	24	12
<i>Te Puke East</i>	29	26	20	29	17	0
Te Puke Total	32	27	16	25	21	6
<i>Kawerau</i>	33	28	22	30	23	12
Ōpōtiki	27	21	21	29	22	14

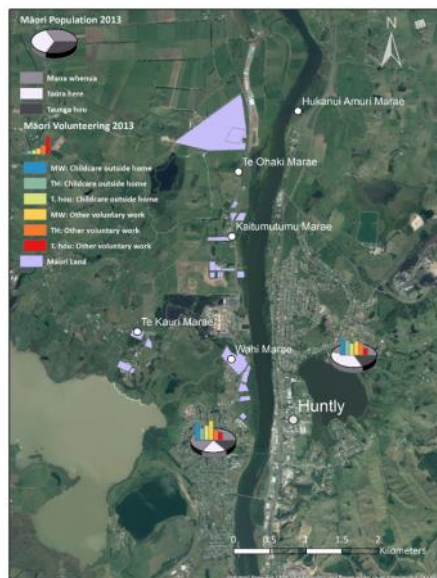


Regional maps



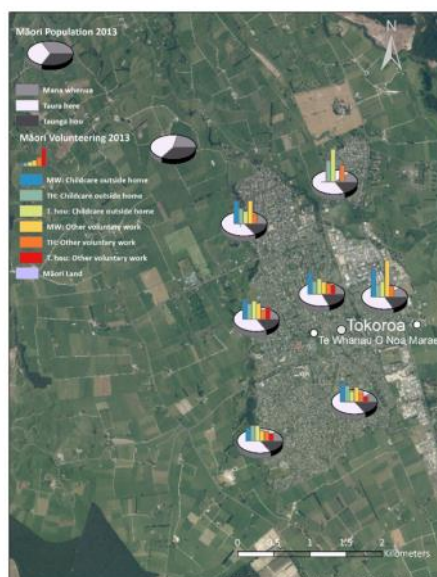
PŌKENO

- At the 2013 Census, 27% of Māori in Pōkeno identified as mana whenua, while taura here and taunga hou comprised 48% and 25% respectively
- From tribal land development, as well as a policy and planning perspective, mana whenua have little presence in the town and surrounding area. There are no marae and little Māori land in Pōkeno.
- In other research undertaken (for example, see Ryks, et al, 2019), mana whenua in Pōkeno have emphasised that they want to have a visible presence in the town and want their own marae.



HUNTLY

- Like Pōkeno, Huntly is also located within the golden triangle and close to the growth of Auckland. It has a higher mana whenua base with 57% mana whenua. 28% taura here and 15% taunga hou.
- Split into Huntly West and East CAUs, Huntly West has a much higher proportion of mana whenua and this is related to the location of marae and Māori land. In Huntly West there are 64% mana whenua while in Huntly East there are 47%.
- In terms of each group's respective response to the social capital questions. For both Huntly West and Huntly East, participation in unpaid activities outside the home is higher for mana whenua, but interestingly these rates are highest for mana whenua in Huntly West where perhaps this is facilitated by that proximity and connection to marae and land (see Table 2).



TOKOROA

- Tokoroa has very high numbers of taura here and this most likely relates to the town's primary industry – forestry. It seems that many taura here Māori would have come to Tokoroa for work in the industry. In future research, this could be measured over time according to the reduction of staff or redundancies at the local forestry mill and whether an association exists between population group and occupation type over different census periods.
- Overall, for Tokoroa mana whenua rates stand at only 11%, while taura here is 73% and taunga hou is 16%. This ratio is consistent across all Tokoroa CAUs.
- While the numbers of Māori who identify as mana whenua are low, the response to the questions about unpaid activities still continue that trend of mana whenua having higher rates of social capital. For example, the mana whenua response rate to the questions about looking after a child outside the home and other volunteering is 28% and 26% respectively, while for taura here the response rate is 25% and 17% respectively, while for taunga hou it is 27% and 8% respectively (see Table 2).

Implications of the research

- The research has the potential to contribute to a more nuanced and detailed understanding of wellbeing through its focus on the spatial distribution of different population groups. So this is particularly important at a time when the Treasury and other government agencies such as Te Puni Kōkiri are trying to understand what Māori wellbeing means and looks like in the regions. It also gives a preliminary measure of social capital across these groups and has the potential to look at other health and social factors.
- In terms of local government, regional and local councils and unitary authorities have obligations to partner and consult with mana whenua. However, mātāwaka (both taura here and taunga hou) also have a range of rights and interests that are often not represented, and this was evident during the period of local government reform where mātāwaka interests were raised in both Auckland and Wellington. An important question this research seeks to address is: how can the rights and interests of mātāwaka be represented when there isn't information available about the composition of mātāwaka as a group?
- For mana whenua and non-mana whenua groups and organisations, research showing the spatial distribution of the Māori population can support a range of different interests. One of these groups is the Independent Māori Statutory Board in Auckland which is mandated to serve mana whenua and mātāwaka and has dedicated mātāwaka seats on the board.
- With research that explores the heterogeneity of Māori, Iwi and hapū will also have a better understanding of the spatial distribution of mana whenua in their region.

Future work

- There is the potential to look at the spatial relationships between volunteering, qualifications, occupation, labour, income and health data by the groupings introduced here. This could be within and across towns and perhaps use spatial regression as a way of understanding the factors behind different spatial patterns.
- Qualitative analysis of social capital research to further understand and ground the current quantitative findings (i.e. why do mana whenua have higher rates of volunteering?)
- Further analysis of the spatial relationships between mana whenua and marae and Māori land, not just in regional towns but in larger cities. Further analysis of the spatial relationships between mana whenua and marae and Māori land, not just in regional towns but in larger cities.

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