

IWI POPULATION SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

How do patterns of iwi identification vary by region? In 1996 and in 2013 the largest number of Māori descendants reporting at least one iwi lived in Auckland, followed by Waikato, and the Bay of Plenty. This is to be expected, given that these regions also have the largest Māori populations. What about the regional distribution of Māori who do not know their iwi? Table 6 shows that there is tremendous regional variation. In 2013, only 8 per cent of Māori living in the Gisborne region did not know their iwi, compared to nearly one quarter of Māori in the West Coast. In all South Island regions, at least one fifth of Māori did not know their iwi, although the proportion declined significantly over time. The regions where the proportion of Māori not knowing their iwi was lowest (Gisborne, Northland, Bay of Plenty, Hawke's Bay) are regions where the Māori population share is much higher than the national average. Put another way, the likelihood of knowing and reporting an iwi in the census is much higher in regions with a stronger Māori demographic presence.

Table 6: Number & distribution of iwi identified and 'don't know iwi' populations by Regional Council, 1996 & 2013

Regional Council (RC)	Iwi identified population		Don't know iwi (%) of Māori Descent ¹ within RC	
	1996	2013	1996	2013
Northland Region	34,386	40,287	17.8	13.6
Auckland Region	101,361	129,552	22.5	18.4
Waikato Region	58,980	73,338	19.5	17.1
Bay of Plenty Region	54,018	62,994	14.3	12.2
Gisborne Region	17,250	18,009	9.7	8.1
Hawke's Bay Region	25,575	29,967	18.8	15.5
Taranaki Region	11,307	14,919	28.1	23.6
Manawatu-Wanganui Region	30,984	36,933	23.8	18.8
Wellington Region	40,872	53,277	19.9	15.9
Tasman Region	2,007	3,195	30.6	23.2
Nelson Region	2,256	3,810	31.1	20.3
Marlborough Region	3,297	4,293	23.2	20.3
West Coast Region	2,067	2,652	31.8	24.9
Canterbury Region	24,642	38,628	27.3	21.0
Otago Region	8,223	13,362	32.6	22.5
Southland Region	8,655	10,425	27.6	22.5
Total RCs²	425,877	535,638	20.9	17.2

Source: NZ Census of Population & Dwellings, various years

Note: ¹Excludes Not Elsewhere Included

²Excludes Area Outside Region (2013) and Chatham Islands District (1996)

SUMMARY

- In 2013 census, 83 per cent of the Māori descent group (n=535,941) reported at least one iwi.
- Between 1996 and 2013 the number of Māori reporting an iwi increased by 45 per cent. This was substantially higher than the increase for either the Māori descent or Māori ethnic groups.
- In 1996, just over 27 per cent of those stating an iwi reported two or more iwi. By 2006, the share had increased to nearly 40 per cent. Women were more likely than men to report multiple iwi, as were tamariki aged 0-14 years.
- In the Māori social survey, Te Kupenga, 89 per cent of Māori said that knew their iwi. This was higher than in the census although Te Kupenga did not ask for specifics of which iwi they belonged to. More than half of all Māori in Te Kupenga reported knowing their hapū, maunga, awa, waka or tipuna.
- Sex ratios for the iwi identified population have become more female favoured over time, with 89 males per 100 females in 2013. The predominance of women is especially marked at ages 25-49 years, with 78 men per 100 women. Sex ratios for iwi are more skewed than for the wider Māori ethnic group.
- The likelihood of knowing and reporting an iwi is much higher in regions with a higher Māori population share.

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TE AO HURIHURI IWI IDENTIFICATION IN THE CENSUS

Tahu Kukutai and Moana Rarere

MĀORI IDENTITY CATEGORIES

As the flagship of official statistics, the national population census is an important forum for the recognition of indigenous peoples in their homelands and territories (United Nations, 2008). While most governments worldwide count and classify their populations by ethnicity, New Zealand is rare in enabling multiple expressions of indigenous identity in the census. Since 1991, it has been possible to identify as Māori in three ways: by descent, ethnicity and iwi (tribal) affiliation (see Figure 1). The Māori descent population is the

Figure 1: Size of Māori population groups, 2013



Source: NZ Census of Population & Dwellings, 2013

Table 1 shows that the share of Māori descendants reporting at least one iwi has increased in each successive census, with the exception of 2013. It is unsurprising that some Māori do not affiliate with an iwi in the census. More than 85 per cent of Māori live in urban areas, and most Māori live outside of their tribal rohe (customary region).

Table 1: Number & proportion of Māori descendants reporting at least one iwi

	Population (n)				
	1991	1996	2001	2006	2013
Iwi identified population	370,476	426,234	454,479	512,325	535,941
Don't know	113,196	112,563	111,807	102,366	110,928
Not elsewhere included (NEI) ¹	27,606	40,917	37,824	29,331	21,852
Total Māori descent	511,278	579,714	604,110	643,980	668,721
% of stated ² who affiliated with at least one iwi	76.6	79.1	80.3	83.4	82.9
% of stated who don't know their iwi	23.4	20.9	19.7	16.7	17.1

Source: Statistics New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, various years

Notes:

¹ Includes 'Refused to Answer, Response Unidentifiable, Response Outside Scope, and Not Stated

² Excludes NEI from Total Māori descent

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**National Institute of
Demographic and
Economic Analysis
(NIDEA)**

Faculty of Arts & Social
Sciences,
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton 3240,
New Zealand

Phone:
07 838 4040

E-mail:
tahuk@waikato.ac.nz

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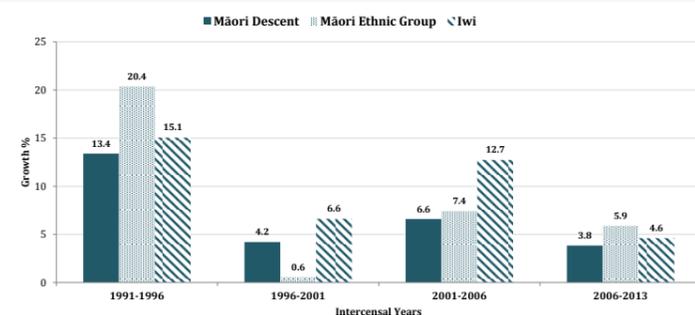
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CHANGES IN IWI POPULATION GROWTH

The rest of this brief focuses on changes in the iwi identified population. Between 1996 and 2013 the number of Māori reporting an iwi increased by 45 per cent. This was substantially higher than the increase in either the Māori descent or Māori ethnic groups (31 and 38 per cent respectively). As Figure 2 shows, the biggest increase in iwi affiliation occurred between 1991 and 1996. This was also the case for the Māori descent and Māori ethnic groups. It is likely that changes to the wording of the three identity questions encouraged higher than usual Māori responses.

Figure 2: Intercensal growth (%) of Māori population groups, 1991-2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand

Aside from question changes, the growth in iwi affiliation also reflects a growing awareness of whakapapa (kinship ties), and a greater willingness to express those connections in a census context. While natural increase—the excess of births over deaths—is the engine of Māori population growth, many iwi have experienced growth that cannot be explained by natural increase alone. While not shown here, the growth patterns for individual iwi have been quite volatile, and only appear to be loosely connected to the timing of financial settlements (Kukutai & Rarere 2013). Among adults, ‘new’ iwi members are disproportionately female, which has resulted in female favoured sex ratios in most iwi (see page three).



Signing of Waikato-Tainui 1995 Deed of Settlement

MULTIPLE IWI AFFILIATION

Historically, intermarriage across iwi boundaries was a way of fostering peace and strengthening alliances (Wanhalla, 2012). With the rapid urbanization of Māori that occurred after World War II, the opportunities to partner with Māori from other iwi greatly increased. The ambilateral kinship system means that Māori can and do trace their whakapapa through both maternal and paternal lines, and most iwi authorities allow their members to register with multiple iwi. This is quite different from the United States where Native Americans are typically only allowed to be registered members of one tribe (Thornton, 1997).

In New Zealand the census allows for up to five iwi responses. As Table 2 shows, the proportion of Māori descendants reporting multiple iwi has increased substantially over time. In 1996, just over 27 per cent of those stating an iwi reported at least two. By 2006, the share had increased to nearly 40 per cent. There was little change between 2006 and 2013. In general, females are

Table 2: Number & proportion of iwi identified population by number specified, 1996-2013

Number specified	1996	2001	2006	2013
One iwi	310,002	292,614	316,866	332,808
Two iwi	85,560	107,274	127,080	132,291
Three or more iwi	30,672	54,591	68,379	70,842
Total iwi stated ¹	426,234	454,479	512,325	535,941
	%			
One iwi	72.7	64.4	61.8	62.1
Two iwi	20.1	23.6	24.8	24.7
Three or more iwi	7.2	12.0	13.3	13.2

Source: Statistics New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, various years

¹Excludes 'Not Elsewhere Included' & 'Don't Know'

slightly more likely than males to report more than one iwi; multiple affiliation is also more prevalent among tamariki (0-14 years) than among Māori in other age groups. In 2013, for example, nearly 43 per cent of iwi identified tamariki belonged to two or more iwi, compared to just 27 per cent of those aged 65 years and older.



KNOWLEDGE OF PEPEHA

There are a number of situations in which Māori are expected to know and express their whakapapa in some detail. This expression often takes the form of a pepeha, which includes affiliations to iwi, hapū (sub-tribe), waka (ancestral canoe), maunga (ancestral mountain) and awa (ancestral river). In 2013 the first Māori Social Survey, Te Kupenga, asked a wide array of questions on Māori identity and culture, including knowledge of pepeha. The nationally representative results are shown in Table 3. Just over 89 per cent of Māori knew their iwi, which was slightly higher than in the census. Unlike the census, however, Te Kupenga did not ask for specific details of which iwi they belonged to. More than half of Te Kupenga



Whakarewarewa marae, Rotorua
Source: Commons.wikimedia.org

Table 3: Responses to question on pepehā, Te Kupenga 2013

Tribal Identity	Number	%
Hapū	290,500	54.8
Maunga	309,500	58.4
Awa	296,500	55.9
Waka	277,500	52.4
Tipuna	291,500	55.0
Marae Tipuna	371,000	70.0
All	205,500	38.8
None	45,500	8.6
Total	530,000	100.0

Source: Statistics NZ Te Kupenga Māori Social Survey, 2013; weighted data.

respondents said that they knew their maunga, awa, waka or tipuna (founding ancestor). For many Māori the marae remains a place of significance, with 70 per cent reporting that they knew their ancestral marae. While not shown here, nearly 90 per cent of those who knew their marae tipuna had visited it at some stage. Overall, the proportion of Māori who knew every aspect of their pepeha was modest, at just below 40 per cent. However the share not knowing any part of their pepeha was very low at less than 10 per cent.

MANA WĀHINE: THE INFLUENCE OF MĀORI WOMEN ON IWI IDENTIFICATION

How does iwi identification in the census differ by sex? Table 4 shows the ratio of males to females in the iwi identified population for 2001-2013, along with ratios for comparator groups. Ratios below one indicate a deficit of males relative to females. For all Māori sub-groups there were more females than males, and the difference increased over time. Sex ratios were most skewed for the iwi identified population. Gendered differences in life expectancies, migration and the census undercount are contributing factors (Callister, Didham & Bedford, 2006; Statistics NZ, 2014). However these factors alone cannot explain why sex ratios are more female favoured for iwi than for Māori generally. The difference points to the influence of gendered patterns of iwi identification; in a census context Māori women are more likely to report an iwi than Māori men. This may reflect broader gender differences with respect to the role of women, and particularly mothers, as cultural transmitters within their whānau. As Table 5 shows, sex ratios are especially skewed at ages 25-49 years. While sex ratios for specific iwi are not shown here, in 2013 the ratio of men to women in some age groups were as low as .65.

Table 4: Sex ratios (M:F), 1991-2013

Population	2001	2006	2013
Descent	0.94	0.93	0.92
MEG	0.96	0.95	0.93
Iwi	0.91	0.90	0.89
New Zealand	0.95	0.95	0.95

Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings, various years

Table 5: Sex ratios of the iwi identified population by age group, 2001-2013

Age Groups	2001	2006	2013
0-14	1.04	1.04	1.05
15-24	0.88	0.87	0.90
25-49	0.81	0.80	0.78
50-64	0.90	0.88	0.83
65+	0.81	0.81	0.81
Total	0.91	0.90	0.89

Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings, various years

