

MĀORI
WOMEN
IN FOCUS

“Titiro hāngai, ka mārama”

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Te Puni Kōkiri
Ministry of Māori
Development



MINISTRY OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS
MINITATANGA MŌ NGĀ WĀHINE

INTRODUCTION

Māori women's life experiences have changed dramatically over the last half of the 20th century. In the 1950s, the Māori female population was predominantly young and largely rural. Māori women¹ left school early and were likely to marry and have children at a young age (Pool 1991). Some entered the workforce but very few went on to further education and training.

Throughout the 1960s, many Māori families moved from rural to urban areas. During this time, Māori women were more likely than non-Māori women to participate in the labour force as they took advantage of opportunities in rapidly expanding industries (Statistics New Zealand 1994). Although the education status of the Māori population was low, the availability of a large range of low-skilled occupations meant that both Māori men and women had the opportunity to participate in the labour force, and two-parent, two-income Māori families were relatively common at this time.

Economic restructuring and state sector reforms in the 1980s had a major impact on industries and occupations where Māori women were most concentrated. Since then, the decline in job opportunities, combined with increased responsibilities for parenting (as a result of the increase in one-parent families), has limited Māori women's access to employment. In turn, this has had an impact on the socio-economic status of Māori families. As we move into the 21st century, education, training, and retraining will play a critical role in improving the social and economic wellbeing of Māori women, and ultimately of Māori families.

One of Government's key strategic objectives is to extend economic and social opportunities by significantly improving the health, employment, education and housing status of Māori. A key factor in achieving this objective will be the ability of mainstream agencies to accurately assess the needs of Māori women and their families and develop and target interventions which meet these needs. To date such an approach has been hindered by a lack of information on Māori women. This report is intended as a first step towards filling this information gap.

This report was prepared by Te Puni Kōkiri in collaboration with the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The information base on Māori women provided here will be updated regularly. This report gives an overview of key issues affecting Māori women's lives in terms of demographic trends, family formation, education and training, work, and income. The Census has been used as the primary data source.²

¹ In this report, the term 'women' includes females of all ages unless otherwise stated.

² Because of issues with analysing recent ethnicity health data, this report includes little about Māori women's health.

KEY FACTS

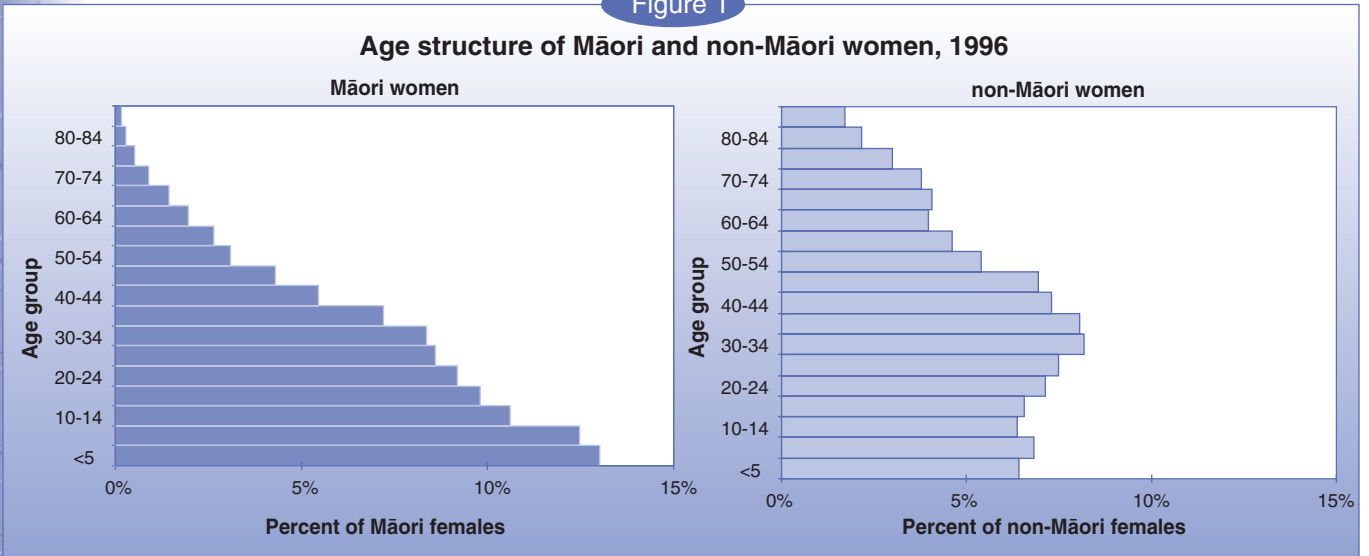
- Life expectancy of Māori girls at birth has been steadily increasing from 56 years in 1952 to 73 years in 1992 but remains lower than that for non-Māori girls.
- By 2046, 14% of Māori women will be aged over 65, compared with only 3% in 1996.
- On average, Māori women have more children than non-Māori women, have far fewer children now than they had in the 1960s, and Māori women have more children than non-Māori women.
- While most Māori women live in urban areas, they are less likely than non-Māori women to do so. Only 35% of Māori women live in the five largest cities of New Zealand, compared with 50% of non-Māori women.
- One in five Māori women lives as part of an extended family household, the most common being the three or more generations family.
- Almost half of Māori women aged 16 and over do not have any dependent children.
- Māori women tend to have their children at a younger age than non-Māori women, and so have quite different patterns of participation in post-compulsory education and training, and in the labour force.
- Between 1990 and 1997, the number of enrolments of Māori girls in early childhood education services increased by 33%. Te kōhanga reo is the single largest early childhood education provider for Māori girls.
- The number of Māori women enrolled in formal tertiary education has increased dramatically, more than doubling over the last eight years.
- Māori women are vulnerable to unemployment. In 1996 the unemployment rate for Māori women was 19% compared with 7% for non-Māori women.
- Māori women in the labour force continue to be concentrated in low employment growth sectors.
- Forty-one percent of Māori children aged 0–14 live in families with an income of less than \$20,000, compared with about 20% of non-Māori children.
- Māori women are more likely than non-Māori women to undertake unpaid work outside the home.

Population

Numbering 265,000 in 1996, Māori women³ make up 14% of all women in New Zealand, and 7% of the total New Zealand population. By 2046, the number of Māori women is expected to reach 480,000. By this time, Māori women will comprise 21% of the total population of women and 11% of the total New Zealand population⁴. Māori women outnumber Māori men (by 7,500) and have a higher life expectancy at birth (Figure 3). These gender differences also occur in the non-Māori population.

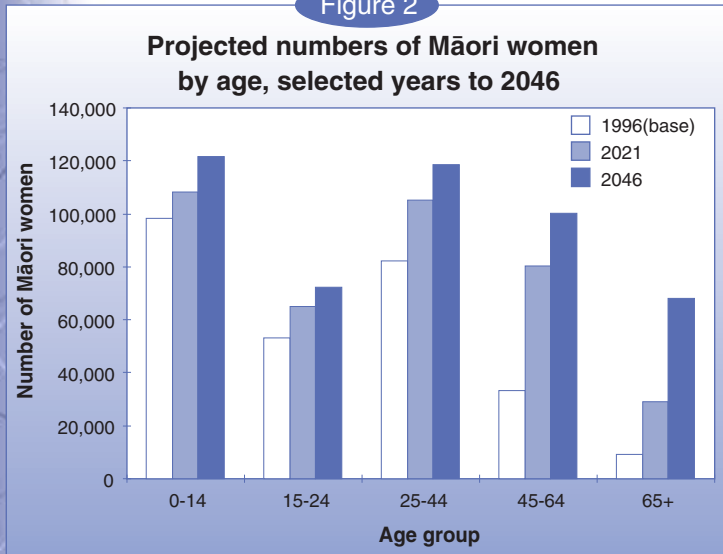
The Māori female population is relatively young. In 1996, 36% of Māori women were younger than 15 and only 3% were 65 and over. The comparable figures for non-Māori women were 20% and 15% respectively (Figure 1).

Figure 1



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, d

Figure 2



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998j

Over the next 50 years, the population of Māori women is expected to get progressively older. A marked increase in numbers is expected in the 45 and over age group, but growth will be most rapid in the oldest age group. Over the period, the number of Māori women 65 years and over is expected to increase seven-fold. By comparison, growth in the numbers of young Māori women will be slower. The number of 0-14 year-olds will increase by just over 20% and the 15-24 year-old population is expected to increase by about a third (Figure 2). Nevertheless, in the future the Māori female population will continue to remain younger than the non-Māori female population.

³ Refer to footnote one.

⁴ A more detailed analysis of demographic trends is available in the report *Māori Towards 2000* (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998a).

Growth in the number of women in different age groups can be attributed to changes in fertility in earlier decades, and improving life expectancy. Compared with the 1960s, Māori fertility is currently very low. Between 1962 and 1983 the Māori total fertility rate fell from 6.2 to 2.2 births per woman, and has remained relatively stable since (Table 1). The rate is expected to continue at its current level until 2007 when it is projected to drop slightly to 2.1.

Declining fertility has been accompanied by steadily improving life expectancy. In 1992, a new-born Māori girl could expect to live 73 years, compared with 56 in 1952 (Figure 3). This gain results from declining infant mortality in the early part of the period, followed by a reduction in mortality in the middle and older age groups from 1970 to the early 1990s. Over the years, the difference in the life expectancy at birth between Māori and non-Māori girls has decreased, from 17 years in 1952 to six years in 1992 (Figure 3).

Geographical distribution

Consistent with the regional distribution of the total Māori population, over half of all Māori women (58%) live in the northern half of the North Island. A quarter of all Māori women are located in the Auckland region and another quarter are in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions. Much smaller proportions of Māori women live in the more rural regions of Gisborne, Northland, Hawke's Bay and Manawatu (Figure 4). However in some regions such as Gisborne and Northland, Māori women make up a high proportion of all the women living in these regions.

Table 1

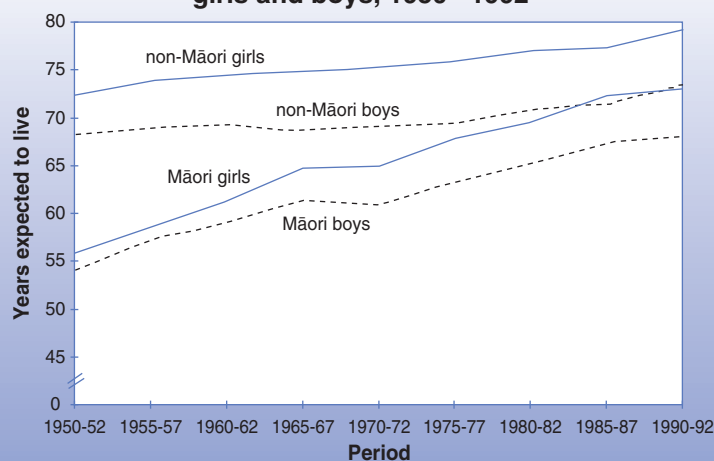
Total fertility rates of Māori and non-Māori women, selected years 1962–1995

Year	Total fertility rate per woman	
	Māori	non-Māori
1962	6.18	4.04
1971	5.05	3.01
1974	3.58	2.49
1977	2.98	2.13
1980	2.43	1.98
1983	2.23	1.87
1986	2.14	1.93
1989	2.21	2.10
1992	2.29	2.10
1995	2.38	1.99

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998e, i
 Note: From 1 September 1995 a new ethnicity question was asked on the birth registration form. This new question (based on the concept of self identification), may collect more Māori births than the previous 'degree of blood question'. As a result, 1995 data is not comparable with earlier years and any change in patterns from this date may reflect definitional changes rather than an actual change in fertility.

Figure 3

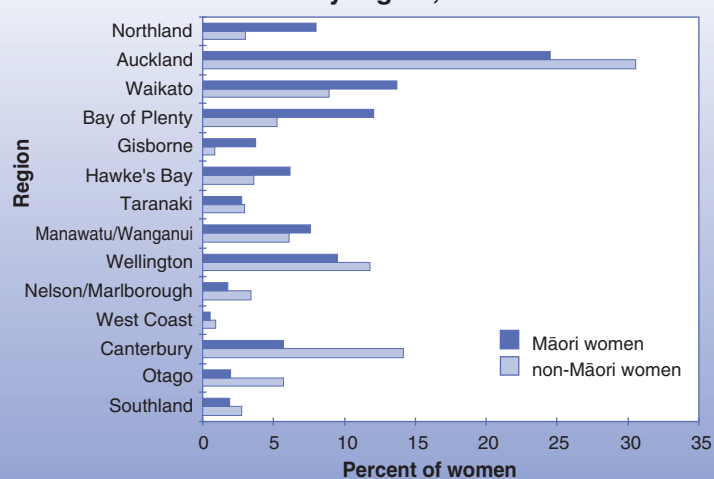
Life expectancy at birth of Māori and non-Māori girls and boys, 1950–1992



Source: Pōmare et al 1995

Figure 4

Distribution of Māori and non-Māori women by region, 1996



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, e

Table 2

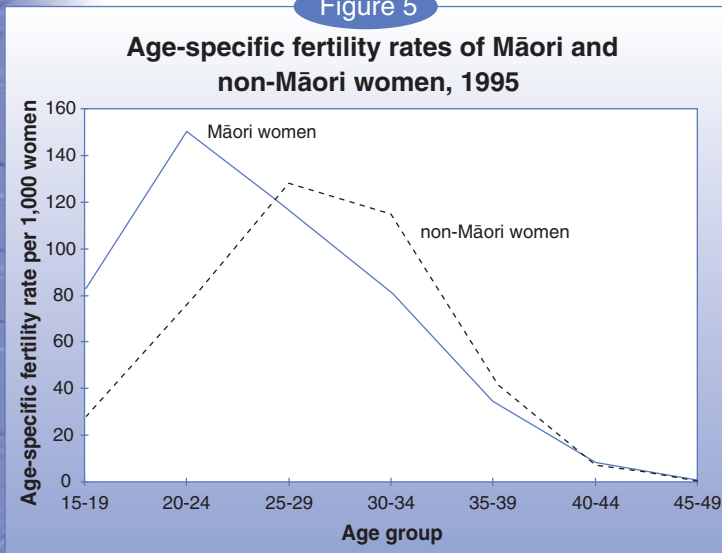
Distribution of Māori and non-Māori women in New Zealand, 1996		
Area	Māori women (%)	non-Māori women (%)
Five largest urban centres	35.3	50.0
Other main urban areas	27.7	23.1
Secondary urban areas	7.0	5.7
Minor urban areas	13.8	7.8
Rural areas	16.2	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998h

In the 1990s, most Māori live in urban areas. However, as Table 2 shows, Māori women are more likely than non-Māori women to live outside the five largest urban centres. In 1996, 65% lived in provincial cities and towns, smaller urban centres, and rural areas compared with just on half of all non-Māori women. Because of their distribution, Māori women are unlikely to have the same access to services (eg, health and welfare) and education and employment opportunities, as their non-Māori counterparts.

Families and Households

Figure 5



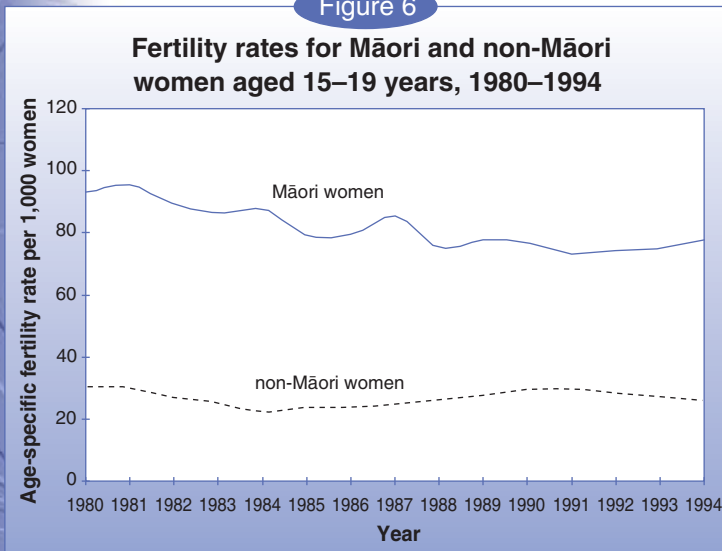
Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998i
Note: See note for Table 1.

Patterns of childbearing

Over the past four decades, there have been considerable changes in patterns of Māori family and household formation. While the fertility rate of Māori women has dropped over the last 30 years, making it more comparable to that of non-Māori women, their patterns of childbearing, particularly in terms of timing, remain very different.

Māori women are more likely to start having children in their mid-teens and early twenties, whereas non-Māori women tend to delay the birth of their first child to their late twenties and early thirties. In 1995, the fertility rate of Māori women up to age 24 was twice that of non-Māori women in the same age group. Between the ages of 25 and 44, the non-Māori fertility rate exceeded the Māori rate by varying margins, the widest difference occurring at ages 30-34 (Figure 5).

Figure 6



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998i
Note: Data for 1995 is not included as it is not comparable with earlier years. See note for Table 1.

Despite the shift towards childbearing at older ages, Māori women are much more likely than their non-Māori counterparts to have their first child before the age of 20 (Figure 6). In 1994, the fertility rate of Māori women aged 15-19 was three times higher than that of non-Māori women.

There is some evidence to suggest that Māori women, especially young women, may have a high number of unplanned pregnancies⁵. Māori women tend to have a higher abortion rate than non-Māori women (Abortion Supervisory Committee 1997). Comparatively high rates of abortion partly reflect awareness of, access to, and use of, contraception. A 1995 survey found that 19% of Māori women under the age of 50, who were not pregnant at the time and who were sexually active in the four weeks prior to the survey were not currently using any method of contraception. The comparable figure for non-Māori women was 10% (University of Waikato 1998).

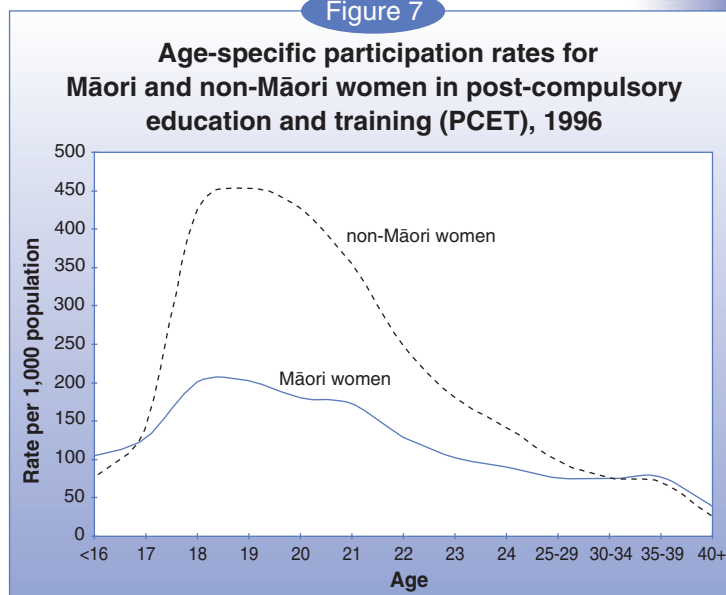
Effects of childbearing patterns

The earlier age of childbearing of Māori women helps to explain a different pattern for participation in post-compulsory education and training (PCET) and the labour force. Figure 7 shows that young Māori women are considerably less likely to be in tertiary education than young non-Māori women. Māori women aged 18–21 are less than half as likely as non-Māori women to participate in PCET. On the other hand, the participation rates of older Māori women (35+ years) slightly exceed those of their non-Māori peers. This suggests that many Māori women may not be able to participate in PCET until then for a range of reasons, such as caring for preschool children.

Lower levels of participation in education and training impact in turn on the ability of Māori women to compete in the labour market and ultimately, influence the economic position of Māori families. Māori women have lower levels of labour force participation than non-Māori women, particularly in their twenties (Figure 8). Many young Māori women cannot access employment opportunities because of childcare, other family commitments, or other reasons. In line with trends in tertiary education participation, Māori women's labour force participation rates start to increase after age 34, once their children are older.

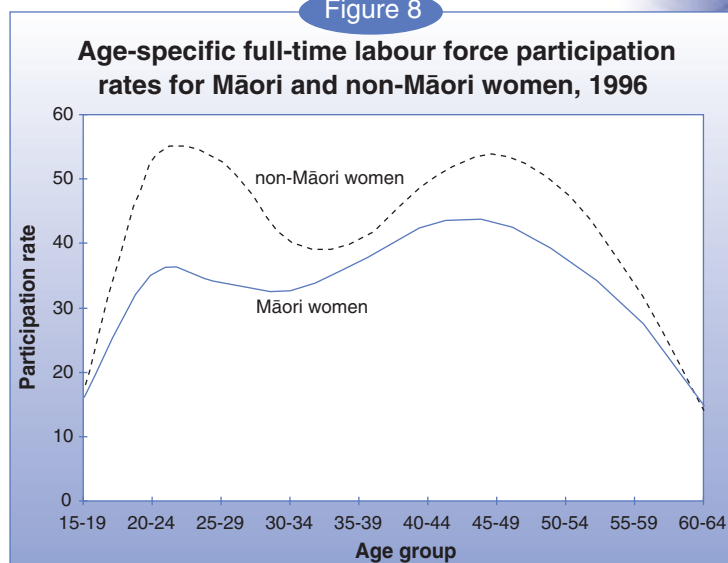
By comparison, non-Māori women move into and out of the full-time labour force. This is referred to as the 'm-shaped' curve (Figure 8). Many non-Māori women enter the full-time labour force only after they have completed study, in their twenties. In their late twenties and early thirties, many non-Māori women either leave the full-time labour force or switch to the part-time labour force, to care for preschool children. They return to the full-time or part-time labour force in their late thirties and early forties.

Figure 7



Source: Ministry of Education 1996, 1997b; Statistics New Zealand 1998j

Figure 8



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, 1998a

⁵ In 1995, just under half of all abortions were performed on women under 25 years of age.

Family structure

The shape and living circumstances of the family unit have been changing, and sole parent families are now much more common in both Māori and non-Māori communities than they were 20 years ago. Māori women are much more likely than non-Māori women to be raising children on their own. In 1996, about 43% of Māori women with dependent children were sole parents, compared with 19% of non-Māori women.

Table 3

Number and percent of Māori and non-Māori children in one- and two-parent families, 1996				
Family type	Māori children		non-Māori children	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
One-parent	76,677	41	102,627	18
Two-parent	109,662	59	481,527	82
Total	186,339	100	584,154	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1996, 1997c, 1998b

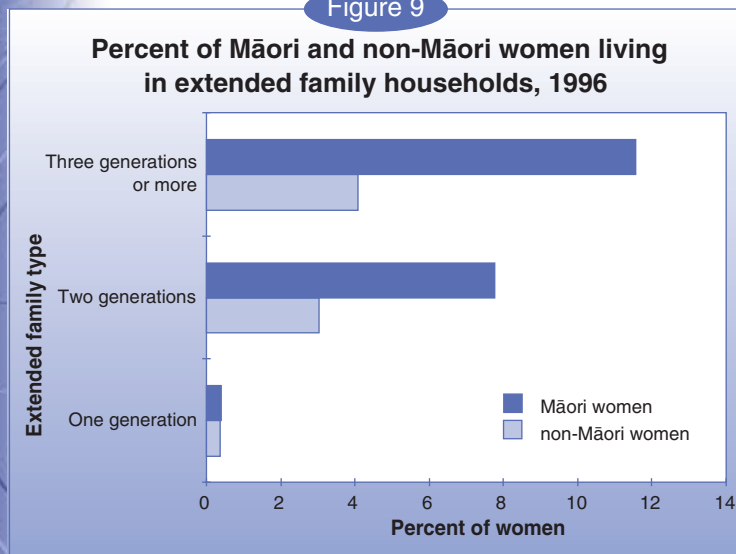
While there was a sharp increase in the proportion of Māori children being raised in one-parent families between 1981 and 1991 (from 19% to 39%), the proportion increased by only two percentage points between 1991 and 1996 (reaching 41%). With a gap as wide as this, it is only too easy to overlook the fact that nearly 60% of Māori children are being brought up in two-parent families (Table 3).

Living arrangements

In 1996, about one in every three Māori women living with a partner was in a de facto relationship, compared to one in seven non-Māori women. Higher rates of de facto relationships among Māori, especially older Māori women, may be due in part to traditional Māori views that the legal status of marriage is less important. However, given commonly held stereotypes about the high numbers of Māori in de facto relationships, it should be noted that 68% of partnered Māori women are legally married.

Nearly 50% of Māori women aged 16 and over have no dependent children. Three-quarters of these women live in family households (eg, in one- or two-parent households, or in households of two or more families). The comparative figure for non-Māori women is similar, at 72%. Māori women without dependent children are three times more likely than non-Māori women to live in households containing two or more families (12% of Māori women compared with 4% of non-Māori women).

Figure 9



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997b

Over two-thirds (69%) of Māori mothers with dependent children (whether partnered or unpartnered) live with their children in a one-family household. The remainder live in households with other people. In 1996, one-third of Māori women with children were living in a shared household compared to only 14% of non-Māori women.

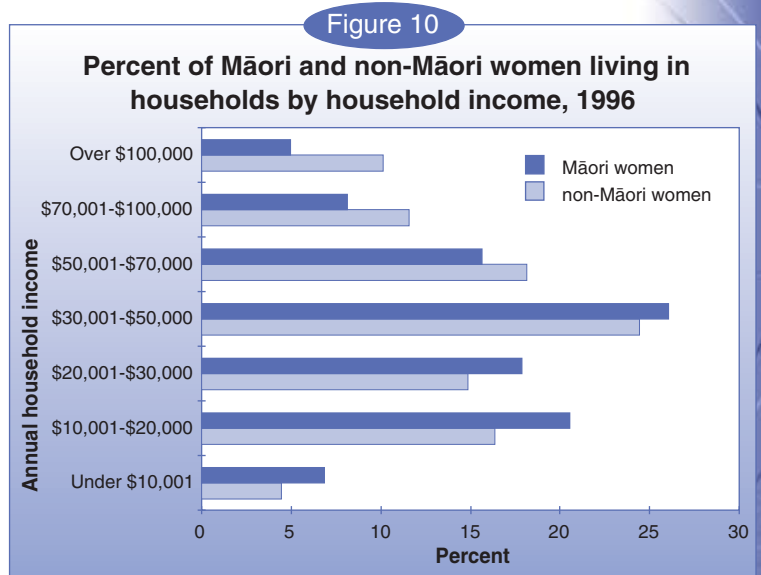
While not all shared households constitute extended families, the most recent census suggests that extended family households are still common for many Māori women.⁶ At the time of the 1996 Census, one in every five Māori women lived as part of an extended family household, the most common form being the three or more generations family. Moreover, Māori women were more than twice as likely as non-Māori women to live in a two-generation or three or more generations or more family (Figure 9).

⁶ Published figures relate to Māori females of all ages and do not give breakdowns by age or by parental status.

Economic position of Māori women and their families

Māori families are over-represented by a considerable margin at the lower end of the family income scale. In 1996, 62,000 Māori children aged 0–14 (41% of all Māori children in this age group) were in families with an annual income of less than \$20,000. Among non-Māori children, the proportion was about 20%. Differences in childbearing patterns account for a large part of the difference in the economic position of Māori and non-Māori families.

Household income is another measure of the socio-economic position of women. In 1996, 45% of Māori women lived in households that had an annual income before tax of \$30,000 or less (Figure 10). For non-Māori women this figure was 36%. In contrast, only 13% of Māori women, compared with 22% of non-Māori women, lived in households with an annual income over \$70,000.



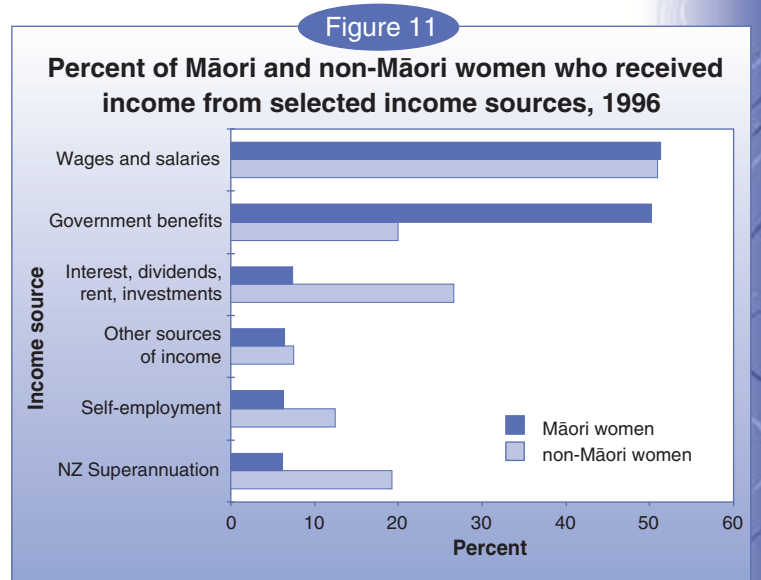
Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997b

Sources of personal income

One of the factors contributing to the different income levels of Māori and non-Māori women is undoubtedly the disproportionately high number of Māori women receiving government benefits. In 1996, one in every two Māori women aged 15 and over received a government benefit in the 12 months before the Census compared with one in five non-Māori women (Figure 11). For many of those Māori women who received a benefit, especially sole parents, this would have been their only source of income over that period.

About 51% of both Māori and non-Māori women received income from wages and salaries, but Māori women were less likely than non-Māori women to receive income from interest and other investments, New Zealand Superannuation, and self-employment.

The difference in age structure between the Māori and non-Māori population contributes to the differences in their sources of income. Recent work has found that, after adjusting for these differences Māori women and men are still more likely than their non-Māori peers to receive the unemployment and domestic purposes benefit, and are equally likely to receive New Zealand Superannuation (Statistics New Zealand 1998g).



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, 1998c

Note: People can receive income from more than one source.

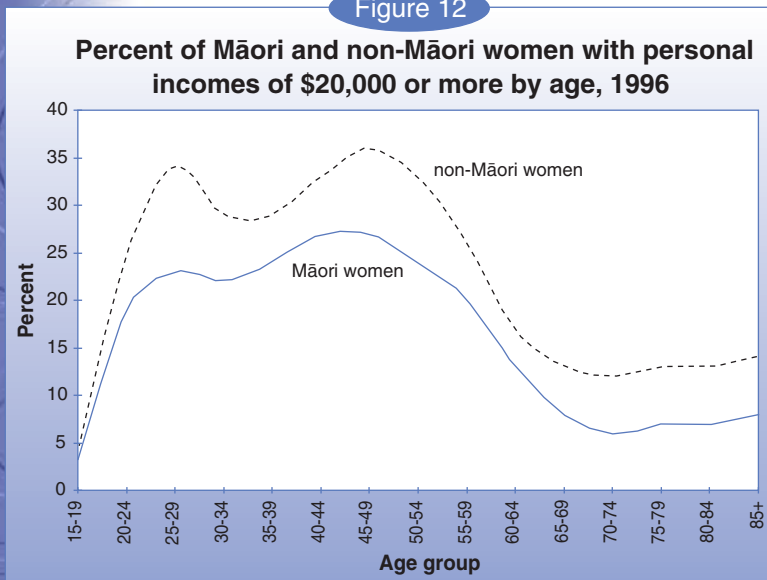
'Government benefits' includes domestic purposes benefit, sickness benefit, and 'other' government benefits. 'Other sources of income' includes regular ACC payments, other superannuation, pensions and annuities, and 'other' sources of income.

Table 4

Distribution of Māori and non-Māori women's personal incomes, 1996		
Income group	Māori women (%)	non-Māori women (%)
Under \$10,001	44.5	38.8
\$10,001–\$20,000	33.0	30.5
\$20,001–\$30,000	14.3	16.0
\$30,001–\$40,000	5.4	8.6
\$40,001–\$50,000	1.7	3.2
Over \$50,000	1.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998c

Figure 12



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998h

Table 5

Qualification status of Māori and non-Māori women aged 15 years and over, 1996		
Highest qualification gained	Māori women (%)	non-Māori women (%)
No qualifications	47.2	33.1
School qualification	31.4	35.1
Vocational qualification	11.5	18.0
Graduate qualification	1.9	5.4
Post-graduate qualification	0.6	2.5

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997a

Note: Percentages do not add up to 100% as the 'Not Specified' category is excluded.

Personal income levels

Māori women's personal incomes are considerably lower than those of non-Māori women. In 1986, the inflation-adjusted median income of Māori women was almost the same as that of non-Māori women. By 1996, however, Māori women had a median personal income of \$11,200, compared with \$12,800 for non-Māori women.

Following the pattern of the general population, Māori men have a higher median income than Māori women (\$4,800 higher in 1996). Moreover, the median income of Māori men was significantly lower than that of non-Māori men, with a difference in 1996 of \$6,800, a gap considerably wider than that of \$1,600 between Māori and non-Māori women.

Nearly 78% of all Māori women who specified their income in the 1996 Census received \$20,000 or less in the previous 12 months and only 3% had an annual income over \$40,000 (Table 4). The equivalent figures for non-Māori women were 69% and 6% respectively.

Income levels are age-related. Since Māori women have a younger age profile than non-Māori women, they will not, as a group, have the same earning capacity as non-Māori women. The difference in the percentage of Māori and non-Māori women receiving more than \$20,000 personal income is relatively low for women aged under 25, but is more marked in the middle and older age groups (Figure 12).

Education

The past decade has been characterised by increasing levels of participation by Māori girls and women at all levels of education. The number of enrolments of Māori girls in early childhood education services has grown, young Māori women are now more likely to remain in school to senior levels, and the number of Māori women tertiary students has doubled.

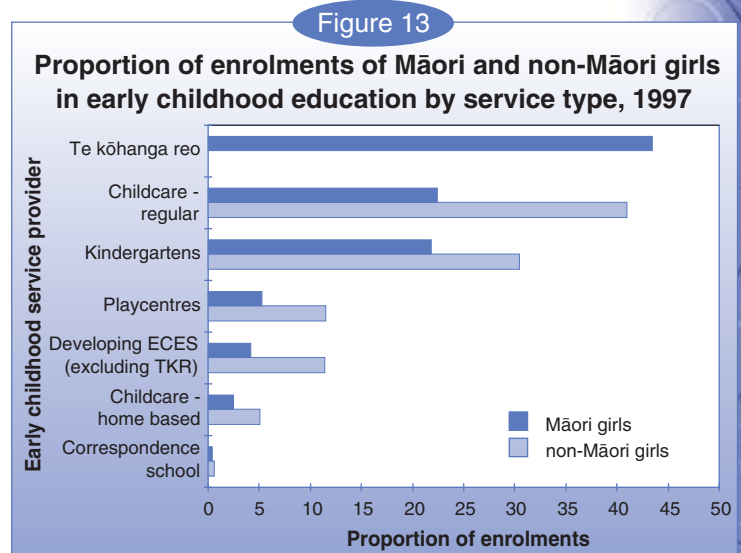
However, comparable improvements for non-Māori women and girls have meant that the gap in educational achievement between Māori and non-Māori women has not closed. Table 5 shows that, in 1996, Māori women aged 15 and over remained less likely than their non-Māori counterparts to hold a school qualification, were about half as likely to have a tertiary qualification and were far more likely to have no qualifications.

Early childhood education⁷

Attendance at quality preschool programmes has a major impact on a child's acquisition of knowledge and skills (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment 1994). Access to early childhood education services also affects the ability of women with young children to participate in the labour force.

Between 1990 and 1997, the number of enrolments of Māori girls in early childhood education services grew by 33% from 11,000 to 14,700. Within this, the number enrolled in te kōhanga reo rose from 5,000 to 6,400, an increase of 28%. Despite this growth, only 41% of Māori girls participate in early childhood education, compared to 64% of non-Māori girls.⁸

Figure 13 shows that te kōhanga reo is the single largest early childhood education provider for Māori girls, accounting for 43% of enrolments of Māori girls in early childhood services. Kindergartens and childcare centres were the next most popular early childhood services, each having 22% of enrolments of Māori girls in 1997. Between 1990 and 1997 the proportion of enrolments of Māori girls in kindergartens dropped, while the proportion regularly attending childcare centres increased.

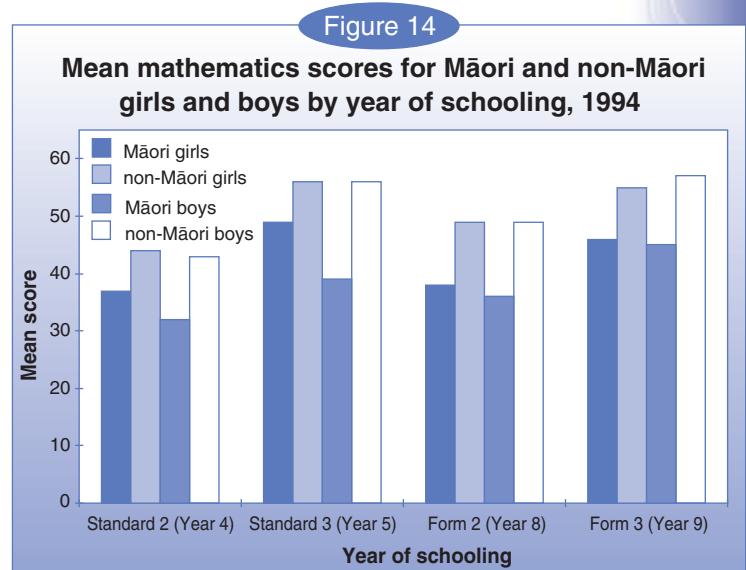


Source: Ministry of Education 1998a
 Note: ECES - Early Childhood Education Services; TKR - Te kōhanga reo

The school years

Achievement

Until recently, there has been very little information available on the achievement of Māori children in their primary and intermediate schooling years. However, results from recent research⁹ indicate that low levels of participation by young Māori women in maths and science in senior secondary and tertiary education are consistent with patterns of achievement in primary schools. Figure 14 shows that, as early as Year 4 (Standard 2), differences between the mathematics achievement of Māori and non-Māori are evident. While Māori girls do better than Māori boys in middle primary school, the gap narrows at secondary school. On the other hand, non-Māori boys and girls achieve at similar levels, and these levels are higher than those of their Māori peers. A similar pattern is evident in science.



Source: Ministry of Education 1997a

⁷ Types of early childhood education include kindergartens, playcentres (both licensed and unlicensed), childcare centres, the Correspondence School, te kōhanga reo (both licensed and developing), Early Childhood Development Unit (ECDU) funded playgroups, and Pacific Island language groups.

⁸ Due to dual enrolments, rates of participation in early childhood education services can only be considered 'apparent' or 'estimated'. Participation rates may therefore be inflated.

⁹ The Third International Mathematics and Science Study which was conducted during October 1994 (Ministry of Education 1997a).

Secondary school participation

Since 1986, young Māori women have been consistently more likely than young Māori men to remain at school beyond the compulsory school leaving age.¹⁰ The same pattern of gender participation is true for non-Māori. A significant improvement in the retention rates of Māori has occurred over the past decade, particularly for 16 and 17 year-olds. Factors which have contributed to improved Māori school retention include: raising the school leaving age, fewer employment opportunities for unskilled school leavers, and changes made to income support criteria.

Table 6

Estimated percent of young Māori and non-Māori women enrolled at school beyond compulsory leaving age, 1991–1998				
Year	Young Māori women (%)		Young non-Māori women (%)	
	16 years	17 years	16 years	17 years
1991	71.2	37.7	91.4	58.8
1992	73.2	44.3	91.1	68.1
1993	71.5	44.4	90.7	66.9
1994	73.1	43.5	89.2	66.9
1995	72.0	43.3	87.7	64.9
1996	67.3	40.7	90.4	66.4
1997	68.0	40.3	91.2	68.1
1998	74.8	43.2	91.8	70.6

Source: Ministry of Education 1997a, 1998a

However, the retention rates of young Māori women still fall well below those of young non-Māori women. In 1998, 75% of young Māori women aged 16 remained at school, compared to 92% of their non-Māori peers. The proportion of young Māori and non-Māori women staying on at school improved considerably during the late 1980s and early 1990s, but with declining unemployment the proportion leaving school early stabilised in the 1990s (Table 6).

Secondary school achievement

Māori who are at school at the senior levels are less likely than non-Māori to sit national examinations. In 1997, 69% of young Māori women who entered secondary school in 1994 sat their School Certificate exams, compared with 94% of young non-Māori women. Differences between the two groups are wider at both the Sixth Form Certificate and Bursary levels and reflect the lower retention of young Māori women to senior school.

Furthermore, those young Māori women who sit national examinations are, on average, awarded far lower grades than young non-Māori women, and this is true across all senior school examinations. For example, of those young Māori women sitting School Certificate in 1997, 14% were awarded A or B grades. The comparable figure for their non-Māori peers was 36%.

In 1997, young Māori women were more likely than young non-Māori women to sit Sixth Form Certificate te reo rangatira, computer studies, physical education, and typing and less likely to sit English, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, and geography. A higher proportion of young Māori women than young Māori men sat Sixth Form Certificate English, biology, and typing, and a lower proportion sat physics and mathematics. This pattern was consistent across the general population.

Table 7

Proportion of Māori and non-Māori school leavers going on to post-compulsory education and training (PCET) by education sector and gender, 1996 school leavers				
Education sector	Young women		Young men	
	Māori (%)	non-Māori (%)	Māori (%)	non-Māori (%)
College of Education	1.2	2.2	0.3	0.4
Polytechnic	12.9	19.4	10.9	18.7
University	8.5	27.3	6.3	22.8
Wānanga	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.1
Private Training Establishment	1.2	3.3	0.4	1.6
Training Opportunities Programmes	15.9	3.9	19.2	4.5
All sectors	40.6	56.2	37.6	48.2

Source: Ministry of Education 1998b

¹⁰ School is compulsory for children aged 6-16 years. The school leaving age was raised from 15 to 16 years in 1993.

Progression from school to post-compulsory education and training (PCET)

The proportion of young Māori women school leavers enrolling in post-compulsory education and training (PCET) directly from school has been relatively constant throughout the 1990s. Forty one percent of the young Māori women who left school in 1996 enrolled in PCET in 1997. Young Māori women are more likely than young Māori men to enrol in PCET directly from school, but as Table 7 shows, they are less likely than young non-Māori women to do so. Young Māori women school leavers were four times more likely than young non-Māori women to attend Training Opportunities Programmes (TOPs) (16% compared to 4%) but considerably less likely to enrol at university (9% compared to 27%).

Participation in formal tertiary¹¹ education

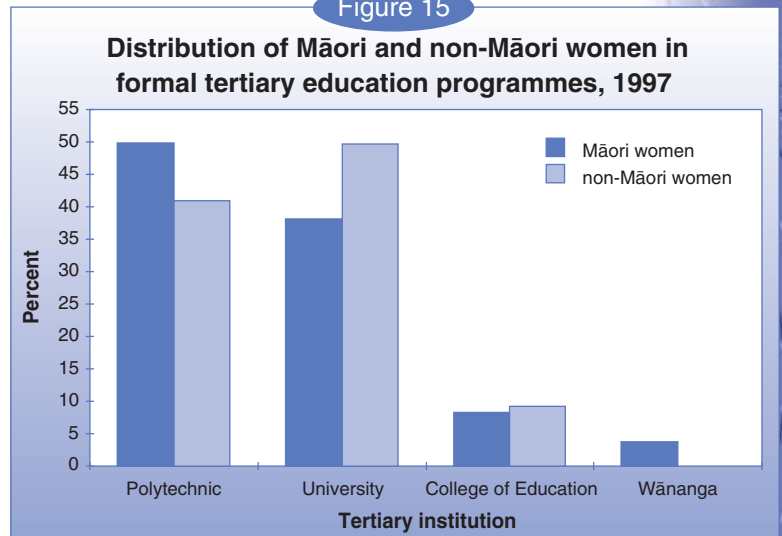
As noted earlier, the participation rates of Māori women in tertiary education are lower than those of non-Māori women and differences are most marked among students aged 18–24. Figure 15 shows that within the tertiary sector, Māori women are more likely than non-Māori women to attend a polytechnic (50% compared with 41%) but less likely to attend a university (38% as against 50%).

Between 1991 and 1997, the number of Māori women enrolled in formal tertiary education grew from 6,500 to 14,200 (representing 12% of all women enrolled in formal tertiary education compared with 9% in 1991). In relative terms, Māori women's participation in tertiary education grew at a faster rate during this period than that of non-Māori women, with the polytechnic sector experiencing the most rapid growth (Figure 16).

Subject choices

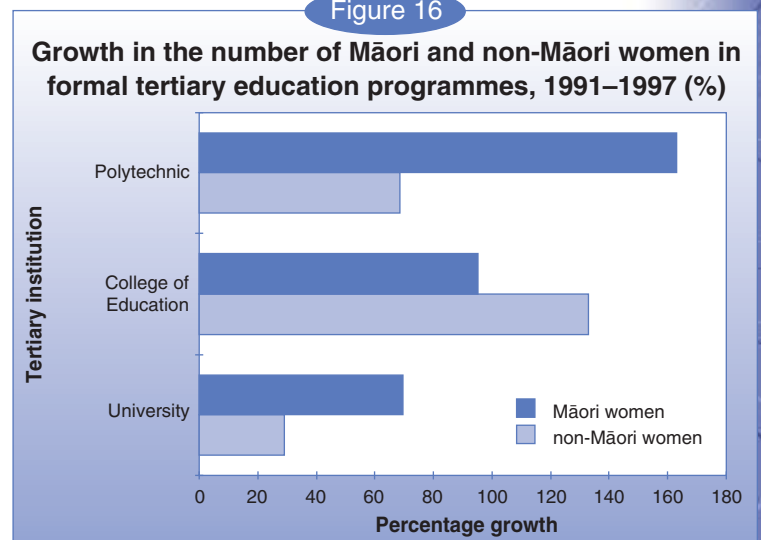
Māori women are more likely than non-Māori women to study humanities, education, and social, behavioural, and communication skills (Figure 17). In contrast, Māori women are less likely to study commerce and business, areas

Figure 15



Source: Ministry of Education 1998a

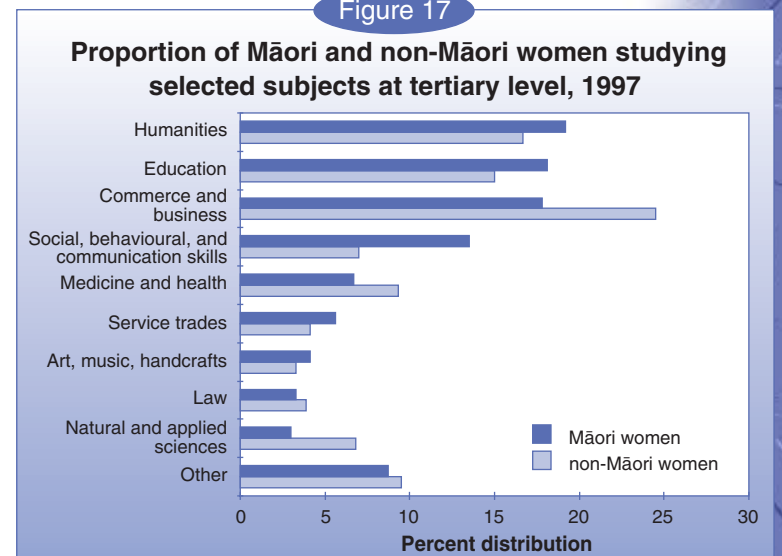
Figure 16



Source: Ministry of Education 1998b

Note: Statistics for Wānanga not officially collected until 1994 so not included.

Figure 17



Source: Ministry of Education 1998a

¹¹ 'Tertiary' institutions include Universities, Polytechnics, Colleges of Education, and Wānanga.

which are currently experiencing high rates of employment growth. Moreover, non-Māori women are more than twice as likely as Māori women to study natural and applied sciences, medicine and health.

Māori language learning

Results from the 1995 National Māori Language Survey (NMLS)¹² indicate that the Māori language is under threat of becoming a language of ritual and symbol only. Results show that 59% of Māori adults are able to speak Māori but only 8% are highly fluent speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998b). Although women make up a greater proportion of Māori who speak the language (55%), Māori men tend to be more fluent than Māori women.

The NMLS also found that fluency was lowest among young adults, and that there were very few domains in which the Māori language was spoken. Schools and te kōhanga reo were second only to the marae as places where Māori was most commonly used.

Part of the Government's commitment to ensuring the survival and revitalisation of te reo Māori is through the provision of Māori-medium education programmes. In 1997, around 27,200 Māori school students¹³ were enrolled in Māori-medium programmes,¹⁴ up from 18,000 in 1993. There is little

gender difference in the number of Māori students studying in Māori-medium schools (Ministry of Education 1999).

Table 8

Percent distribution of Māori and non-Māori women teachers by education sector, 1996			
Sector	Māori women teachers (%)	non-Māori women teachers (%)	Ability of Māori teachers to converse in Māori (%)
Early childhood education	20.1	7.7	67
Primary	45.8	51.8	48
Secondary	15.4	24.6	43
Tertiary	10.4	10.6	57
Other	8.3	5.3	n/a
Total	100.0	100.0	54

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998h
 Note: Māori conversation rates not available for 'other' Māori women teachers at the time of writing.

Māori participation in the teaching force

At the 1996 Census, 3,960 Māori women teachers worked in the education sector, representing 10% of all women teachers. The key difference in the distribution of Māori and non-Māori women teachers across the education sector is that a higher proportion of Māori women teachers are concentrated in early childhood education. Table 8 shows that Māori women are less likely to be primary and secondary teachers than non-Māori women, but equally likely to teach in the tertiary sector.

Work

Participation in the labour force

From the early 1970s until the late 1980s, Māori women were more likely to participate in the labour force than non-Māori women (Statistics New Zealand 1994). In 1986, 56% of Māori women aged 15 and over were in the labour market compared with 53% of non-Māori women. However, as recession set in and economic reforms progressed, the participation of Māori women fell sharply while that of non-Māori women remained fairly constant. By 1991, Māori women were less likely than non-Māori women to be participating in the labour force (47% compared to 52%). Economic conditions improved in the early 1990s, but it was some time before there was any noticeable improvement in Māori women's participation. By 1996, the labour force participation rate of Māori women had improved, and was again equal to that of non-Māori women (both 58%). However, Māori women remained less likely to be employed (47% compared to 54% of non-Māori).

¹² The NMLS interviewed 2,441 Māori adults (aged 16 years and over) nationwide.

¹³ Plus 4,800 non-Māori students who were also enrolled in these programmes.

¹⁴ Māori-medium programmes include students who are taught curriculum subjects in Māori.

Labour force status

Women are generally less likely to be in paid employment than men. Women tend to move in and out of the labour force and to change their hours of work as family commitments allow and as the supply of jobs fluctuates (see *Families and Households* section).

Changes in labour force participation since the mid 1980s are reflected in the changing distribution of Māori and non-Māori women across the different labour force categories (Table 9). Of particular note is the very large increase between 1986 and 1991 in the proportion of Māori women not in the labour force. This suggests that many women, discouraged by a lack of employment opportunities, may have ceased actively seeking employment and therefore would not have been counted as part of the labour force.

During the recession of the late 1980s Māori women suffered losses in both full-time and part-time employment. Although the proportion of non-Māori women in full-time employment dropped between 1986 and 1991, this was offset to some extent by a rise in part-time employment. The proportion of both populations in full-time employment increased between 1991 and 1996. However, there was a considerably lower proportion of Māori women in full-time work in 1996 (31%) than there had been in 1986 (40%).

The proportion of Māori women aged 15 and over in the part-time labour force rose steeply from 9% in 1991 to 16% in 1996. This remains lower than the level of participation of non-Māori women in the part-time labour force in 1996 (20%).

Hours of work

There is now little difference in the proportion of employed Māori and non-Māori women who work less than 30 hours per week. Between 1991 and 1996, the proportion of employed Māori women working part-time hours rose from 27% to 35% whilst that of non-Māori climbed from 32% to 36%. Thus more than one-third of Māori and non-Māori women workers now work part-time.

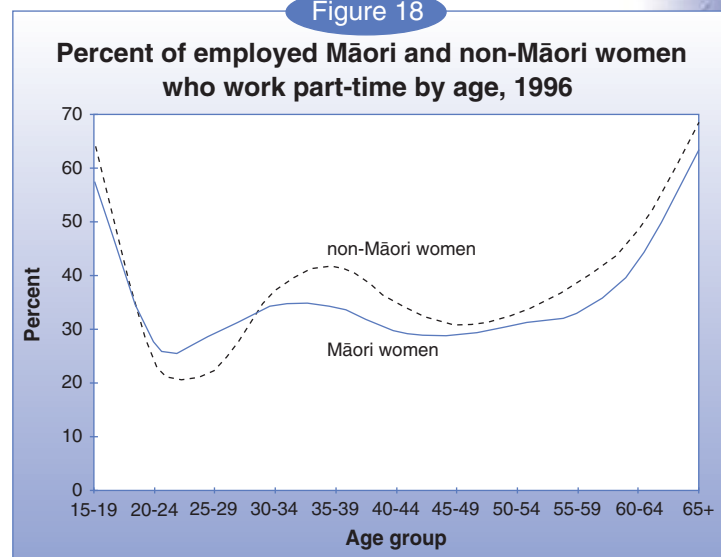
Employed Māori women are slightly less likely than non-Māori to work part-time hours in all but the 20–29 age group (Figure 18). The effects of different childbearing patterns are clear. For both populations it is women at the youngest and oldest ages that are most likely to work part-time hours.

Table 9

Labour force status of Māori and non-Māori women, 1986–1996			
Labour force status	1986 (%)	1991 (%)	1996 (%)
Māori women			
Full-time employment	39.9	25.9	30.7
Part-time employment	14.3	9.4	16.3
Unemployed	11.0	11.6	11.0
Not in the labour force	34.8	53.1	42.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
non-Māori women			
Full-time employment	34.4	32.0	34.4
Part-time employment	13.6	14.8	19.5
Unemployed	4.3	4.8	4.0
Not in the labour force	47.7	48.4	42.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1988, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1997c, 1998a

Figure 18

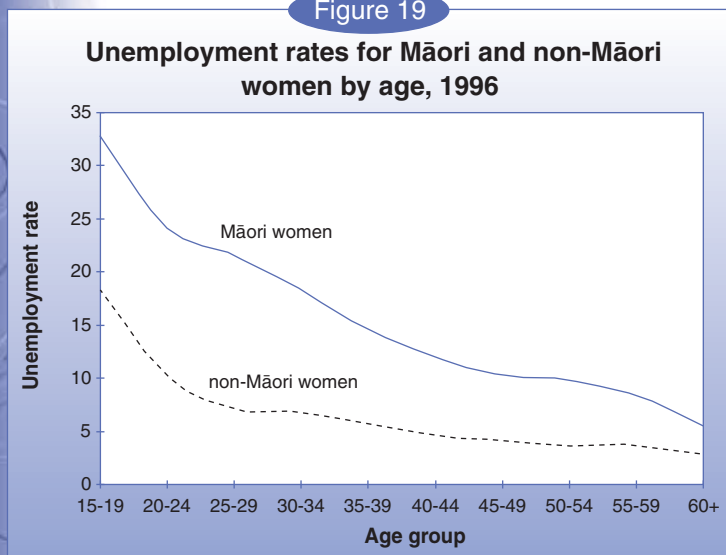


Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, 1998a

Unemployment

In the 1980s, many industries in which Māori were concentrated began shedding labour. This, together with the public sector restructuring in the latter part of the decade, gave rise to the highest levels of unemployment since the 1930s. Between 1986 and 1991, the proportion of Māori women in the labour force who were unemployed increased from 19% to 25%. As economic conditions improved, this proportion decreased again, dropping back to 19% in 1996.

Figure 19



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, 1998a

In the five years to 1996, Māori women's unemployment levels were about two and a half times those of non-Māori women. By 1996 however, the unemployment rate of Māori women was almost three times higher than that of non-Māori women (7%). At this time, Māori women made up 28% of all unemployed women, but only 12% of women in the labour force. Māori women are more likely to be unemployed than non-Māori women at all ages (Figure 19). However, it is young women in both groups who have the highest unemployment rates.

In view of the over-representation of Māori among unemployed women, it could be expected that Māori women would be well represented in programmes provided by the recently restructured Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ). However, a recent study found that relatively few Māori women participated in these programmes compared with their numbers on the unemployment register run by the New Zealand Employment Service at the time of the study, and Māori women were under-represented on the register as a whole (Fletcher 1998).

Table 10

Percent of Māori and non-Māori children aged 0–14 years in two-parent families by labour force status of parents, 1996

Labour force status of parents	Māori children (%)	non-Māori children (%)
Both in paid workforce	45.9	57.1
One in paid workforce/ other not in paid workforce	35.5	33.6
Neither in paid workforce	18.6	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1998h

Table 10 gives an indication of the differential impacts that the economic downturn has had on Māori and non-Māori families. In 1996, Māori children aged 0–14 were twice as likely as non-Māori children to be in a family where neither parent was in the paid workforce.

Distribution across industries

The 1980s was a period of rapid decline in manufacturing, the industrial sector within which Māori men and women workers were most heavily concentrated. In 1976, 32% of Māori women were working in this sector but by 1996, this proportion had fallen to 13%.

The only sector of the economy to experience growth during the 1980s and 1990s was the services sector. In 1996, the largest concentration of employed Māori women (39%) was found in the community, social, and personal services industries, all part of the services sector (Figure 20). Nevertheless, more Māori women than non-Māori are likely to be engaged in declining sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing and transport. Similarly, Māori women workers

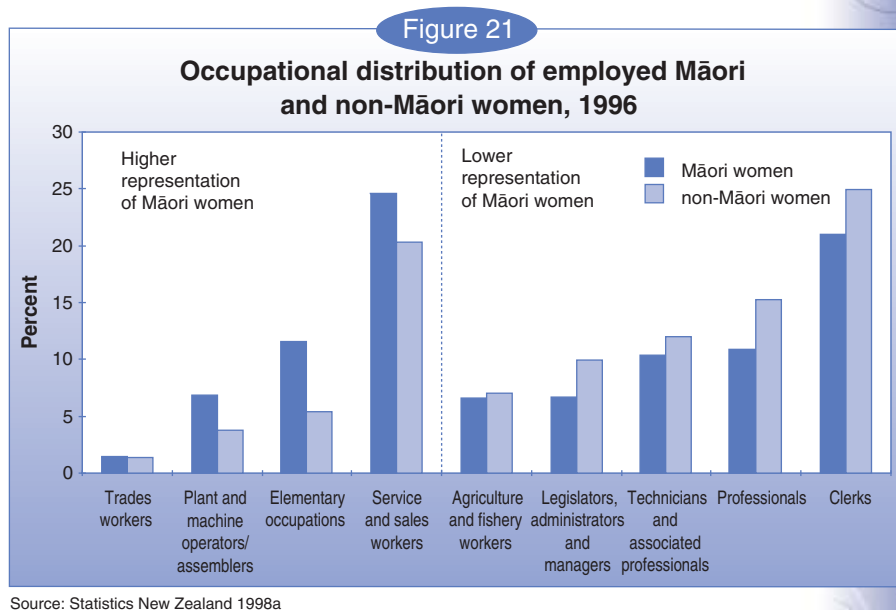
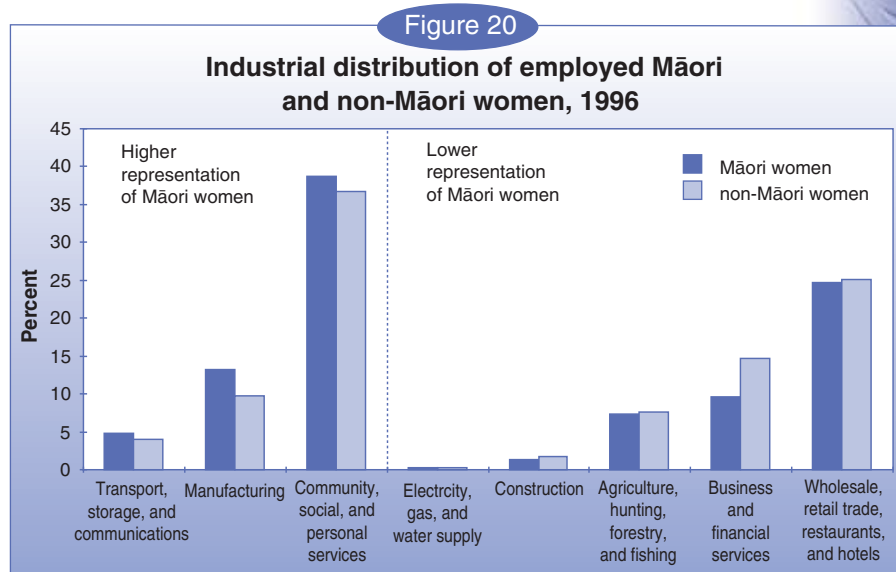
are less likely than non-Māori women workers to be engaged in high growth areas, particularly the highest growth industry of business and financial services (10% as opposed to 15%). Māori women therefore remain vulnerable to changing economic conditions.

Occupational distribution

One of the positive features of Māori women's participation in the labour force since 1991 has been the shift in occupational distribution. The number and proportion of Māori women employed as technicians and associated professionals, and legislators, administrators, and managers increased between 1991 and 1996. Over the same period, the proportion of Māori women working in elementary occupations¹⁵ decreased, even though the number of Māori women working in this occupation category had increased.

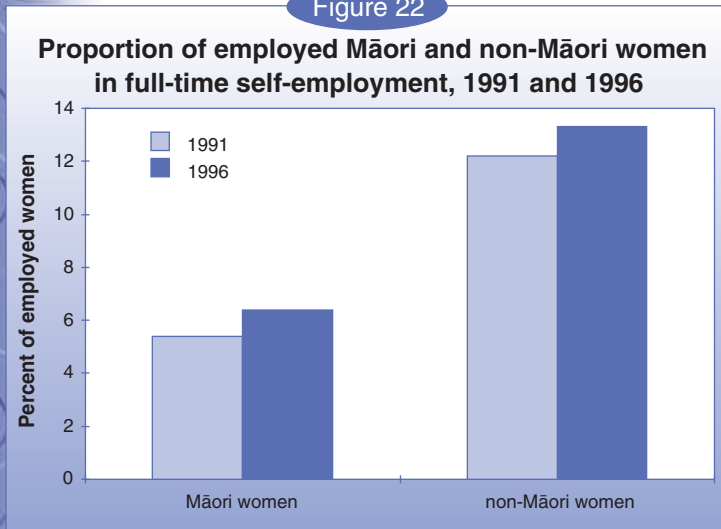
Nevertheless, considerable differences between Māori and non-Māori women remain. Māori women continue to be more likely to work in less skilled occupations. This may reflect the combined effects of the greater tendency of young Māori women to leave school with fewer qualifications, their earlier childbearing patterns, and their later entry into full-time employment. At the 1996 Census, 25% of Māori women were employed in services and sales jobs and a further 12% were in elementary occupations. Māori women were less likely than non-Māori women to be employed as technicians, professionals, and legislators, administrators, and managers (Figure 21).

Within occupational groups, there are differences between the income levels of Māori and non-Māori women. When the incomes of Māori and non-Māori women within each occupational group are compared, Māori women consistently receive less than their non-Māori counterparts. For example, in 1996 only 15% of Māori women professionals received an income of \$40,001 or more, compared with 30% of their non-Māori peers. Likewise, in the less skilled occupation groups, Māori women earned less than non-Māori women.



¹⁵ Elementary occupations as classified by the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (NZSCO) include caretakers and cleaners, couriers and deliverers, hotel porters, packers and freight handlers, and labourers.

Figure 22



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1993, 1997c, 1998a

Self-employment

By far the majority of Māori women who are employed are wage and salary earners (89% in 1996). Over the last 10 years, however, the proportion of Māori women workers who are engaged full-time in their own business rose slightly to reach 6%, or about 5,100, in 1996 (Figure 22). In contrast however, twice this proportion of non-Māori women workers (13%) were full-time self-employed in 1996.

Within the Māori population, Māori women make up an increasing proportion of all self-employed. Since 1981, this proportion has nearly doubled, rising from 16% to 31% in 1996. However, despite these trends Māori women continue to be less likely than both non-Māori women and Māori men to be full-time self-employed.

It is likely that targeted initiatives such as the Māori Women's Development Fund and Wāhine Pakari have had a positive impact on Māori women's participation in business. For example, a recent evaluation of Wāhine Pakari found that the programme had assisted Māori women and their whānau into employment, self-employment, and training opportunities (New Zealand Employment Service 1998).

Unpaid work¹⁶

Māori women have continued to be at the forefront of Māori social and cultural development despite the social and economic challenges they have faced. Māori women continue to be a major driving force behind te kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, and other Māori development initiatives. In addition, they have been actively involved with the growth in Māori programmes and service provision to Māori communities.

Much of Māori women's contribution to Māori development has been in an unpaid capacity. Figure 23 shows the high level of involvement of Māori women in a voluntary capacity in administration, training, teaching, counselling, and fund-raising. Moreover, Māori women were more likely than non-Māori women to have engaged in all of the listed types of unpaid work outside the home. According to the 1996 Census, 59% of Māori women and 53% of non-Māori women had undertaken unpaid work outside the home in the four weeks prior to the census.

In particular, the proportion of Māori women undertaking childcare¹⁷ and household work¹⁸ outside the home is relatively high.

¹⁶ More detailed information on unpaid work, including unpaid work done specifically for Māori organisations, will become available in the year 2000 from the Time Use Survey being undertaken by Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

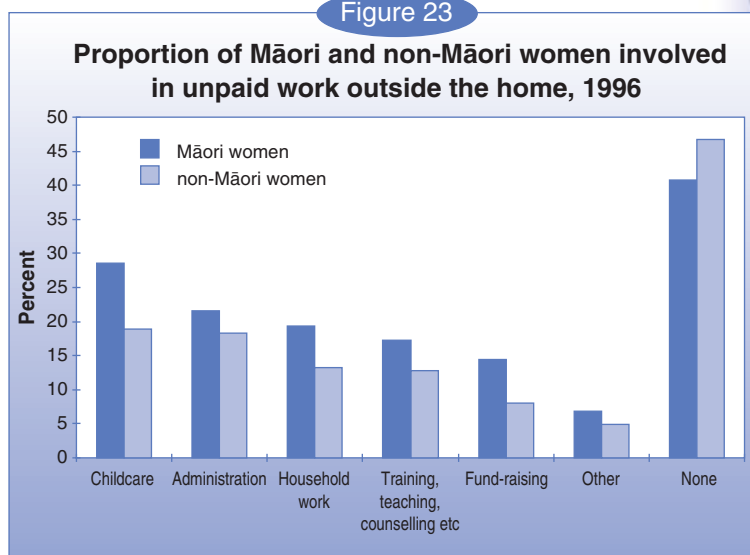
¹⁷ Defined as looking after a child who does not live in the same household, unpaid.

¹⁸ Includes unpaid household work, cooking, repairs, gardening, or looking after a person who is aged, ill or has a disability. Does not include work done in own household.

Conclusion

One of the positive aspects of Māori development over the past two decades has been that Māori women are now more likely than ever before to participate in all levels of education from early childhood through to post-compulsory education and training. Since 1991, the number of Māori women university graduates has doubled as has the proportion of Māori women among all full-time self employed Māori.

Figure 23



Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997c, 1998d
 Note: As people can undertake more than one type of unpaid work, totals do not add to 100%.

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Glossary

Dependent child: defined in the 1996 Census as a person who is aged under 18 and who is not in full-time employment.

Employed: includes all people aged 15 and over in employment for pay, profit or payment in kind, or those people who worked unpaid in a family business.

Extended family: a group of related people who usually reside together and consists of: a family nucleus and one or more other related people, or two or more related family nuclei, with or without other related people.

Family nucleus: consists of two or more people, who are members of the same household, and who comprise either a couple, or at least one parent role/child relationship, or both. The term 'family' is used as an abbreviation of 'family nucleus'.

Full-time employment: 30 hours or more of work per week.

Household: a private permanent dwelling consisting of either one person who usually resides alone or two or more people who usually reside together and share facilities. This may include non-family households such as flats, as well as couples without children. It does not include people living in establishments such as hotels, hostels or other institutions, caravans or tents, or people who are not New Zealand residents.

Household income: the average amount of money coming into the household before tax from all household members. This includes wages and salaries, welfare payments, interest, and dividends.

Labour force: all persons aged 15 and over who regularly work for one or more hours per week for financial gain, or as an unpaid worker in a family business. Also included are people who are unemployed, actively seeking and available to work either full-time or part-time.

Labour force participation rate: the percentage of the population aged 15 and over who are either employed or unemployed and actively seeking work, during the week prior to the census.

Main urban area: has a minimum population of 30,000.

Māori ethnic group: people who identify in the census as either Māori only or Māori and at least one other ethnicity (that is, sole Māori plus mixed Māori).

Māori household: a household is defined as Māori if the occupier (identified by the household members) identifies Māori as one of his or her ethnic groups. This means that a Māori household may include non-Māori members, and a non-Māori household may include Māori members.

Minor urban area: has a population ranging from 1,000 to 9,999 people.

Part-time employment: fewer than 30 hours of work per week.

Post-compulsory education and training (PCET): includes formal tertiary programmes leading to a recognized qualification, as provided by colleges of education, polytechnics, universities, wānanga and private training establishments (PTEs). It also includes other training programmes provided through training opportunities programmes (TOPs).

Real median income: median income which has been adjusted for inflation.

Rural areas: areas that are not specifically designated as 'urban' and have a population of under 1,000 people. Includes rural centres, inlets, and islands which are outside urban areas.

Secondary urban area: has a population ranging from 10,000 to 29,999 people.

Self-employed: people who work in their own business without employees and people who employ others and are known as employers.

Total fertility rate (TFR): in a particular year indicates the average number of children a woman would expect to have during her lifetime if she was exposed to the age-specific fertility rates for that year.

Unemployed: people who are not working in a paid job, business, farm or profession at census date, but have actively looked for either full-time or part-time work in the preceding four weeks and would have started work in the week preceding the census had a job been available.

Unemployment rate: the number of unemployed people expressed as a percentage of the labour force.

Women: in this report, the term 'women' includes females of all ages unless otherwise stated.

Working age population: those people aged 15 and over who are usually resident in New Zealand, and who are not in institutions.

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