

# **Ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand**

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## Introduction

One of the recommendations of Statistics New Zealand's 2004 Review of the Measurement of Ethnicity was that a programme of research on ethnicity be commenced. One of the central issues considered in the review was how best to collect, code and report dual and multiple ethnic responses. While the review recommended more use be made of single and combination ethnic groups, as well as total ethnic counts, there was still some uncertainty over the best way to report and use dual and ethnic responses. This paper provides some practical samples of the presentation of multiple response data. It is hoped these examples will stimulate further analysis which acknowledges the complexity of ethnicity. Both birth registration data and census data indicate that a small, but growing, proportion of the population report more than one ethnic group. The reportage of more than one ethnic group is particularly prevalent amongst the wider Maori and Pacific Peoples ethnic groups, but is also important amongst younger European and Asian peoples.

One reason for people recording more than one ethnic group is that they are children of either recent or distant ethnic intermarriages. While Statistics New Zealand has traditionally provided some household based data, such as the number of couples where both partners are employed, in its reportage post censuses, it has never focused on ethnic intermarriage. While knowing how much ethnic intermarriage is taking place in society is of interest in itself, knowing more about intermarriage, including whether it is increasing, potentially provides some guide as to how ethnic responses of individuals may change in the future. Some of the other reasons as to why studying intermarriage is important are set out at the beginning of the literature review.<sup>1</sup>

In undertaking such a study it would be useful to have an explicit working definition of what constitutes ethnic intermarriage. First, there needs to be a definition of marriage. In many overseas studies marriage refers to legal marriage. In this study we focus on couples living in households within private dwellings. These couples may, or may not, have other family members or other residents present. In addition, the couples may be legally married or in a de facto relationship. This is known as social marital status but is referred to here, for brevity, as marriage.

Providing a definition of ethnic intermarriage is relatively simple if ethnic (or racial) groups were clearly defined and did not overlap. An endogamous marriage would be where both partners were from the same ethnic group. This would not be considered intermarriage but instead within-group marriage. In contrast, exogamous unions where the partners were from different ethnic groups would be considered to be ethnic

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intermarriage. But where people can report more than one ethnic group, some patterns of marriage include both endogamous and exogamous unions. One might argue that a Maori and Maori-European union is endogamous – that is within-group - mostly because of the historical New Zealand convention of seeing “half-castes” more as Maori than as European. Because of this complexity a clear definition of ethnic intermarriage is not offered. In part, the study is an exploration of what might be considered to be ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first is a review of literature on ethnic intermarriage and the transmission of ethnicity to children. The main focus in the section on the transmission of ethnicity is how ethnic intermarriage might influence the ethnicity of children. A key aim of this overall project is to assess how ethnicity might be evolving in New Zealand. Therefore information on how children who have parents from differing ethnic groups construct their ethnicity, or have it constructed for them, is important.

Part 2 provides the results of research on ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand using data from the 2001 census. The primary focus is on the high level groupings of European, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian and Other. Both total counts and single/multiple ethnic measures are employed for the analysis. In this section there is also a brief discussion of the marriage patterns of ‘New Zealanders’. The analytical techniques used in this paper are primarily descriptive.

Part 3 draws together the findings from the literature review and the New Zealand data. The paper concludes by exploring possible future trends in the construction of ethnicity New Zealand and also suggests areas for further research.

## Keys findings

A number of key findings emerge from this research.

- The international literature on ethnic intermarriage suggests that cross-cultural relationships are becoming more common in countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. While the data analysed in this study are cross sectional, this overall trend of increasing intermarriage seems to hold for New Zealand as well.
- New Zealand data show that Europeans have relatively low rates of marriage outside of their group. They are also slightly more likely to have a European partner than random sorting would predict. However, when size of group is considered, the intermarriage rates for Europeans do not suggest that this group is particularly adverse to intermarriage.
- In contrast intermarriage rates are high for Maori, and to a lesser degree, Pacific Peoples. However, based on group size, ethnic intermarriage is lower for Maori, Pacific and Asian Peoples than would be expected had random mating taken place across ethnic groups.
- There are some important gender dimensions to ethnic intermarriage. In particular, Asian women are far less likely to marry an Asian man, than were Asian men to marry an Asian woman.
- While historically the most common ethnic intermarriage was between European and Maori, and more recently between Europeans and Pacific Peoples, the ethnic combinations are getting more complex. For example, marriage between Pacific Peoples and Maori is becoming more common, as is marriage between Asians and Europeans.
- The broad patterns of intermarriage within the main ethnic groups (European, Maori etc) disguise some within-group variations. For example, within the European group recent immigrants such as South Africans are less likely to marry outside their group. In part, this is because recent migrants arrive in New Zealand already partnered.
- Within the Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and Other groups, if someone did not have a partner recording exactly the same ethnic group as themselves (for example Japanese with a Japanese partner), then they were also unlikely to have a partner from the same broad level ethnic group (in this example, not Japanese but another Asian group such as Korean). This suggests that social distance between people within high level ethnic groups may be as important as social distance between the high level ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Social distance refers to "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize pre-social and social relations generally" (Bogardus 1925).

- The data suggest that, in general factors such as group size, age, education and whether a person was born in New Zealand all individually, and possibly interacting with each other, have some influence on rates of intermarriage.
- While the associations between age, as well as New Zealand as the country of birth, and rates of intermarriage are clear (higher for younger people and higher for those born in New Zealand), the associations with education are far more complex.
- In terms of education, the strongest patterns to stand out is that well-educated Maori and Pacific Peoples are far more likely to have a partner from outside their ethnic group than those with little education.
- In the total count data, in all groups ethnicities overlap. This shows that many of the people recording their ethnicity are recording more than one group. Using dual and multiple measures of ethnicity therefore provides another layer of complexity to the analysis of intermarriage. It also shows that overlap should be reported when ethnicity data is presented.
- Those recording only one ethnicity are more likely to also have a partner recording one ethnic group while people with complex ethnicities are, perhaps not surprisingly, more likely to have partners who also record complex ethnicities.
- The data also suggest that when comparing the total count and dual/multiple ethnicity data for broad monitoring of ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand, total counts would be a useful tool. However, for any in-depth analysis of intermarriage, more complex measures of ethnicity are recommended.
- Given the significant numbers of New Zealander reporting dual or multiple ethnic groups, there are major difficulties in providing a simple definition of ethnic intermarriage. This also means that a single overall measure of the rate of intermarriage in New Zealand is likely to be misleading to both represent the complexities of such unions and to understand change over time.
- Finally, of crucial importance are the ongoing impacts of intermarriage on cultural dynamics and inter-ethnic relations. As yet, we still know little about this in New Zealand.

# Part 1: Literature review

Throughout history when previously isolated ethnic groups have come into contact with each other there is some amount of ethnic intermarriage (Leroi 2005).<sup>3</sup> When ethnic groups have low rates of intermarriage in a country, the cause may be either recent migration from a remote part of the world or social and religious processes that maintain separation between different groups (Collins 2001).<sup>4</sup>

Historically, there have been, and continue to be, at least three potential impacts of ethnic intermarriage: genetic mixing, cultural mixing and resource mixing. This mixing can occur at any one point and can also continue intergenerationally.

As an historical example of intergenerational genetic mixing, O'Regan (2001:135) notes that early in the colonisation of New Zealand, "Kai Tahu leaders were quick to recognise the increased resistance to European illnesses in those of mixed descent". Genetic mixing can also lead to phenotype blending. People may appear more "in-between" two ethnic groups, for example commentators have noted how some Maori All Blacks do not fit ethnic stereotypes (Laidlaw 2003).

In much of the international literature ethnic intermarriage has been used as an indicator of "social distance" between groups (Bogardus 1925, Mutarak 2003). Mutarak suggests the study of ethnic intermarriage is of importance because intermarriage is an important measure of intergroup relations, and it acts simultaneously as both a primary cause and an indicator of social and cultural integration. Since intermarriage reveals the existence of interaction across group boundaries, it is often regarded as an intimate link between social groups.

Ethnic intermarriage has also sometimes been seen as a site through which future generations become either assimilated into a dominant culture or acculturated.<sup>5</sup> It has been described as both an indicator, and a final outcome, of acculturation (Blau et al. 1982, Pagnini and Morgan 1990). However, cultural mixing, in a variety of directions, can and does occur with or without intermarriage. In a discussion of biculturalism in New Zealand, Sharp (1995:118) notes that, "although the autonomy and incommensurability of cultures is asserted often enough, cultures are actually leaky vessels, created, renewed and transformed in endless contact with others". While this contact with others can occur in a variety of ways, intermarriage provides a particularly intense and intimate site for potential cultural exchange. While it is often considered that the acculturation will ultimately be assimilation to the dominant culture, intermarriage research has already shown that intermarriage often has complex outcomes in terms of cultural sharing and ethnic identity. For example, in the

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<sup>3</sup> The use of the term "ethnic intermarriage" is very wide in this discussion. For example, some early New Zealand "intermarriage" simply involved genetic mixing between Maori and visitors to New Zealand as a consequence of a prominent sex industry in ports of call. In a current context, it indicates both formal and informal marriage. While this paper is restricted to opposite-sex marriage, many the issues discussed are relevant to same sex marriage.

<sup>4</sup> For an historic example of concerns about religious intermarriage in New Zealand see <http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page259.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Acculturation is the process of acquiring a second culture. Assimilation is the process of replacing one's first culture with a second culture. Assuming that cultures are dynamic rather than static, the process of acculturation may nevertheless alter original cultures.

U.S. Eschbach (1995) has shown how intermarriage has both decreased in some instances and increased in others the number of Native Americans (by allowing descendents of marriages between Native Americans and other ethnic groups to choose which ethnic group to identify with). In New Zealand, Riddell (2000) demonstrates that historical intermarriage between Maori and non-Maori did not, as some early commentators had predicted, result in the disappearance of a once “dying race”. Instead, Riddell asserts that intermarriage has added directly to the numbers of those who can define themselves as Maori and of Maori descent.

There is an increasing interest in ethnic intermarriage in most industrialised countries. There are a number of reasons for this. One is that simply rising rates of ethnic intermarriage in many nations, including Canada (Newhouse and Peters 2003), the U.S. (Snipp 1997), Australia (Birrell 2000), the United Kingdom (Muttarak 2003, *The Guardian* 2005) and Russia/Latvia (Monden 2005) have prompted researchers to examine this issue. This interest is often the greatest in countries where there have been, or still is, high levels of migration and/or have a history of colonisation. Part of this interest is on how social and economic networks might be created by intermarriage. For example, in Australia Birrell and Hirst (2002) have argued that intermarriage helps widen the economic base of Aboriginal families. Also in Australia, Meng and Gregory (2005) have explored the role of ethnic intermarriage in the economic integration of new migrants. In the process of immigrants’ assimilation into a particular society, a full assimilative is often not recognised if ethnic boundary remains a barrier in the choice of partners (Gordon 1964).

Another reason for an interest in intermarriage may be that there is an increased interest in genealogy and, with that, determining identity and roots. This requires people to examine their often-complex ancestry.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in such a process particular “popular” cultures sometimes receive the most attention. For example, Hout and Goldstein (1994) examined how 4.5 million Irish immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1920 had grown to 40 million Irish-Americans by 1980. Examining immigration, natural increase, intermarriage and preference, they found that it was mainly intermarriage and a preference for Irish ancestry over some other ancestral links that had contributed to this strong rise in Irish Americans.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the studies of intermarriage are not only interested in couple characteristics, but also how their characteristics affect the transmission of ethnicity to children. While in recent years in New Zealand there has been much interest, and debate, over the way adults construct their own ethnicity, how they should be able to record this ethnicity in official surveys, and over the way these data should then be reported, with the exception of the work of Kukutai (2001) and, following that, of Callister (2003), there has been little recent attention given to how the ethnicity of children is being constructed. In particular, there is lack of research on how the children of ethnic intermarriages record their own ethnic group or have it recorded for them by their parents or guardians. This gap in the research on children’s ethnicity has been

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<sup>6</sup> Examining the diversity of ancestry may reflect people's need to establish their own self identified socio-cultural space so divergence from a norm becomes an objective in itself.

<sup>7</sup> Hout and Goldstein (1994) make the point that in the past religion was often a barrier to ethnic intermarriage. While British immigrants were primarily Protestants and Italian’s primarily Catholics there were both Protestant and Catholic Irish immigrants. This gave the Irish, as a group, more opportunities for intermarriage.

recognised in Maori studies, with Walker (1997: 81) noting there is little study of “the extent of the identification of children of mixed marriages as Maori”. While this issue goes well beyond Maori studies, the issue of Maori identity is particularly important in New Zealand (Kukutai 2004).

Intermarriage has often been considered in terms of relationship to the ‘dominant’ group but increasingly in New Zealand there are intermarriages between smaller ethnic group members. These too require consideration – if, for instance, children of these partnerships inherit two unique cultures and sit further from the dominant culture. This is an important area for investigation for the small but unique populations that make up the wider grouping of Pacific Peoples.

A further reason for the interest in intermarriage is debates around issues such as affirmative action, ethnic based service delivery and, in New Zealand, partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi between Maori and the Crown. This requires ethnic groups to be carefully defined. Ethnic intermarriage can make such definitions more complex (Korgen 1998, Kukutai 2004, O’Regan 2001). Policy analysts have an interest in cultural interaction and cultural capital. While there may be somewhat overlapping outcomes between ethnic groups and between, for instance, Maori who do, and do not, give additional ethnicity responses, when average outcomes in areas such as health, education and employment are considered there are some major differences between groups (Callister and Blakely 2004, Chapple 2000, Kukutai 2004). Knowing what causes these differences in outcomes is important if disparities are to be reduced.

Finally, statistical agencies are interested in intermarriage. Ethnic classification systems and projections are used by statistical agencies, such as Statistics New Zealand, as tools to frame understanding of change in society. Due to many of the reasons already discussed, ethnic intermarriage adds complexity to ethnic classification systems and ethnic projections (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann 1998, Kertzer and Arel 2001, Perlmann and Waters 2002).

## **The changing dynamic of marriage**

A number of researchers have downplayed the historical role of love in family formation (e.g. Becker 1996, Murstein 1974).<sup>8</sup> In relation to the couple formation in traditional societies issues such as bride exchange, bride purchase and dowries came to the fore. Couple formation was primarily an economic transaction and parents had a major influence on partner choice. The economic considerations were seen as being particularly important amongst those people with significant power or assets, although in this group love could co-exist with business arrangements. Love draws potential partners together from the individual's social sphere such as a workplace, sports club or educational institution, whereas arranged partnering draws partners from a pool based on the parents'/family's social sphere. In the past religion was a key factor in

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<sup>8</sup> While Becker (1996: 234) suggests in recent times in most industrialised countries “love” is an important factor, he argues that most women and men think about issues such as children, wealth, social status and other “goods



marriage partner choice (Kalmijn 1991), whereas, as will be discussed in more detail, education is now a key factor in the ‘marriage market’.

In any society, but particularly those societies that are drawing on immigrants from developing countries, there will continue to be those couples where the individuals had little influence over the choice of their partner and/or where factors such as religion and culture strongly influence partner choice.

England and Farkas (1986) suggest that specific institutions have been evolving which not only assist in searching and reduce search costs but also extend the geographic marriage market. These include advertisements in newspapers and other media and computer dating services. International travel extended the marriage market, including travel by the military, such as by Americans but also New Zealanders (mainly men), to Asia (Koshy 2005). In more recent times, the internet has aided this extension. In addition, there are now “bridal markets” where men from Western countries can arrange marriage to women from countries such as Russia, Thailand or the Philippines. Most of these changes increase the opportunities for ethnic intermarriage to occur.

Changes in attitudes will also shift patterns of intermarriage, just as changing patterns of intermarriage may change attitudes. This is discussed in a subsequent section. Finally, changes in sources of migration to a country have the potential, in the long term, to alter patterns of ethnic intermarriage.

## **Research on ethnic intermarriage**

A significant amount of research on ethnic intermarriage has been carried out in the US.<sup>9</sup> In citing this research, it needs to be kept in mind the different history the United States has in relation to New Zealand. In particular, the period of slavery in the US influences many discussions of intermarriage. Much of the early work on intermarriage focused on people with European ancestry (e.g. Kennedy 1944). While “whites” in America are sometimes seen as a homogeneous group, in early days of migration there were seen to be strong differences between settlers from different parts of Europe. In fact, Waters (2000) observes that in the 19th century the Irish were seen as a separate race from other Europeans. Often the ethnic diversity was compounded by religious differences. However, a much wider range of ethnic groups are now considered in U.S. research. Currently this includes intermarriage by groups who have traditionally had very high rates of outmarriage, for example Native Americans, through to those with traditionally low rates, such as Blacks and Whites (Kennedy 2002, Korgen 1998). While much of the attention in the U.S. focuses on so-called “biracial” people (e.g. Korgen), other researchers are now delving into much more complex patterns of intermarriage (e.g. Fu 2001, Waters 2000). In addition, in the US there is some movement away from a focus on minority-majority intermarriage toward complex inter-minority marriages, such as Afro-Amerasians (Williams and Thornton, 1998). Reflecting changing patterns of migration over time, there has been a particular interest in recent years about Mexican intermarriage (Perlmann 2003). In the United States there has also been some geographic component to the interest in ethnic intermarriage with one particular strand being

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<sup>9</sup> Much of the US research uses “racial groups” as their unit of analysis.

undertaken in Hawaii (e.g. Labov and Jacobs 1998). This reflects the very diverse population of that state and a long history of intermarriage.

Recognising the possible impact of ethnic intermarriage on the ethnic choices of individuals, Waters (2000) notes that with continuing migration the future composition of the United States population will reflect how new immigrants and their children identify themselves, how much intermarriage there is, and how children of ethnic intermarriage identify themselves. Much of the US research discusses ideas of integration and assimilation (e.g. Kantarevic 2004), with the “melting pot” being a term used in much of the early literature in migration. More recently, it is increasingly recognised that the sharing of culture is not a one-way process, with new immigrants also influencing existing American cultural norms. Terms such as a “salad”, with many ingredients, have been used instead of “melting pot”.

In Australia, Birrell (2000) and Birrell and Hirst (2002) shows the high and growing rate of intermarriage by aboriginal people. Also in Australia, Meng and Gregory (2005) have examined how intermarriage affects the economic integration of new immigrants into Australia. Studying a wider group of Australians, Jones (1991, 1995, 1997) and Jones and Luijckx (1996) have also studied ethnic intermarriage (based on ancestry data). For example, Jones and Luijckx (1996) use intermarriage from the 1986 Australian Census to assess intermarriage rates for several ethnic ancestries, including north-western Europe, eastern and southern Europe, eastern Asia and western Asia, and English-speaking countries. Focusing on groups from the Mediterranean basin who married after their arrival in Australia, they provide evidence of weakening group barriers over time among many, but not all, ancestry groups. Jones and Luijckx conclude that the maintenance of strong in-marriage tendencies largely depends on the continuing flow into Australia of new immigrants.

In a further study of intermarriage in Australia, Giorgas and Jones (2002) again show that although the extent of intermarriage increases across generations, cultural preferences for in-marriage vary among the different groups studied. They note persons of Greek, Hungarian and Italian origin have stronger preferences for in-marriage than do those of Dutch, German or Anglo-Celt origin. Persons of Polish origin are an intermediate case. These findings indicate some considerable heterogeneity within a wider Australian “European” ethnic group.

In the United Kingdom, Muttarak (2003) notes that current intermarriage rates are relatively low when considered across the whole population, but when specific groups are considered, such as those from the Caribbean, intermarriage rates are much higher. In addition, Britain has had a long history of European intermarriage fostered by waves of migration into Britain from areas such as Italy (the Romans), the Nordic countries (the Vikings) and France (the Normans). In addition, in wider Europe there is an interest in intermarriage, particularly by immigrants (Coleman 1994). There has also been some cross-cultural study between the UK and the US to see if immigrant groups, for example West Indians and African Americans, intermarry at different rates within different societies (Model and Fisher 2001).

## **The New Zealand position**

New Zealand has a long history of ethnic intermarriage. As indicated, migration brings different ethnic groups into contact with each other. New Zealand has experienced a number of waves of migration. The first was by Maori who became New Zealand's indigenous population. Prior to the arrival of European, there was also internal migration in New Zealand and, along with warfare and political alliances, intermarriage between groups led to changes in tribal identities (e.g. see the history of Ngai Tahu 2005).

The first recorded European visit to New Zealand was by the Dutch mariner Abel Tasman and his crew who arrived in 1642. However, none of them set foot on New Zealand soil. Over 100 years later James Cook arrived in 1769 from Britain. In contrast to Tasman, Cook and his crew had numerous contacts with Maori (Salmond 1991). Cook was soon followed by small groups of whalers, sealers and traders who set up bases around New Zealand. Some of these came from the United States and, along with Europeans, included some African Americans and Pacific Peoples who had joined the crew on trips across the Pacific. From the earliest days of contact, there has been a high level of intermarriage, both formal and informal, between Maori and the new arrivals (Bentley 1999, Pool 1991, Wanhalla 2003, Belich 1996 2001). This was partly the result of major sex ratio imbalances of migrants in these years.

The following quote illustrates iwi intermarriage, followed by intermarriage between Maori and the new arrivals. It also indicates some of the potential outcomes of ethnic intermarriage.

Ngai Tahu, originally from Poverty Bay in the North Island, were named after their ancestor Tahu Potiki. Through a series of migrations, wars and marriage alliances, they became firmly established as tangata whenua over much of Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island) by the mid-1700s. By the early 1800s they enjoyed a lucrative trade with European whalers and sealers. Although contact with Pakeha brought diseases to which the tribe had no immunity, it also led to intermarriage and knowledge of European ways. When Major Thomas Bunbury was sent to negotiate the consent of leading chiefs to the Treaty in May 1840, he was surprised to find that many could speak English.

The "Nine Tall Trees of Ngai Tahu", <http://treatyofwaitangi.govt.nz/casestudies/ngaitahu.php>

Subsequent immigration to New Zealand was mainly from the UK and other parts of Europe and included groups such as Greeks, Poles, Irish and Scottish. This created opportunities for intermarriage between non-traditional groups (e.g. Irish-Scottish). As an example of non-British migration, the Dalmatians came to New Zealand during the latter years of the nineteenth century to escape from the depressed economic conditions of their homeland. The New Zealand Dalmatians were few in number, and men vastly outnumbered women. Of the original 5,468 settlers between 1897 and 1919, only 177 were women. As a result out-marriage with English and Maori women was common (Stoffel 1982 cited in Sussex, Comrie and Corbett 2002).

Also post war there was significant migration from the Pacific, with this population growing quite rapidly during the late 1960s and early 1970s. While not providing any data, according to Bedford, MacPherson and Spoonley (2001) Pacific Peoples have married non-Pacific Islanders in large numbers since their arrival in Aotearoa. The researchers suggest that one consequence of this is that many of the children of these

marriages would have very different sorts of links with their 'islandness' than do their island parents.

The fourth major grouping is Asian Peoples, many whom predate the Pacific migration. There have been people of Asian ethnicity living in New Zealand from the early days of European settlement, although in very small numbers and often predominantly males. In part, due to a shortage of Asian women ethnic intermarriage commonly took place between early Asian migrants and women from other ethnic groups, including Asian-Maori intermarriage (Lee 1996).

A century later in the 1980s and 1990s the number of people of Asian ethnicity grew rapidly. A more recent component of migration comprises refugees and other settlers from Africa and the Middle East. However, this group is still relatively small and highly mobile.

While intermarriage between a range of ethnic groups in New Zealand is of potential interest, intermarriage between Maori and other ethnic groups has historically been the most studied largely because of the availability of information but also because of, until recently, the relative insignificance of other partnering (Ausubel 1960, Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1946, Belich, 1996 2001, Butterworth and Mako 1989, Harré 1968, Metge 1967 1976, Pool 1991, Ritchie 1963, Vaughan, 1964). Metge (1967), using 1950s data, reports on the proportion of Maori children with a European parent, which is one indicator of the level of intermarriage between Maori and European. In this period, Harré (1968) produced the most detailed empirical work on ethnic intermarriage. He used Auckland marriage registration data and shows that, in 1960, 3.6 percent of 'Pakeha' married a Maori, while 42 percent of Maori married a 'Pakeha'. He notes that these are lower percentages than random sorting would predict. He also presents historical registration data that indicate (although based on low numbers) that from 1890 through to 1960 there was an overall strong increase in outmarriage by Maori. His data show that in 1960 it was more common for a 'Pakeha' man to have a Maori wife than for a Maori man to have a 'Pakeha' wife.

In a more recent study of Maori intermarriage, Callister (2004) found that around half of partnered Maori had a partner not recording Maori ethnicity. In contrast to Harré's study, the rates of intermarriage were similar for Maori men and women. However, the rates of marriage outside the Maori group were higher for those who recorded Maori plus another ethnic group(s) and, potentially connected with this, for those with higher levels of formal education.

Finally, recent research on fertility suggests a high rate of intermarriage in New Zealand (Didham 2004: 7). Didham notes that in the 1996 census, 66 percent of partnerships involving people of Maori ethnicity were partnerships between a Maori and non-Maori partner. The comparative figure for People of Pacific ethnicities was 42 percent, while for the Asian ethnic group it was 32 percent. Didham also makes the point that by the late 1990s compared with Pacific Nation populations a significant proportion of Pacific People were in New Zealand and increasingly their children were also of Maori and other ethnicities.

## **What promotes or inhibits ethnic intermarriage?**

Based on their work in the U.S., Lieberman and Waters (1988: 164-165) argue that whether ethnic intermarriage takes place depends on four factors.

- The existence of formal legal barriers to intermarriage or of traditional ethnic taboos against intermarriage.
- The relative availability of partners from within and without the group. This is influenced by (a) group size relative to the total population (b) the distribution of groups geographically and (c) the degree of segregation or contact that particular ethnic groups have with each other.
- Informal attitudes and views about ethnic intermarriage.
- The degree of overlap between ethnic membership and non-ethnic characteristics. For example, class based endogamy may seem like ethnic based endogamy if particular ethnic groups are concentrated in particular socio-economic classes.

Some of these factors are not independent of each other. For example, education is an important factor both in determining social class and in determining earnings. Earnings, in turn, often help determine where an individual lives. In a society with continuing immigration, such as New Zealand, couples will enter New Zealand having made their partner choice within a very different environment to that of New Zealand or have entered New Zealand as a result of partner choice. So levels of ethnic intermarriage in a society reflect both the conditions within it, and the types of migrants moving to that society.

While it is not possible to address in detail all the points raised by Lieberman and Waters in this brief review, some main themes of the literature are focussed on. In particular, the areas referred to are: attitudes, size of group, ethnic segregation, education, time in a country, and ethnic history.

### *Attitudes*

In all societies there are some who oppose ethnic intermarriage. In a number of countries, for example South Africa, there have, until relatively recently, been legal impediments to various types of ethnic intermarriage. In the United States, Foeman and Nance (1999) report that 40 of the 50 states had, at various times, statutes preventing ethnic intermarriage.

For a variety of reasons, including the number of US journals that are accessible by New Zealand researchers, studies from the United States form key part of the accessible literature on attitudes to ethnic intermarriage. Much of this focuses on the relatively low rates of intermarriage between Blacks and Whites. The history of slavery in the US has a major impact on past, and potentially current, attitudes to ethnic intermarriage. As such, many of the attitudes expressed in the US are likely to be different to those held by most New Zealanders.

In the US, even when particular ethnic marriages became legal there has remained some opposition to some types of ethnic intermarriage. For example, Kennedy (2002) argues that as White opposition to white-black intermarriage has weakened, Black

opposition has become stronger. Kennedy sets out three positions African-Americans have adopted towards White-Black marriage. One group, which he suggests is relatively small, argues that such mixing will:

...decrease social segregation, encourage racial open-mindedness, enhance blacks' access to enriching social networks, elevate their status, and empower black women in their interactions with black men by subjecting the latter to greater competition in the marketplace for companionship (p 104).

A second, and, he suggests, the largest group, sees intermarriage as purely an issue of personal choice and it is not viewed as "good" or "bad". A third group opposes marriage between Blacks and Whites. The reasons for this are:

...that it expresses racial disloyalty, suggests disapproval of fellow blacks, undermines black culture, weakens the African-American marriage market, and feeds racist mythologies, particularly the canard that blacks lack pride of race (p. 105).

In the US, Foeman and Nance suggest that early researchers tended to see marriages between Blacks and Whites as problematic "deficit models". Examples given by these researchers include blacks marrying not for "love" but for reasons of status or whites wanting to make a social statement. Issues of racism and intermarriage have also been highlighted in the US literature (e.g. Hall 2000). However, generally when concerns are being expressed about ethnic intermarriage these focus on issues of intermarriage of people with different skin colours. For instance, Korgen (1998) argues there is little concern amongst the US population about mixing amongst persons of "colour" such as Native Americans and Blacks, Latinos and Blacks.

In the US, it is recognised that gender may be a factor in attitudes to intermarriage between various ethnic groups. For example, in contrast to historical experience it is more common for a Black man to have a White partner than the reverse combination. In relation to why Chinese women are far more likely to have a White partner, various ideas have been put forward including that Asian women are associated with an acceptance of traditional power relationships in a marriage (Qian 1997, Sung 1990).

There have been no recent formal studies on attitudes to ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand. However, in a discussion of Maori non-Maori intermarriage, Metge (p. 301) notes that "[i]n the 1970s intermarriage has become so relatively common that it no longer attracts particular interest or public attention". Other historical New Zealand studies suggest that, while there are examples of resistance amongst some groups of Maori and non-Maori to intermarriage, there has been a high level of acceptance of Maori non-Maori intermarriage within immediate communities and families for such marriage when it takes place.

In his study of "Maori girls and market gardeners", Simpson (1992) notes a concern in New Zealand amongst some government officials in the late 1920s about the possible mixing of Chinese market gardeners and Maori women. In a chapter on marriage (and intermarriage) amongst Chinese New Zealanders, Ip (1996) provides case studies of marriage in the middle of the twentieth century. These illustrate that while ethnic intermarriage did take place, there were often negative attitudes to overcome within the Chinese families about marrying a non-Chinese and visa versa.

Finally, drawing on a small number of recent case studies on Maori intermarriage, Archie (2005) demonstrates a wide range of historical and contemporary attitudes. There are examples of disapproval to intermarriage by families of both Maori and non-Maori, but also encouragement by some Maori parents to marry a European partner. In general, once an ethnic intermarriage took place, and particularly when grandchildren were born, remaining negative attitudes tended to disappear.

### *Size of group*

A number of studies support the idea that relative size of an ethnic group matters in terms of its out-marriage rates (e.g. Harris and Ono 2005; Qian and Lichter 2001). In New Zealand Maori and the groups making up the Pacific Peoples and Asian ethnic groups are relatively small in terms of the total population. Qian and Lichter (2001) make the point that if population sizes are quite different then it is not possible by simply looking at intermarriage rates to assess whether groups exhibit discriminatory behaviour relative to another group. For example, in New Zealand it would be possible for 100 percent of Pacific Peoples to have a European partner but, given the much larger size of the European ethnic group, relatively few Europeans would be able to have a Pacific Peoples partner. Differing age structures and the geographic concentration of Pacific Peoples would also work against such intermarriage.

The actual size of the group who are participating in the New Zealand marriage market will also be different to the count of New Zealand residents at any one time. A significant number of New Zealanders are born overseas, particularly amongst Pacific Peoples, Asians and those classified as “other”. A number of these immigrants will be arriving in New Zealand as couples. In many of these situations, while they are part of a minority group in New Zealand they may have been part of the majority in the country where their marriage took place.

In addition, at times size of group might be misleading if other within-group characteristics are a barrier to intermarriage. For example, the social distance between early Irish Catholic and Irish protestant immigrants to the United States was great. If there is ethnic residential segregation, there may be not only social distance between groups but significant physical distance as well.

In terms of opposite sex marriage, the relative numbers of women and men within a particular ethnic group can also matter. For example, in the early colonisation of New Zealand, ‘Pakeha’ men vastly outnumbered ‘Pakeha’ women (Arnold 1982). In early migration there were more Dalmatian men than women who came to New Zealand. In some situations ethnic sex ratios can become quite extreme. For example, as at 2002 it was estimated that (taking into account the prison population) there were 26% more African American women than men in the community in the US (Muwakkil 2005). Sex ratios imbalances can encourage ethnic intermarriage.

### *Ethnic segregation*

Ethnic segregation can occur in various ways. Geographic ethnic segregation can be both an indicator of low rates of intermarriage and, given that partners are often found locally, be a barrier to intermarriage. While there has been some residential ethnic

segregation in New Zealand, it has not been at the level seen in countries such as the U.S. (Johnston, Poulsen and Forrest 2003).

In Australia, Giorgas and Jones (2002) note that geographic ethnic concentration is important for community formation and for the establishment of social institutions and organizations. They go on to state that organisations are an important means of both cultural maintenance and of the development of social networks. These networks provide the opportunity to meet potential marriage partners with similar ethnic backgrounds. In a Canadian ethnic survey, it is shown that regardless of time of arrival in Canada immigrants were more likely to participate in ethnic or immigrant associations than were Canadian born people (Statistics Canada 2002). So, potentially for second generation Canadians, the opportunity to primarily meet (and marry) people from the same immigrant group declines. This type of information is not available in New Zealand studies.

Workplaces, another location for meeting partners, can also be ethnically segregated. For example, new immigrants may move into industries that are heavily dominated by particular ethnic groups. It may also be that particular women are excluded from workplaces where they may meet a wider variety of partners. In the UK, in some ethnic groups like the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, where the majority of the populations are predominantly Muslim, religious belief can influence female participation in the labour market (Eade et al. 1996). Educational levels can reinforce occupational choices and, in turn, affect the marriage market.

#### *Time in a country*

Rodriguez (2003: 96) notes that, in the United States, while only 13 percent of foreign-born Asians marry non-Asians, 34 percent of second-generation and 54 percent of third-generation Asian Americans do. Although not focusing on Asians, this pattern of greater ethnic intermarriage by second and third generation migrants has also been shown in Australian (Giorgas and Jones 2002). As discussed in the ethnic segregation section, there are various ways in which second and third generation immigrants may widen their potential social networks.

Kalmijn (1993), also in the United States, used 1960 census data to make comparisons of synthetic marriage cohorts. He suggests that second generation European Americans married increasingly into the native stock, they married increasingly out of their national origin group, and the national boundaries that separated them became weaker over time.

#### *Education*

A number of writers have argued that educational attainment is an especially important variable in assortative mating as it often signals family background and is a key determinant of success in paid work and other aspects of life (e.g. Kalmijn 1991, 1993). Educational level is an important variable in marriage markets in industrialised countries (Mare 1991). However, the influence of education may not be the same in all countries. For example, Smits *et al* (1998) examined data from 65 countries to assess the possible links between the level of economic development and educational homogamy (both partners having a similar level of education). They found an inverted



U relationship. That is educational homogamy decreases in early stages of development but increases again in highly industrialised countries.

In a US context, Mare (1991) places much emphasis on the impact of the length of schooling and age at marriage on sorting patterns. He suggests that many processes may be in operation regarding schooling and assortative mating. For example, people are more likely to enter an educationally homogenous union when they marry at an advanced stage of education rather than at lower levels of schooling. However, on a more practical level, Mare also notes that educational institutions provide a meeting place for assortative mating to take place, particularly as institutions have moved from being male dominated to having a more equal balance of men and women.

In a controversial US study, Herrnstein and Murray (1996) argue that education has increasingly provided a very efficient way of sorting people by cognitive ability. They then go on to speculate that mating of people with similar levels of education, and they argue IQ, has increased and will continue to increase. They go on to note:

When access to higher education is restricted by class, race, or religion, these divisions cut across cognitive levels. But school is in itself, more immediately and directly than any other institution, the place where people of high cognitive ability excel and people of low cognitive ability fail. As America opened access to higher education, it opened up as well a revolution in the way that the American population sorted itself and divided itself. Three successively more efficient sorting processes were at work: the college population grew, it was recruited by cognitive ability more efficiently, and then it was further sorted among the colleges (p. 31).

Research carried out in New Zealand confirms that education is an important variable in marriage choices, with people having similar levels of formal education tending to form partnerships (Callister 1998). This research also indicated that ethnic outmarriage was higher amongst well-educated Maori. Given that historically fewer Maori than non-Maori have gained higher educational qualifications, this lowers the pool of potential similarly qualified partners for those Maori who have a higher qualification. Out-marriage by Maori is linked to lower fertility (Didham 2004), so there are other downstream consequences.

In New Zealand, the student population of tertiary education institutions has become more ethnically diverse in recent decades. This not only reflects a increasing number of Maori and Pacific students participating in tertiary education, but an increase in the number of foreign students, particularly Asians. This provides greater opportunities for ethnic intermarriage. Even in institutions, such as Wananga (Maori provided tertiary education), which was set up to provided a more culturally focussed learning environment for Maori students there is a mix of Maori students and students from other ethnic groups. For example, illustrating both ethnicity and differing size of groups (which will encourage intermarriage), in 2002 there were 1,854 European males, 5,050 European females, 9,461 Maori males and 27,376 Maori females (Ministry of Education 2005).<sup>10</sup>

In some other countries there are some gender issues around education and ethnic intermarriage. For example in the U.S., in 1990, black men were more likely to marry outside their ethnic group than black women and ethnic intermarriage increased with level of education. The 1990 census data show that 6 percent of Black men aged 25-

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<sup>10</sup> Although some of these will be distance learners and not regularly mix with other students.

34 who were high school dropouts were married to non-blacks, but that this rose to 13 percent for men with some graduate education (Anon 1997). For Black women, the comparable figures were 3 percent and 6 percent. Yet, these data also indicate that there are some sex differences. Also in the US, Crowder and Tolnay (2000) now talk about a “marriage squeeze” for Black women, with the effects particularly acute for well-educated Black women. This is based on the finding that the outmarriage rates of well-educated Black men are increasing.

### *Ethnic and ancestral history*

Labov and Jacobs (1998) argue that family history is often ignored in most studies of ethnic intermarriage. Most studies treat individuals as having only one ethnic group, therefore ignoring the mixed ancestry that they may already be bringing to an inter-ethnic marriage. For example, discussions of black-white marriages in the U.S. often ignore the fact that one or both partners might already have mixed ancestry.

U.S. research also indicates that children of mixed ethnic marriages are themselves more likely to intermarry (Lieberson and Waters, 1988). Thus intermarriage becomes self-reinforcing. As the pool of individuals with mixed ancestry increases then there is a greater chance of marrying someone with at least some mixed ancestry. However, marriage can alter ethnic affiliation. Waters (2000) draws on Ifecourse research to show that when some people marry they change the construction of their ancestry to match their spouse. According to Waters, this raises the issue of whether studies that are trying to assess whether ethnicity affects the choice of partner may be measuring the opposite phenomena. That is, the choice of partner affects an individual’s choice of ethnic identity (especially when ethnicity is more influenced by culture than ancestry).<sup>11</sup>

## **Research on the transmission of ethnicity**

In recent years much of the overseas literature on the allocation of ethnicity to children has, not surprisingly, been connected to discussions of ethnic intermarriage. However, like the research on intermarriage, much of the research on the transmission of ethnicity (or, generally race) to children is also from the United States. Just how applicable this research is to New Zealand is unknown. Only by undertaking New Zealand research will its relevance be known.

Labov and Jacobs (1998) argue that Hawaii is of particular interest to people studying both ethnic intermarriage and the allocation of ethnicity to children as there is a high rate of intermarriage. This is connected to Hawaii’s plural population composition. Labov and Jacobs estimate that in the 1980s the majority of children born in Hawaii had some mixed ancestry. Based on examining the ethnic group of parents, they demonstrate that the proportion of mixed ethnicity children is considerably higher than official birth data would indicate. However, they point to a limitation of their study, in that they did not know whether parents themselves were of mixed ethnicity.

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<sup>11</sup> However, it may be that with increasing education and economic independence of women, including those living in couples, it is possible that that female partners who were previously socially encouraged to report the same as the male partner may be more commonly reporting their ethnicity independently.

In a discussion drawing on Hawaiian research, Kukutai (2001) puts forward one possible reason for an undercount of mixed ethnicity children in Hawaii. While most ethnic groups are mixed genetically, very often cultural and social boundaries are maintained.

In much of the early research on the transmission of ethnicity of children, the children and the parents could only affiliate with one ethnic group. For instance, Waters (1990) used a mixture of qualitative research and 1980 census data to study the ethnic choices of white American adults and their children. Waters found that the father's ancestry had a greater impact on the ethnic group chosen than that of the mother. She suggests in this process the child's surname, usually taken from the father, is important. Waters points out that another influence on ethnic choices is who fills out the census form, whether it is the mother, father, child or some combination. These patterns may potentially change when respondents can record multiple ethnicities.

Xie and Goyette (1997) used 1990 census data to study the racial identification of biracial American children with one Asian parent. They note that with a high rate of outmarriage by Asians the racial identification of children with one Asian parent has a direct impact on the size of the future Asian American population. Again, in this study both the parents and the children could belong to only one ethnic group.

With this background that only one racial group could be chosen, Xie and Goyette discuss both "assimilation" and "awareness" perspectives when determining the ethnicity of children. In the assimilation process an individual gets absorbed more into mainstream society and will start to increasingly identify with the dominant group. Assimilation for immigrants is influenced by the time since the family's immigration and by socio-economic status. In turn, socio-economic status is highly associated with parental education. However, education can also enhance an awareness of ethnic background. According to this theory, minorities face more conflict and competition as they increase their socio-economic status and this enhances their sense of identity. One outcome is that if these individuals intermarry they will then identify their children as having two ethnic groups.

Xie and Goyette also discuss a "constraining" effect where "ethnic identity is less of an option for racial minorities than for the white majority..." (p. 554). The authors note that under the constraining theory in the U.S., Asian-Black or Asian-Hispanic children would be under social pressure to be labelled as black or Hispanic. This construction of ethnicity towards a minority group may also be influenced by visible characteristics such as skin colour.

In their review of previous research, Xie and Goyette also note there are competing theories as to whether it is the mother or father who will have the greatest influence on determining a child's ethnicity. Again, much of this research has been based on the limitation of choosing a single ethnicity. In couple families they suggest that the determination of ethnicity can be complex. They argue that (p. 554)

...the family should be viewed as a site of struggle and compromise, where a child's racial and/or ethnic identification must be negotiated between both parents (when the child is young) and children and parents (when the child becomes older).

Xie and Goyette argue that ethnic choices can also be influenced by the concentration of ethnic groups in a local neighbourhood, while, again in the US, Harris and Sim (2001) show that household type can matter in the determination of a child's racial group(s). Harris and Sim found that when compared to youth who lived with both biological parents, those who did not were more likely to report being multiracial. Thus, they suggest that studies that focus on intact two parent families may underestimate the proportion of children that are recording more than one race. Yet, when considering this US evidence it needs to be kept in mind this is race-based data not ethnicity and that recording more than one racial group might be quite a different concept to that of recording more than one ethnic group.

In a study of 2000 US Census data (again based on race), Tafoya et al (2005) found that most interracial couples do not report their children being from more than one race. Overall, less than half (44 percent) of children living with parents of different races were identified as multiracial. The proportions were especially low for two of the largest biracial marriage groups, with only 13 percent of American Indian/white couples and only 3 percent of Latino SOR/white couples identifying their children as biracial.<sup>12</sup>

The likelihood of reporting a child as being from more than one race depended very much on the specific racial combination of the parents. Children of Asian/white and black/white interracial couples were far more likely to report their child as multiracial than American Indian/white, non-Latino SOR/white, and Latino SOR/white parents. However, even among Asian/white and black/white couples, only about half reported their children as multiracial. Among black/white couples, most who did not report their children as multiracial reported them as black. Among Asian/white and Latino SOR/white couples, most who did not report their children as multiracial reported them as white. American Indian/white couples were about evenly divided between reporting their children as only American Indian or only white. The authors note that just as the levels of multiracial reporting vary between the racial combinations of the parents, they believe that the reasons for multiracial reporting are particular to each combination of multiracial parents.

Using Census and Current Population Survey data, Duncan and Trejo (2005) show that US-born Mexican Americans who marry non-Mexicans are substantially more educated and English proficient, on average, than are Mexican Americans who marry other Mexicans. In addition, the non-Mexican spouses of intermarried Mexican Americans possess relatively high levels of schooling and English proficiency, compared to couples where both partners are Mexican. The researchers also found that, children of intermarried Mexican Americans are much less likely to be identified as Mexican than are the children of within-group Mexican marriages. This gives rise to strong negative correlations between the education, English proficiency, employment, and earnings of Mexican-American parents and the chances that their children retain a Mexican ethnicity. The authors note that this may bias observed measures of intergenerational progress for Mexican Americans.

In parallel to the research on the allocation of race to children of parents from different racial groups, there is a US literature that examines the effects on children of

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<sup>12</sup> SOR denotes "some other race."

being “biracial”. Hall (2001) discusses the psychological health of biracial Americans while Herring (1992) discusses the increasing number of biracial children who may have special needs related to their “ambiguous ethnicity”. McFadden (2001) has commented that many multiracial children have been faced with discrimination from all races, leaving them to feel like outsiders, while Milan and Keiley (2000) present research that suggest that biracial/biethnic youth are a particularly vulnerable group in terms of self-reported delinquency, school problems, internalising symptoms, and self-regard.

Foeman and Nance (1999) note that while early U.S. scholars dealing with issue of biracial children argued that they lacked firmly established self-identities more positive studies are now emerging. They cite a range of studies that suggest “some biracial individuals see themselves as multicultural rather than marginal” (p. 547). They also discuss other research that suggests biracial children, like other non-majority individuals, “can evolve toward a sense of pride and positive uniqueness” (p. 547-8). How children, and parents, feel about being biracial is likely to feed back into how these individuals respond to surveys on ethnicity/race. And how they respond to surveys is also likely to be strongly influenced by the questions asked in the surveys, including whether there is the opportunity to record complex ethnicities.

There is limited research on the allocation of ethnicity to children in New Zealand. However, in the past there have been studies of intermarriage and, by extension, some comments have been made about ethnicity of children. In a study of marriage between Maori and Pakeha, Harré (1968) outlines possible problems of intermarriage. These include problems for the intermarried couple themselves, reactions of others to the marriage and “the place of their children” (p. 130). Based on qualitative research, and perhaps reflecting wider attitudes within Pakeha society at the time, Harré notes (p. 131)

The children of a mixed marriage are also usually very readily accepted by their grandparents, both Maori and Pakeha. In the wider community such children are nearly always looked on as Maori if their ancestry is at all obvious (the term ‘half-caste’ seems to be used less now than formerly), and their problems are therefore those of the Maori people...There is a minority, however, who resent their status as Maori and who would be prefer to be looked on as Pakeha.

In more recent times, O’Regan (2001: 88), herself a person acknowledging both Maori and non-Maori ancestry, outlines how the transmission of ethnicity to children may not be a straightforward process.

[t]he reality is that a person or group may form a web of interwoven identities with corresponding interwoven boundaries. For those of mixed ethnic descent, for example, the development of an ethnic identity based on the ethnicity of one parent does not necessarily preclude that individual from possessing or developing an equally robust and valid identity based upon the other parent’s ethnicity. Plural cultural identities are a living reality for many of the world’s indigenous populations.

In an empirical study, Metge (1967) reported that in 1956 in the Auckland province about 13 percent of Maori children had a European parent and in 1961 the figure was 15 percent. When only single ethnic groups were collected, it was sensible to ask questions like “how many Maori children have a non-Maori parent”. However, this question becomes more complex when multi-ethnic responses are collected.

Also in New Zealand, Chapple (2000) quotes official birth data from 1998 that indicated that of the total group that recorded Maori as one of their ethnic groups, only 43.4 percent claimed only Maori ethnicity. The next largest group was Maori and European at 44.3 percent. He notes that these mixes indicate a high rate of marriage between Maori and non-Maori.

In her study of the transmission of ethnicity in New Zealand, Kukutai (2001) used two data sources to examine the transmission of three ethnic categories. These are sole Maori, mixed Maori (Maori and one or more other ethnic group) and non-Maori. The data sources used were the 1996 census and Waikato University's retrospective survey *New Zealand women: Family employment and education*. Kukutai found that in couples where both parents were sole Maori, mixed Maori or non-Maori, the children were nearly always reported as having the same ethnic group as their parents. However, outside of these combinations there was considerable variation in how ethnicity is transmitted to children.

Kukutai found that just under a third of children from both data sources who were reported as sole Maori had a non-Maori mother or father. She also found that in inter-ethnic unions, the decision to emphasise a child's Maori ethnicity depended on whether or not the Maori partner identified as Maori only or affiliated with several ethnic groups. However, in Maori / non-Maori couples there was a tendency to emphasise Maori ethnicity when identifying the child. Kukutai also found that children who were assigned or claimed Maori ethnicity, and especially those who reported sole Maori ethnicity, were more likely to have separated parents. This pattern was stronger for more recent cohorts. However, overall the multivariate analysis undertaken by Kukutai points to cultural rather than biological or socio-economic factors being important in the transmission of ethnicity to children.<sup>13</sup>

Kukutai argues that her data on the transmission of ethnicity casts some doubt on the idea that intermarriage will eventually lead to a blurring of ethnic distinctions between Maori and non-Maori. She notes that many families are continuing to value Maori ethnicity even when children could potentially be classified as belonging to the dominant non-Maori group. In a later paper based on the same data, Kukutai (2005: 28) notes

As long as intermarriage between Maori and Europeans continues, the proportion of children being designated as solely Maori will decline. At the same time, it is important to note that more children are assigned Maori ethnicity than not, albeit as part of a mixed Maori-European ethnicity. A critical issue will be the ways in which political and popular understandings of this expanding Maori-European group evolve.

While focussing primarily on Maori ethnic intermarriage, Callister used 2001 census data to consider a wider range of ethnic groups. Like Kukutai's research, Callister found that in many households the transmission of ethnicity from parents to children is not a straightforward process. Particularly when one or both parents affiliate with more than one ethnic group, then there is a range of options open when choosing the ethnic group(s) the child belongs to. When children are able to be allocated to more than one ethnic group, then in a significant proportion of two parent households the

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<sup>13</sup> However, the data Kukutai uses are self reported and do not provide an actual measure of Maori biological links.

ethnicity of both parents, rather than that of just the mother or the father, influences the choice of ethnic group(s) for the children. However, the data suggest that while the ethnicity of both fathers and mothers can be important whose ethnicity matters the most varies according to the ethnic group being considered.

The transmission of ethnicity to children in New Zealand is discussed further in a parallel paper prepared by Howard and Didham (2005).

## **Methodological issues when studying ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand**

In many overseas studies of intermarriage, it is “race” or ancestry that is used in the analysis. In New Zealand ancestry data are only collected in relation to Maori. It would be possible to undertake some investigation of intermarriage between those recording Maori ancestry and those not recording such ancestry. To provide some idea as to how ancestry, ethnicity and, one narrow measure of culture, speaking Te Reo, interact, a table is presented in Appendix 1 that shows within-group marriage for Maori by these three variables. However, in the remainder of this study the measure used is ethnicity (see Statistics New Zealand 2004 for a definition of ethnicity). Most of the following analysis uses the high level categories of Maori, European, Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and Other. However, Statistics New Zealand notes that, technically, aside from Maori, all the one-digit ethnic categories are not individual ethnic groups but collections of groups (Allan 2001). While New Zealand European is a box that can be “ticked”, the higher-level groups of “European”, “Pacific Peoples”, and “Asian” are not groups that can be “ticked” in census responses (although some people may write in such responses). These latter groups are created “ethnic categories” not “ethnic groups” or “ethnic communities” (Pearson 1990).

The measurable level of ethnic intermarriage will depend, in part, on the classification systems used to define ethnic groups as well as the level of aggregation. For example, in the US, if the broad “European” ancestry category is used, then it is found that there is much marriage within that group. But when intermarriage is analysed at a finer level some important differences emerge. For instance, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in America there was relatively little ethnic intermarriage between Western and Northern Europeans and those from Southern, Central and Eastern European backgrounds. The differences in marriage rates within the wider European ethnic group also currently show up in Australia (Giorgas and Jones 2002)

Further complicating any analysis of intermarriage in New Zealand is that a significant number of census respondents record more than one ethnic group (see Appendix 2 for dual and multiple ethnic recording for the Maori and Pacific Peoples ethnic groups). There has been debate as to how to record multiple ethnic responses at the census output stage. In the past a system of ethnic prioritisation was used and this would simplify an analysis of ethnic intermarriage. However, such an analysis would be potentially misleading as it would disguise the true complexity of intermarriage. As result of a review of ethnicity statistics, Statistics New Zealand (2004) has recommended two options. Statistics New Zealand suggest that the standard output for ethnicity data be single and combination responses as well as total response data. Single/combo output places each person in a mutually exclusive category; that is, each person is allocated to a single category, based on whether the person has given either one or

more than one ethnicities. For example, a person who gave only “Maori” as their ethnic group would be included in the “Maori only” category. A person who gave “Maori” and a “Pacific Peoples” ethnic group would be included in the “Maori / Pacific Peoples” category.

Statistics New Zealand is recommending that in the future, where the size of the survey permits consideration should be given to using following single and group combinations:

- single-ethnic group: European, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian; and two new groups, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American and African) and “Other ethnicity” (the latter two groups primarily replacing the group “Other”).<sup>14</sup>
- two-ethnic groups: Maori/European, Pacific peoples/European, Maori/Pacific peoples, Asian/European, two groups not elsewhere included
- Three-ethnic groups: Maori/ Pacific Peoples/ European, three groups not elsewhere included.

Some of these group combinations are quite small, especially for adults. In addition, if all these combinations are used for individuals and then, when analysing intermarriage, they are also used for partners, the number of possible combinations becomes very high. When other variables are then added for each individual, such as education, the number of possible combinations expands even more.

The other option is total counts. While there are advantages in using total counts, there are also some potential problems. First, the total counts sum to more than the population, since multi-ethnic people get counted in all the level one groups to which they belong. Second, multiple ethnicity remains hidden in total count data. This can be particularly problematic when dealing with ethnic intermarriage. For example, using total counts it might seem that there is intermarriage between people from two distinct ethnic groups, yet one partner may be already recording an ethnic group of their partner. The ethnic intermarriage may in fact be reflecting an on-going level of intermarriage rather than a completely new example of it.

The counting more than once of ethnic groups for individuals can be compounded in a couple situation when both partners record more than one ethnic group. Table 1 is a hypothetical example based on one couple. Both partners record Maori and European ethnicity. When recording the ethnic intermarriage outcomes of both partners there will be four outcomes. One will be where both partners are Maori and another where both are European – so an endogamous union indicating no ethnic intermarriage. But another two will be where one partner is European and their partner Maori. This could be seen as an exogamous union, that is an example of ethnic intermarriage.

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<sup>14</sup> The Other Ethnicity group will also include those people recording “New Zealander” type responses.



**Table 1: Hypothetical example of intermarriage by people recording two ethnic groups**

		Two ethnic category male	
		Maori	European
Two ethnic category female	Maori	Maori female with Maori partner	Maori female with European partner
	European	European female with Maori partner	European female with European partner

In this project, both total counts and a reduced version of the recommended single and combination responses. The main, mutually exclusive, single and combination responses used in this study are as follows (Table 2):

**Table 2: Single and multiple ethnic groups used in this study**

Short version	Long version
European	Only European
Maori	Only Maori
Pacific	Only Pacific
Asian	Only Asian
Other	Only Other
MENotPAmaybeO	Maori and European, not Pacific or Asian but maybe Other
MPnotEAmaybeO	Maori and Pacific, not European or Asian but maybe Other
PEnotMAmaybeO	Pacific and European, not Maori or Asian but maybe Other
MPEnotAmaybeO	Maori and Pacific and European, not Asian but maybe Other
MEANotPmaybeO	Maori and European and Asian, not Pacific but maybe Other
PEANotMmaybeO	Pacific and European and Asian, not Maori but maybe Other
MPANotEmaybeO	Maori and Pacific and Asian, not European but maybe Other
Other EA	Other European and Asian combinations (incl European and Asian)
Other combs	Other combinations
Total	Total stated

The reason that ‘Maybe Other’ was included in the main ethnic combinations is that we did not want to lose any numbers out of these important combinations due to an ‘Other’ group being recorded. In reality, the inclusion of ‘Maybe Other’ makes little difference to the results.

Finally, some data on the intermarriage rates of ‘New Zealanders’ is included. A small, but increasing, number of respondents to official surveys, including the Census of Population and Dwellings, have been writing down “New Zealander” type responses to questions about ethnicity. In 2001, 78,111 recorded “New Zealander”, 8,886 “Kiwi”, and 2,230 “Kiwi and New Zealander”. In addition, 8,128 recorded “Pakeha”, 203 “Native” and 806 “White”. These data have been recorded in Statistics New Zealand’s databases. However, in high-level ethnic reportage from the 1991, 1996 and 2001 censuses, these people were subsequently re-grouped by Statistics New Zealand initially as “New Zealand Europeans” and, ultimately, as “Europeans” in official reports. Isolating out the ‘New Zealander’ required special tabulations from Statistics New Zealand. In these tabulations the “white” and “Pakeha” responses are not included in the “New Zealander” group.

As discussed earlier, in all of the following tables, the data are based on couples living in households, with or without other family members or other residents present. The couples may be legally married or in a de facto relationship.

Finally, the data supplied by Statistics New Zealand had been rounded to the nearest 3 in order to protect the confidentiality of respondents when numbers are low. Therefore all subsequent calculations used these rounded data. In addition, in some tables where the numbers in the group are very small the results have been suppressed, not for confidentiality reasons, but because the results could be misleading. An example is the number of Maori born overseas by age group.

## Part 2: New Zealand data on ethnic intermarriage

The literature reviewed suggests many factors influence rates of intermarriage, including group size, age, education, geographic segregation, time in a country, gender, and attitudes. While not all of these variables can be tested using census data, an attempt is made to explore some of the more important ones.

The analysis begins with a focus on total counts. Ethnicity is a hierarchical classification that aggregates to the highest level, level 1. The analysis is mainly carried out using the highest, level 1, ethnic categories, which is European, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian and Other. Only opposite sex couples are considered. In addition, only 2001 data are considered. In this section, to set the scene, sex ratios and size of relative ethnic populations are initially considered. Next, intermarriage rates for main ethnic categories are considered. This is followed by the association age, and then education, has with intermarriage amongst main ethnic groups. As discussed, geographic location, and size of relative ethnic populations in each location, has been shown in the international literature to have an influence on rates of ethnic intermarriage. Therefore, as illustrative examples some data are presented on intermarriage rates for the total Maori and European groups by Territorial Local Authority.

High-level ethnic groups potentially disguise more complex patterns of intermarriage by the actual ethnic responses that are recorded in the census. Again using total count data, some data are presented on intermarriage rates by level 3 ethnic groups (for example, Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Tongan, Niuean in the Pacific Peoples ethnic group).<sup>15</sup> In this analysis two issues are explored. First, how likely is it that a person will form a couple relationship with someone from exactly the same ethnic group? Second, if the person does not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, how likely is it that their partner will also be from the same level 1 ethnic group (European, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian and Other). This provides some insights into how useful high level ethnic groupings are and how much “social distance” (as measured by intermarriage rates) might be between people within the broad ethnic groupings of European, Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and Other.<sup>16</sup>

The next section focuses on more complex measures of ethnicity, taking into account multiple responses. As discussed in the methodology section of the literature review, there are many possible combinations of ethnicity both for individuals and couples. To keep the analysis manageable only main single and multiple ethnic groups are considered.

A final section explores intermarriage rates for those people who record a “New Zealander” type response as one or more of their ethnic groups.

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<sup>15</sup> As these are total counts, the respondents may record more than one ethnic group.

<sup>16</sup> The Maori ethnic group is not considered as there are no ethnic subgroups. However, iwi affiliation could be analysed as a subgroup for Maori.

In all tables where one or both partners do not state their ethnic group they are excluded from the analysis. This is a small, but not insignificant group. For example, based on total count data in 2001 of couples where the male was recorded as European, just over 2 percent of their partners did not state their ethnicity. For those males who did not state their ethnicity, 16 percent of their partners also did not state their ethnicity. However, overall in less than 1 percent of couples both partners did not state their ethnic group(s) (see Appendix 1).

## Section 1: Total counts

Table 3 illustrates two variables that have been shown by studies to influence rates of ethnic intermarriage. These are total size of ethnic group (based on total counts) and ratios of women to men within the broad ethnic groups. The table is restricted to key age groups in which couples tend to form. In terms of actual numbers in each ethnic group, in the older age ranges the European ethnic group is by far the largest single group, but its relative size diminishes in the younger age ranges.<sup>17</sup> There is strong growth in relative numbers of Maori, Asians, and Pacific Peoples in the younger age groups. The table also shows that in almost all age group and for all ethnic groups there are more women than men. Both the size of group and sex ratios are likely to influence rates of ethnic intermarriage both currently and in the future in a range of complex ways. Not shown are the ratios by the three variables of age, ethnicity and education. When education is also considered the data show that particularly in the younger age groups the number of well-qualified women outnumber well-qualified men. Again, this is likely to be having some influence on patterns of marriage and intermarriage.

**Table 3: Ratio of women to men in each age and ethnic group and total numbers, total ethnic counts, 2001**

	European	Maori	Pacific	Asian				
20-24	167,379	1.03	42,096	1.09	19,782	1.08	24,018	1.05
25-29	180,117	1.10	40,161	1.16	17,979	1.09	17,979	1.25
30-34	206,805	1.11	39,252	1.16	17,778	1.14	19,950	1.37
35-39	222,825	1.09	38,322	1.13	16,011	1.10	22,725	1.23
40-44	220,077	1.05	32,856	1.12	12,753	1.08	19,803	1.26
45-49	198,456	1.03	25,092	1.07	10,131	1.00	15,693	1.21

Table 4 is based on total ethnic counts. Therefore a significant number of couples are counted more than once. This also means that rows do not add to row totals, nor do columns add to column totals. The total stated figures represent the total number of responses to the ethnicity question whether they be single, dual or multiple responses. In this, and the following total count tables, the diagonal show where both partners record (as at least one ethnic group) the same ethnic group as their partner (marked in bold).

<sup>17</sup> Based on the overlapping total counts, it would be theoretically possible for 100% of Maori women aged 25-34 to have a European partner, but only possible for a maximum of around 20% of European women to have a Maori partner in this age group. This illustrates the effect of group size on potential intermarriage rates.

**Table 4: Number of responses in each ethnic combination, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		Female					
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	Total Stated
	European	<b>589,860</b>	35,268	7,068	9,867	1,263	616,878
	Maori	38,112	<b>34,464</b>	2,793	861	108	65,169
Male	Pacific Peoples	8,001	4,740	<b>22,026</b>	573	45	31,683
	Asian	3,570	717	684	<b>37,716</b>	57	41,808
	Other	1,557	162	81	183	<b>2,574</b>	4,266
	Total Stated	616,386	66,057	30,315	48,135	3,813	730,335

In Table 4 the combination of both partners recording a European ethnicity is by far the largest category. At the other end of the spectrum some combinations, such as Pacific and Other are uncommon. But, overall Table 4 indicates that intermarriage is important for all ethnic groups and for both women and men.

Table 5 reworks these total count data and shows the proportion of men in each ethnic category by the ethnicity of their partner, while Table 6 illustrates this for women. Tables 5 and 6 show a number of patterns. First, those in the European group are the most likely to have a partner who records European as at least one of their ethnic groups (96 percent for both women and men). This is not surprising given that it is by far the largest ethnic category. In contrast, those in the Maori group are the least likely to have a partner recording the same ethnicity (53 percent for men and 52 percent for women). Amongst some groups there are also gender differences. A Maori male is less likely to have a Pacific partner (4 percent) than is a Maori female (7 percent). As suggested by the literature review, there are quite different patterns of within-group marriage by Asian men and women. In 2001 Asian men were far more likely to have a partner from the Asian category (90 percent) than were Asian women (78 percent). Twenty percent of Asian women had a European partner, while only 9 percent of Asian men had a European partner.

Highlighted (in italics) in the tables are the row totals. In both tables, and in all ethnic groups, the totals add to more than 100 percent. For example, a significant number of Maori living in couples are recording both European and Maori ethnicity. As part of endeavouring to understand how overlapping ethnic groups might affect intermarriage, it was investigated whether there were any gender differences in the recording of single versus multiple ethnicities. There were found to be no differences.

**Table 5: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		Female					
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	Total %
Male	European	<b>96</b>	6	1	2	0	104
	Maori	58	<b>53</b>	4	1	0	117
	Pacific Peoples	25	15	<b>70</b>	2	0	112
	Asian	9	2	2	<b>90</b>	0	102
	Other	36	4	2	4	<b>60</b>	107

**Table 6: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		Male					
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	Total %
Female	European	<b>96</b>	6	1	1	0	104
	Maori	53	<b>52</b>	7	1	0	114
	Pacific Peoples	23	9	<b>73</b>	2	0	108
	Asian	20	2	1	<b>78</b>	0	102
	Other	33	3	1	1	<b>68</b>	106

### Age

The international literature suggests that, for a variety of reasons, younger people are more likely to form interethnic partnerships. This also shows up in the New Zealand data (Tables 7 and 8). However, some caution is needed when considering apparent trends indicated by the younger age group in New Zealand. The partnered 15-24 age group is a relatively small group, particularly for men.<sup>18</sup> There is a tendency for individuals with lower levels of education to form couples before those with tertiary qualifications so, in part, the younger age groups will reflect educational influences. In addition, a not insignificant number of the young couples will separate. Subsequent partner choices, including their ethnic group, may be different. In addition younger people are more likely to have a tertiary education qualification and, in some ethnic groups, be born in New Zealand. Given some of these factors, it is not clear that the patterns observed in the 15-24 age group will eventually be seen in older age groups. However, taking these caveats into account, in general the older age group is less likely to be part of an ethnic intermarriage. This pattern is particularly strong amongst Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and the Other ethnic group.

<sup>18</sup> On average women tend to form couples relationships at a younger age than do men.

**Table 7: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men by age of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Male	Female					% of total specified	Total specified
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other		
<b>European</b>							
15-24	<b>93.2</b>	14.7	2.7	2.1	0.3	113.0	17,493
25-44	<b>95.0</b>	7.6	1.5	1.9	0.3	106.3	244,197
45+	<b>96.2</b>	4.0	0.8	1.4	0.1	102.5	355,185
<b>Maori</b>							
15-24	60.4	<b>58.8</b>	8.1	2.1	0.2	129.5	5,586
25-44	61.2	<b>51.6</b>	5.2	1.3	0.2	119.5	35,283
45+	54.1	<b>53.4</b>	2.1	1.1	0.1	110.8	24,300
<b>Pacific Peoples</b>							
15-24	38.9	32.5	<b>52.3</b>	3.2	0.3	127.2	2,373
25-44	28.3	16.6	<b>66.6</b>	1.9	0.2	113.6	17,898
45+	17.6	8.6	<b>77.8</b>	1.4	0.0	105.5	11,412
<b>Asian</b>							
15-24	24.6	8.4	5.2	<b>70.9</b>	0.3	109.4	1,146
25-44	8.9	1.9	1.8	<b>89.5</b>	0.1	102.3	22,140
45+	7.1	1.1	1.2	<b>92.2</b>	0.1	101.7	18,522
<b>Other</b>							
15-24	52.1	14.6	4.2	8.3	<b>35.4</b>	114.6	144
25-44	37.4	4.0	2.4	5.6	<b>57.6</b>	107.1	2,550
45+	33.8	2.7	1.0	1.9	<b>67.1</b>	106.5	1,569

There are both similarities and differences between women and men as to age and ethnic intermarriage. An example of a significant difference is that young Maori men are far more likely to have a partner recording European ethnicity as one or more of their ethnic groups (Maori could be another group within the European total count). In the 15-24 age group, just over 60 percent of Maori men had a European partner as against just over 49 percent of Maori women in this age group. Similarly, in this age nearly 39 percent of Pacific men had a European partner against 24 percent of Pacific women.

When the 'overlap' of ethnicities is considered by age, it can be seen that the rows totals are higher amongst younger people. This reflects a greater likelihood of younger people to report multiple ethnicities. In addition, particularly in the 'Other' group the numbers are quite small, and so with rounding the percentages should be seen as indicative not absolute.

**Table 8: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women by age of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Female	Male					% of total specified	Total specified
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other		
<b>European</b>							
15-24	<b>89.0</b>	16.3	4.4	1.5	0.4	111.8	29,439
25-44	<b>94.5</b>	8.1	1.8	0.8	0.4	105.5	273,888
45+	<b>97.4</b>	3.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	101.9	313,056
<b>Maori</b>							
15-24	49.4	<b>58.6</b>	13.4	1.8	0.4	123.6	7,464
25-44	54.4	<b>51.6</b>	8.1	1.2	0.3	115.5	36,918
45+	53.1	<b>50.9</b>	3.5	0.7	0.2	108.4	21,672
<b>Pacific Peoples</b>							
15-24	24.3	19.3	<b>68.1</b>	3.6	0.7	116.0	2,829
25-44	23.0	10.5	<b>72.1</b>	2.3	0.3	108.2	17,841
45+	23.7	4.0	<b>75.0</b>	1.8	0.1	104.5	9,645
<b>Asian</b>							
15-24	24.2	5.4	3.7	<b>71.9</b>	0.8	106.1	2,652
25-44	22.4	1.8	1.2	<b>76.4</b>	0.5	102.3	29,322
45+	16.5	1.1	0.7	<b>83.0</b>	0.1	101.5	16,161
<b>Other</b>							
15-24	28.6	7.7	2.2	1.1	<b>65.9</b>	105.5	273
25-44	31.7	2.8	1.2	1.5	<b>69.3</b>	106.4	2,469
45+	37.8	1.7	0.8	1.7	<b>63.3</b>	105.3	1,071

### *Education*

Like age, education has been identified in many studies as an important variable associated with differing rates of ethnic intermarriage (Tables 9 and 10). The New Zealand data also indicate that education is important, but with major complexities as to the associations. Amongst both men and women in the European group, intermarriage with the Maori and Pacific Peoples groups is more common amongst those with little formal qualifications. Although very weak due to comparatively smaller numbers, the opposite pattern can be seen for European intermarriage with the Asian and Other ethnic group.

In contrast, marriage to people recording European ethnicity by Maori, Pacific Peoples, and to a lesser degree Asian Peoples and Other ethnic groups, is more common amongst those with tertiary qualifications. With some exceptions, this gradient of out-marriage increasing by qualifications can be seen with regards to all main ethnic groups for Maori. In some categories this pattern is very strong. For example, nearly 76 percent of Maori men and 67 percent of Maori women with a degree or higher qualification have a partner that records European as one of their ethnic groups (again, for some, Maori will be another group recorded), as against nearly 51 percent and nearly 47 percent for Maori women and men respectively with no formal qualifications.



**Table 9: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men by qualifications of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		Female					Total	Total
Male		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other	Total	specified
European	No qualification	<b>94.7</b>	7.6	1.2	1.1	0.1	<i>104.7</i>	144,411
	School qualification	<b>95.5</b>	5.8	1.4	1.7	0.2	<i>104.6</i>	184,710
	Vocational	<b>96.5</b>	5.0	1.0	1.5	0.2	<i>104.1</i>	152,958
	Degree or higher	<b>96.3</b>	2.9	0.9	2.5	0.5	<i>103.1</i>	80,739
Maori	No qualification	50.6	<b>60.5</b>	3.9	1.0	0.1	<i>116.1</i>	24,798
	School qualification	65.7	<b>47.1</b>	5.2	1.7	0.2	<i>120.0</i>	17,019
	Vocational	71.0	<b>41.1</b>	4.1	1.5	0.2	<i>117.9</i>	10,938
	Degree or higher	75.6	<b>31.0</b>	4.0	3.1	0.4	<i>114.2</i>	3,063
Pacific Peoples	No qualification	21.1	17.6	<b>70.9</b>	1.2	0.1	<i>110.8</i>	10,065
	School qualification	26.1	13.5	<b>71.1</b>	2.0	0.2	<i>112.9</i>	11,790
	Vocational	43.9	18.7	<b>51.0</b>	2.9	0.3	<i>116.8</i>	3,321
	Degree or higher	50.0	10.7	<b>47.2</b>	4.8	0.8	<i>113.5</i>	1,176
Asian	No qualification	8.2	3.7	2.4	<b>89.0</b>	0.0	<i>103.2</i>	5,178
	School qualification	7.2	1.6	2.0	<b>91.2</b>	0.1	<i>102.2</i>	16,182
	Vocational	14.5	2.2	2.0	<b>84.6</b>	0.1	<i>103.5</i>	4,953
	Degree or higher	8.4	0.6	0.5	<b>91.7</b>	0.2	<i>101.4</i>	12,300
Other	No qualification	29.1	9.7	3.7	3.0	<b>61.2</b>	<i>106.7</i>	402
	School qualification	39.8	4.2	2.1	4.7	<b>55.9</b>	<i>106.8</i>	1,416
	Vocational	51.4	3.8	1.0	5.3	<b>47.1</b>	<i>108.7</i>	624
	Degree or higher	31.1	1.6	1.2	4.2	<b>67.9</b>	<i>105.9</i>	1,515

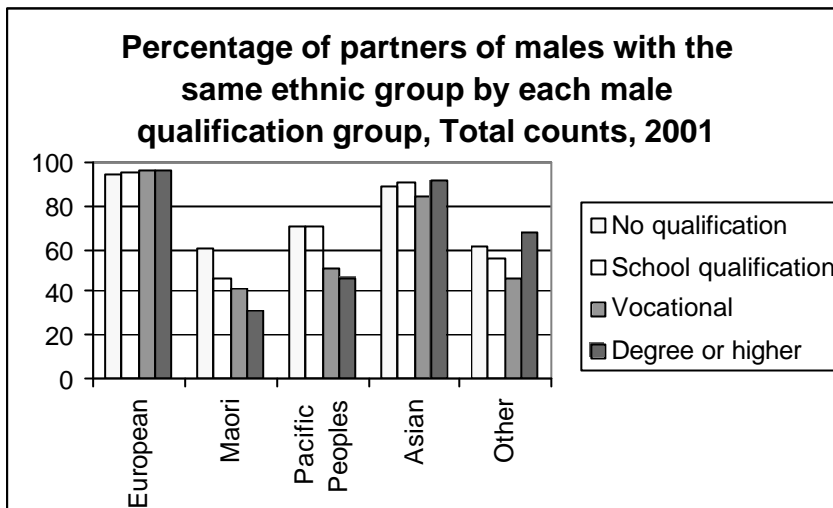
**Table 10: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women by qualifications of females, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Female		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other	Total	Total specified
European	No qualification	<b>94.7</b>	7.3	1.3	0.4	0.1	<i>103.7</i>	136,962
	School qualification	<b>95.7</b>	6.4	1.5	0.6	0.2	<i>104.4</i>	231,597
	Vocational	<b>96.2</b>	5.7	1.2	0.6	0.3	<i>104.1</i>	132,129
	Degree or higher	<b>96.4</b>	4.5	1.2	1.1	0.6	<i>103.8</i>	66,504
Maori	No qualification	46.5	<b>57.7</b>	6.7	1.0	0.1	<i>112.0</i>	22,356
	School qualification	58.5	<b>48.6</b>	8.2	1.2	0.3	<i>116.8</i>	21,567
	Vocational	60.0	<b>46.6</b>	7.4	1.0	0.3	<i>115.4</i>	10,710
	Degree or higher	67.0	<b>38.1</b>	6.5	1.9	0.5	<i>113.9</i>	3,528
Pacific Peoples	No qualification	20.8	8.8	<b>74.7</b>	1.4	0.2	<i>106.0</i>	8,289
	School qualification	23.8	9.7	<b>72.3</b>	2.8	0.2	<i>108.8</i>	12,426
	Vocational	32.5	12.3	<b>63.2</b>	2.3	0.3	<i>110.5</i>	3,585
	Degree or higher	46.2	13.7	<b>47.9</b>	4.2	1.1	<i>113.2</i>	1,071
Asian	No qualification	17.5	2.3	1.3	<b>80.9</b>	0.0	<i>102.0</i>	6,579
	School qualification	18.9	1.7	1.3	<b>79.8</b>	0.4	<i>102.1</i>	20,799
	Vocational	25.0	2.8	1.8	<b>73.4</b>	0.5	<i>103.4</i>	5,607
	Degree or higher	23.3	1.1	0.7	<b>76.2</b>	0.6	<i>101.9</i>	11,223
Other	No qualification	18.0	4.7	1.6	0.8	<b>78.9</b>	<i>103.9</i>	384
	School qualification	36.0	3.4	1.7	1.5	<b>65.0</b>	<i>107.6</i>	1,416
	Vocational	43.2	3.6	0.5	2.1	<b>57.8</b>	<i>107.3</i>	576
	Degree or higher	33.1	1.3	0.8	1.3	<b>68.8</b>	<i>105.3</i>	1,134

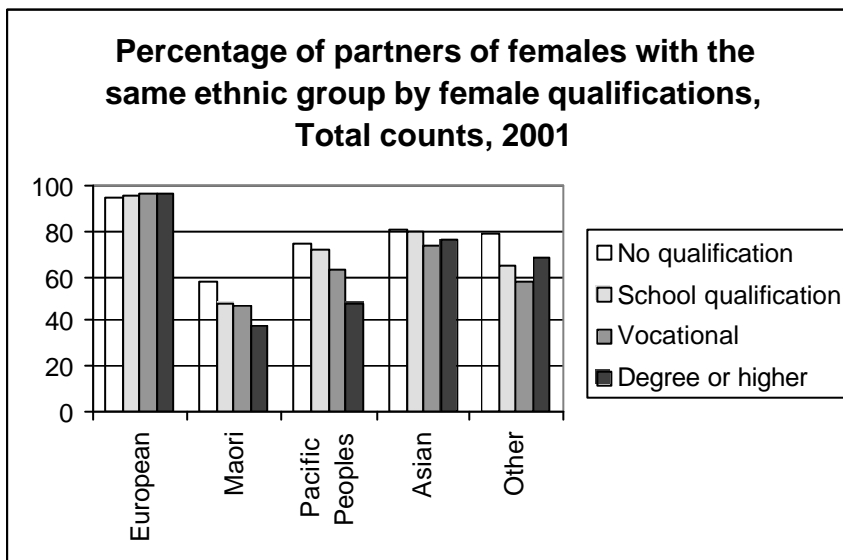
Figures 1 and 2 endeavour to simplify the data. They show only within-ethnic group marriage by highest qualification for men (Figure 1) and women (Figure 2). A number of patterns are clear. These include:

- For both European men and women within-group marriage is marginally more likely amongst the well educated.
- For both men and women, and for both Maori and Pacific Peoples, the opposite pattern is evident. That is, within-group marriage is more common amongst those with low levels of education. This association is quite strong.
- There is more complexity amongst the Asian and Other groups. Amongst Asian and Other men, within-group marriage is the most common amongst the well educated. In contrast, amongst Asian and Other women within-group marriage is the most common amongst those with no formal qualifications. However, the differences are not that large and there is much variation within other educational groupings.

**Figure 1**



**Figure 2**



As an illustrative example drawn from these educational data, Table 11 shows the partner choices being made by Maori women with a degree or higher qualification. As already shown in Table 10, such women are more likely to have a partner recording a European ethnicity than a Maori ethnicity (although some will be recording both ethnicities and are counted in both groups). But probably reflecting relative numbers of Maori women and men with degrees or higher qualifications, well qualified Maori women who have a Maori partner are more likely to have a partner with no formal qualifications or school qualifications than those who have a partner recording European ethnicity. While this table illustrates complex interactions between some variables, it also shows that group size matters. The pool of well qualified Maori men that well qualified Maori women will be drawing on for partners (given that there is a strong tendency for women to marry someone with a similar – or higher – qualification) is relatively small so it is not surprising that many well qualified Maori women appear to look beyond it.

**Table 11: Maori women with a degree or higher –Number with a European or Maori partner by highest qualifications of partner, Total counts, 2001**

Maori women	No Qualification	School	Vocational	Degree or higher	% total stated	Total stated
European partner	9.7	28.7	24.9	36.8	100	2,292
Maori partner	18.8	31.4	22.5	27.3	100	1,242

### *Geography*

Overseas studies have also indicated a geographic dimension to ethnic intermarriage. In part, this reflects differences in relative sizes of ethnic groups in particular areas. This is reflected in Table 12. Table 12 illustrates rates of marriage to two categories of Maori for Maori men and women by Territorial Local Authority.<sup>19</sup> These two categories are 1) is the percentage of partners of Maori men (total count) who recorded Maori only as their ethnic group (the first column), 2) is the percentage of partners who recorded both Maori and European (the second column). Missing are other combinations such people recording both Maori and Pacific Peoples. These data are then repeated for women (two right columns).

Only the authorities with the highest and lowest rates of within-group marriage are shown. There is a clear North and South Island division in the table, with the highest rates of marriage of Maori to Maori in areas in the North Island where Maori form a high proportion of the total population. In-group marriage rates in South Island areas are relatively low where Maori form a much smaller proportion of the population. Similar geographic based patterns are likely to be found for Pacific and Asian Peoples.

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<sup>19</sup> These two groups are the largest where Maori ethnicity is recorded.

**Table 12: Percentage of partners in selected ethnic groups for Maori men and women (Total counts for Maori men and women and two ethnic groups for their partners), opposite sex couples, 2001**

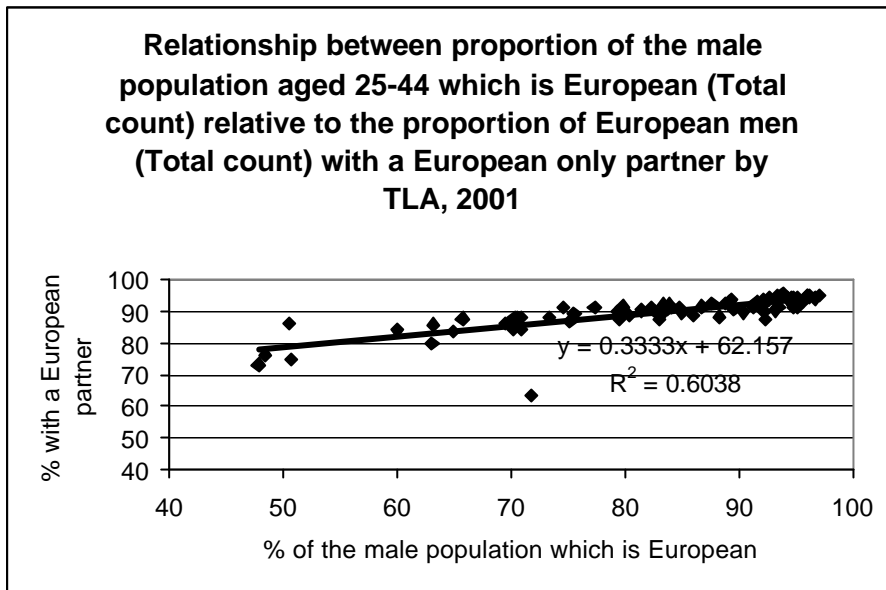
Male			Female		
<b>Highest rates</b>	Maori/	Maori/		Maori/	
	Only	European*		Only	European*
Wairoa	69.6	13.8	Kawerau	66.9	10.3
Gisborne	64.3	13.3	Wairoa	66.3	9.8
Waitomo	63.6	15.2	Waitomo	62.7	10.7
Kawerau	63.2	16.4	Gisborne	62.6	10.2
Whakatane	60.2	12.9	Opotiki	61.4	10.7
Opotiki	60.0	13.3	Whakatane	59.2	11.1
Waikato	58.1	12.3	Far North	56.9	11.8
Far North	57.9	16.3	Waikato	56.2	9.1
Ruapehu	54.0	19.2	Rotorua	52.5	13.5
Hastings	50.6	13.2	Hastings	52.5	9.7
<i>Lowest rates</i>					
Mackenzie	12.5	12.5	Timaru	13.1	5.1
Banks Peninsula	12.0	8.0	Waimate	12.5	0.0
Waimakariri	11.8	11.0	Buller	11.1	8.3
Queenstown-Lakes	11.4	11.4	Banks Peninsula	10.7	7.1
Timaru	11.2	5.6	Dunedin City	10.5	6.5
Waitaki	10.6	6.4	Ashburton	9.8	4.9
Ashburton	9.7	4.8	Queenstown-Lakes	9.6	7.7
Dunedin City	8.4	7.6	Mackenzie	9.1	9.1
Grey	7.9	7.9	Grey	7.1	7.1
Waimate	6.7	6.7	Waitaki	6.5	8.7

\*This category is actually "Maori and European not Pacific or Asian but possibly the respondent recorded an "Other" ethnicity"

This association between relative size of ethnic group and in-group marriage is tested more fully for the European ethnic group. Figures 3 and 4 show the association (using simple linear regressions) between the numbers of European men and European women who have a partner recording European ethnicity relative to the proportion of Europeans in each local territorial authority. Those offshore are excluded due to small numbers. The main outlier in both figures, the Chatham Islands, also has relatively small numbers. In addition, the age group considered is 25-44 in order to restrict this to the age group where couples are most common.<sup>20</sup>

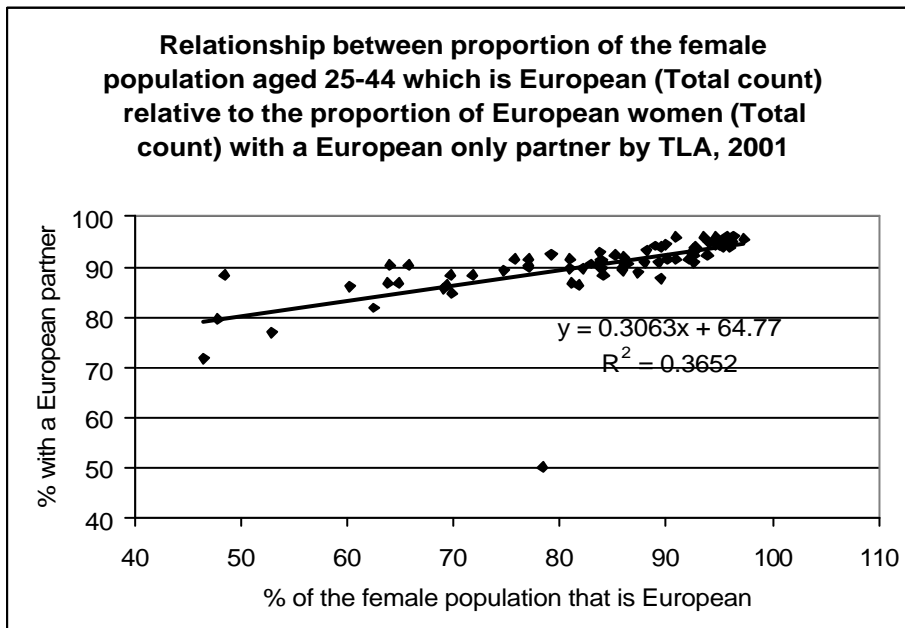
<sup>20</sup> There is no age restriction on partners.

**Figure 3**



There is a positive linear association between size of group and in-group marriage for both men and women, but this association is stronger for men. In part, this will reflect that in-group marriage rates for European men in this age group are marginally higher than for women (see Tables 7 and 8). However, it needs to be remembered that many of the couples will have formed with one or both partners originally residing outside the area.

**Figure 4**



### *Overseas versus New Zealand born*

The question of intermarriage in relation to where respondents were born is explored in Tables 13 through to 16. The tables show main ethnic groups by whether the target person in the couple was born in New Zealand (NZBorn) or born overseas (OSBorn). Their age is also considered. Given the small numbers in the 15-24 age group (Tables 5 and 6), this age group is not shown. However, a wider range of age groups is shown within the 25-44 band than in previous tables. To reduce the size of tables, the 45 plus age group is not considered.

In this, and the following three tables, the totals specified are shown to illustrate the relative size of the New Zealand born group relative to overseas born. This ratio varies considerably by ethnic group. Again, row totals are shown which all add up to more than 100 percent. However, the row totals are in each ethnic group and age group higher for those born in New Zealand. This shows a greater overlap of the ethnic groups.

In some of the tables numbers have been suppressed as they are small and, given the rounding, the percentages could be misleading.

**Table 13: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men by age and country of birth of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Male		Female					Total	Total specified
		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other		
European	25-29							
	NZBorn	<b>94.7</b>	10.8	2.0	1.8	0.3	109.6	34,446
	OSBorn	<b>94.4</b>	6.5	2.5	2.7	0.5	106.6	4,038
	30-34							
	NZBorn	<b>95.2</b>	8.4	1.6	1.7	0.2	107.1	50,472
	OSBorn	<b>95.0</b>	4.7	1.7	2.7	0.8	104.9	8,313
	35-39							
	NZBorn	<b>95.0</b>	7.5	1.4	1.8	0.2	105.9	59,913
	OSBorn	<b>94.8</b>	4.3	1.6	2.7	0.7	104.1	11,463
	40-44							
	NZBorn	<b>95.2</b>	7.0	1.1	1.7	0.2	105.2	62,469
	OSBorn	<b>95.0</b>	3.8	1.4	2.6	0.6	103.4	11,910
Maori	25-29							
	NZBorn	63.4	<b>53.9</b>	6.9	1.5	0.3	126.0	7,386
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	30-34							
	NZBorn	62.3	<b>51.2</b>	5.5	1.4	0.1	120.5	8,748
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	35-39							
	NZBorn	60.0	<b>50.9</b>	5.0	1.2	0.2	117.3	9,696
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	40-44							
	NZBorn	60.1	<b>50.3</b>	3.7	1.2	0.2	115.5	8,760
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
Pacific	25-29							
	NZBorn	52.7	32.0	<b>40.4</b>	3.9	0.3	129.3	1,788
	OSBorn	18.6	12.8	<b>78.0</b>	2.1	0.0	111.5	2,016
	30-34							
	NZBorn	55.7	34.7	<b>32.8</b>	2.4	0.4	126.0	1,599
	OSBorn	15.1	9.6	<b>81.7</b>	1.5	0.0	107.9	3,192
	35-39							
	NZBorn	60.1	33.0	<b>29.5</b>	2.6	0.2	125.4	1,392
	OSBorn	13.7	7.9	<b>83.8</b>	1.1	0.1	106.6	3,594
	40-44							
	NZBorn	65.5	32.4	<b>20.5</b>	2.2	0.4	121.0	834
	OSBorn	13.9	7.5	<b>83.7</b>	1.4	0.1	106.6	3,303



Table 13 shows the patterns for Europeans, Maori and Pacific men, while Table 14 shows the data for Asian and Other men. As with other tables, there is much complexity in the patterns. However, while there are some exceptions, in general the strongest pattern that emerges is that in each age group respondents born in New Zealand are more likely to have a partner outside of their ethnic group. Some of this pattern will reflect that, among those born overseas, some couples were formed outside of New Zealand. However, some will be due to differences in behaviour of those born in New Zealand relative to those born outside of New Zealand.<sup>21</sup>

**Table 14: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men by age and country of birth of male, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Male		Female					Total	Total specified
		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other		
Asian	25-29							
	NZBorn	56.9	13.8	8.1	<b>37.4</b>	0.8	117.0	369
	OSBorn	8.5	2.1	2.2	<b>89.5</b>	0.1	102.4	2,316
	30-34							
	NZBorn	48.2	14.7	4.2	<b>45.5</b>	0.0	112.6	573
	OSBorn	5.5	0.9	2.0	<b>92.7</b>	0.1	101.2	4,491
	35-39							
	NZBorn	40.0	8.4	2.3	<b>57.7</b>	0.0	108.4	645
	OSBorn	4.2	0.5	1.4	<b>94.7</b>	0.1	100.9	6,837
	40-44							
	NZBorn	36.1	8.8	2.9	<b>61.0</b>	0.5	109.3	615
	OSBorn	4.4	0.7	1.2	<b>94.9</b>	0.2	101.4	6,159
Other	25-29							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	45.6	4.9	6.8	3.9	<b>45.6</b>	106.8	309
	30-34							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	34.9	2.4	1.9	6.6	<b>58.0</b>	103.8	636
	35-39							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	35.8	2.9	1.6	5.3	<b>60.9</b>	106.5	729
	40-44							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	27.5	2.2	0.9	4.8	<b>69.9</b>	105.3	687

<sup>21</sup> Some New Zealand born residents will also have formed couples outside of New Zealand.

**Table 15: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women by age and country of birth of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Female		Male					Total	Total specified
		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other		
European	25-29							
	NZBorn	<b>92.6</b>	11.5	2.9	0.9	0.3	108.2	43,884
	OSBorn	<b>94.6</b>	6.2	2.3	1.4	0.9	105.4	5,976
	30-34							
	NZBorn	<b>93.9</b>	9.3	2.1	0.8	0.3	106.4	58,773
	OSBorn	<b>95.6</b>	5.3	1.6	0.9	0.9	104.3	10,425
	35-39							
	NZBorn	<b>94.5</b>	8.1	1.7	0.6	0.3	105.2	64,566
	OSBorn	<b>96.8</b>	4.1	1.2	0.9	0.7	103.7	12,723
	40-44							
	NZBorn	<b>95.3</b>	6.9	1.2	0.6	0.2	104.2	64,200
	OSBorn	<b>96.9</b>	3.3	1.0	1.1	0.8	103.1	11,952
Maori	25-29							
	NZBorn	54.8	<b>53.3</b>	10.6	1.4	0.4	120.5	8,436
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	30-34							
	NZBorn	54.0	<b>51.9</b>	8.8	1.3	0.2	116.2	9,351
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	35-39							
	NZBorn	53.8	<b>51.6</b>	7.0	1.1	0.2	113.7	9,654
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
	40-44							
	NZBorn	55.0	<b>49.5</b>	6.1	0.9	0.3	111.8	8,715
	OSBorn			Small numbers				
Pacific	25-29							
	NZBorn	36.8	24.7	<b>53.5</b>	2.7	0.5	118.2	1,884
	OSBorn	13.3	4.3	<b>84.1</b>	2.7	0.7	105.1	2,091
	30-34							
	NZBorn	44.4	25.6	<b>45.5</b>	2.0	0.6	118.1	1,629
	OSBorn	12.9	3.6	<b>85.3</b>	2.0	0.4	104.2	3,399
	35-39							
	NZBorn	46.8	26.5	<b>41.6</b>	1.7	0.2	116.8	1,269
	OSBorn	12.9	3.4	<b>84.1</b>	2.7	0.2	103.3	3,501
	40-44							
	NZBorn	53.0	28.0	<b>33.7</b>	0.8	0.0	115.5	792
	OSBorn	15.1	2.6	<b>83.3</b>	2.2	0.3	103.5	3,099

**Table 16: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women by age and country of birth of female, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

Female		Male					Total	Total specified
		European	Maori	Pacific peoples	Asian	Other		
Asian	25-29							
	NZBorn	55.6	12.3	11.7	<b>32.2</b>	0.0	111.8	513
	OSBorn	19.2	1.4	1.2	<b>79.4</b>	0.7	101.9	4,566
	30-34							
	NZBorn	46.9	13.3	7.1	<b>44.5</b>	0.5	112.3	633
	OSBorn	20.3	1.2	0.9	<b>79.0</b>	0.5	101.9	7,008
	35-39							
	NZBorn	46.3	9.4	5.4	<b>47.3</b>	0.5	108.9	609
	OSBorn	20.1	0.6	0.5	<b>79.3</b>	0.5	101.0	8,232
	40-44							
	NZBorn	43.4	8.2	1.6	<b>53.3</b>	1.1	107.6	546
	OSBorn	20.8	1.1	0.7	<b>78.8</b>	0.3	101.7	7,044
Other	25-29							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	32.4	1.4	1.4	2.0	<b>69.6</b>	106.8	444
	30-34							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	29.3	1.0	1.4	0.5	<b>72.1</b>	104.3	624
	35-39							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	27.0	1.7	0.9	1.3	<b>73.9</b>	104.8	690
	40-44							
	NZBorn				Small numbers			
	OSBorn	30.6	1.1	0.0	1.7	<b>75.0</b>	108.4	540

Figures 5 and 6 are two illustrations drawn from these data. They focus on the young age group, 25-29, so have the high out-marriage rates. The group “Other” is not shown due to small numbers. Figure 5 shows within-group marriage for Europeans, Maori, Pacific Peoples and Asians, that is, for example, the percentage of European men who have a European partner. There are major differences for the Pacific Peoples and Asian groups and, to a lesser degree and in an opposite pattern, for Maori by whether the men were born in New Zealand or overseas. As they are illustrative, they only show men. While there are some differences between women and men the overall direction of the patterns is similar.

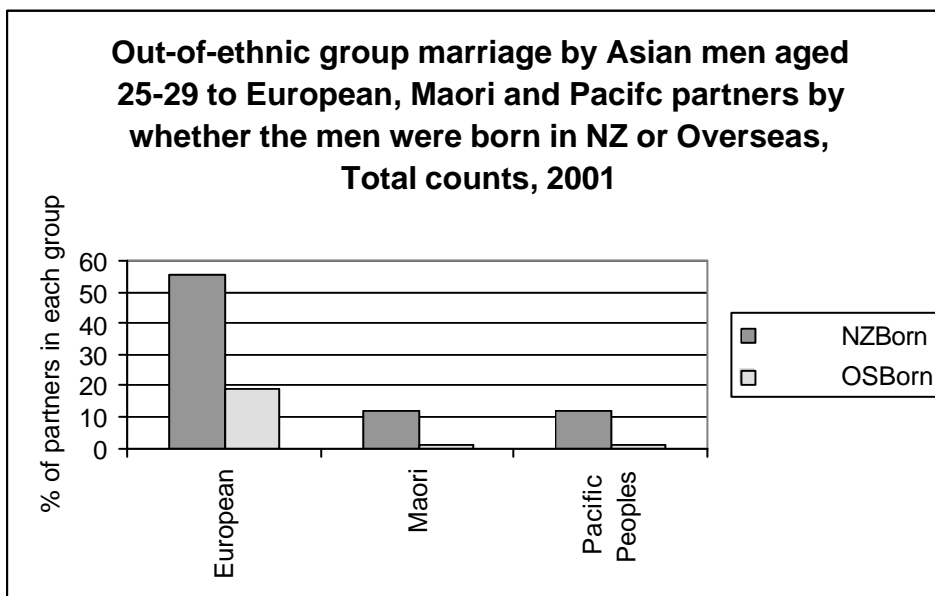
**Figure 5**



Note: The small numbers of Maori born overseas means that these particular data should be treated as indicative rather than absolute.

Figure 6 narrows down onto the Asian group and examines marriage outside of that group by whether the men were born in New Zealand or overseas. That is, it shows the proportion of Asian men who have a partner recording European, Maori or Pacific ethnicities. Figure 6 shows quite clearly a greater chance of out-of-ethnic group marriage for those Asians born in New Zealand.

**Figure 6**



### *Level 3 and level 1 ethnic intermarriage compared*

Tables 17 through to 23 explore two questions using two levels of measurement of ethnicity. The first, using the more detailed level 3 ethnic groups explores how likely is it that a person will form a couple relationship with someone from exactly the same ethnic group (these again are total count data, so the person may have also recorded other ethnicities as well). Second, the tables explore the question of, if the person does not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, how likely is it that their partner will also be from the same level one ethnic group (European, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian and Other). Finally, there is some exploration of whether cross ethnic group intermarriage varies within the high level ethnic groups.<sup>22</sup>

Tables 17 and 18 show the output for European women and men. To keep the analysis manageable, only couples where there are 500 or more responses by the main target ethnic group are included. In interpreting the data in Tables 17 and 18, it may be that for many New Zealand-born respondents, the level-3 European ethnic groups are “symbolic” ethnicities that individuals recall inconsistently, and which denote recalled ancestry rather than a meaningful sense of belonging to a culturally defined community. However, no attempt was made to separate out New Zealand born versus overseas born in this particular analysis.

While overall amongst the target group of European women there is relatively little variation as to whether they have a partner recording a European ethnicity (ranging from 83 percent to 95 percent), there is a much greater range in terms of whether their level 3 ethnic group is the same (from 13 percent to 88 percent). For European women, the data indicates that if they do not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, they are still highly likely to have a European partner. However, the data also indicate that marriage between the various subgroups of European and other ethnic groups (such as Maori) varies considerably. For example, 15 percent of women identifying Italian as one of their ethnic groups had a Maori partner, down to a low of just under 1 percent for South African women. Underlying some of these data will be issues of recent migration (such as the South Africans).

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<sup>22</sup> In all these calculations the dominator does include those partners whose ethnicity was not identified.

**Table 17: Partners of European women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples*	Same ethnic group#	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other
New Zealand							
European	592,227	88.4	92.3	6.0	1.2	0.5	0.2
South African	3,810	72.3	94.9	0.9	0.3	2.2	1.6
Croat/Croatian	543	59.7	95.0	5.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
Russian	762	55.1	90.9	1.6	0.4	2.4	2.4
Dutch/Netherlands	6,585	47.2	92.3	5.6	1.4	0.9	0.2
Swiss	570	33.2	92.1	5.3	1.1	1.1	0.5
European nfd	6,189	31.3	90.6	5.2	1.8	1.1	1.9
British nfd	5,145	30.9	93.2	3.3	1.0	0.5	0.5
English	9,417	29.3	92.0	5.7	1.9	0.9	0.4
German	2,022	27.3	87.1	7.4	5.8	1.6	1.3
American (US)	2,082	24.2	91.5	4.2	1.9	1.3	1.7
Scottish (Scots)	2,841	22.2	86.5	13.3	4.6	1.5	0.3
Italian	504	18.5	84.5	15.5	3.0	1.8	0.6
Canadian	1,302	17.3	90.8	5.3	1.4	0.9	0.5
Welsh	795	17.0	88.3	9.1	3.4	2.3	0.4
Irish	2,250	15.6	85.1	14.9	4.8	1.6	0.5
French	672	15.2	83.0	14.7	7.6	3.6	0.4
Australian	5,868	12.5	89.2	7.9	2.0	0.7	0.4

\* only where there is 500 or more couples in the ethnic group  
# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well.

Table 18 shows the pattern to be very similar for European men.

**Table 18: Partners of European men – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples*	Same ethnic group#	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other
New Zealand							
European	583,422	89.7	93.7	5.6	1.1	1.5	0.2
South African	3,474	79.3	96.5	0.8	0.2	2.5	1.5
Russian	579	72.5	93.8	2.6	1.0	3.1	1.6
Croat/Croatian	657	49.3	94.1	5.9	1.8	1.4	0.5
Greek (incl Greek Cypriot)	549	44.8	92.9	7.1	0.5	1.6	1.1
Polish	405	44.4	91.9	5.9	1.5	1.5	0.7
Dutch/Netherlands	7,974	39.0	92.7	5.2	1.6	2.2	0.4
European nfd	5,247	36.9	91.9	4.1	2.3	2.9	1.9
British nfd	4,617	34.4	93.2	2.7	1.2	2.6	0.4
Swiss	567	33.3	88.4	6.3	3.2	5.3	0.0
German	1,659	33.3	85.5	9.9	7.4	5.4	0.9
American (US)	1,782	28.3	91.2	5.1	1.9	3.2	1.7
English	10,134	27.2	91.8	6.2	2.0	2.6	0.5
Canadian	879	25.6	92.8	5.1	2.4	2.0	0.7
Scottish (Scots)	3,180	19.8	87.9	13.8	4.1	2.7	0.5
French	573	17.8	83.2	15.7	6.8	6.3	1.0
Australian	4,455	16.5	90.6	9.5	2.0	1.8	0.3
Italian	597	15.6	88.4	15.6	4.0	3.0	1.0
Welsh	870	15.5	89.7	9.0	2.1	3.1	0.7
Irish	2,451	14.3	88.0	13.0	4.8	2.9	0.6

\* only where there is 500 or more couples in the ethnic group

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

Tables 19 and 20 focus on Pacific Peoples. For groups where there are more than 500 couples, the variation for both Pacific women and men in terms of whether they had a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group is not as great as that for Europeans. For some groups, such as Tongan and Samoan, if they do not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, then it is more likely that the partner will have an ethnicity from outside of the Pacific group than within it. However, this pattern does not show up strongly amongst groups such as Tokelauan. This may reflect the very small group size and therefore limited numbers of potential marriage partners within the group. These data indicate that, based simply on ethnic intermarriage data, there is some social distance between the subgroups within the wider Pacific Peoples ethnic group. This reinforces the idea that there is substantial heterogeneity amongst high-level ethnic groupings. That is, while it is convenient to group a number of ethnicities into one higher-level category, such as Pacific Peoples, the characteristics, and behaviours, of the various subgroups may be quite varied. Using the broad Pacific Peoples group category provides an overall “average” behaviour, which, on the measure of intermarriage, disguises strong underlying differences. It needs to be noted that in both the Pacific Peoples and Asian tables that follow there could be some misclassification of Fijian’s and Fijian Indians.

**Table 19: Partners of Pacific women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples	Same ethnic group#	Pacific Peoples				
			European	Maori	Asian	Other	
Tongan	5,394	74.0	15.0	4.6	81.0	1.5	0.2
Samoan	15,681	69.8	19.9	6.5	74.9	2.2	0.2
Tokelauan	741	47.8	17.4	7.7	78.1	1.2	0.4
Cook Island Maori nfd	6,108	44.2	29.3	18.4	57.7	2.0	0.3
Niuean	2,262	43.0	26.4	13.0	65.3	2.5	0.1
Fijian*	1,113	31.8	50.9	10.5	41.0	8.4	0.5

\*except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

**Table 20: Partners of Pacific men – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples	Same ethnic group#	Pacific Peoples				
			European	Maori	Asian	Other	
Tongan	5,925	67.3	16.8	10.5	77.8	1.1	0.1
Samoan	16,428	66.7	23.0	11.5	72.7	1.9	0.2
Cook Island Maori nfd	5,895	45.8	33.6	26.8	52.6	1.4	0.2
Tokelauan	777	45.6	23.6	18.5	67.6	2.3	0.0
Niuean	2,475	39.3	32.1	20.7	57.5	2.5	0.2
Fijian*	996	35.5	44.0	13.9	49.1	8.7	0.3

\*except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

The patterns for Asian women and men are even more complex (Tables 21 and 22). For some groups, such as Korean men and women, there is a high likelihood they will have a partner who is also Korean. Amongst Asian women there are some groups that are highly unlikely to have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group (notably Thai, Asians not further defined and Filipinos). But in contrast, Filipino men are highly likely to have a Filipino partner. For Asian women, if they do not have a partner from the same level 3 ethnic group, then it is highly likely they will not have a partner from the wider Asian ethnic group. In most of the level 3 Asian ethnic groups, if the partner is not from the same level 3 group then the partner will most likely be recording a European ethnicity. For Asian men, marriage with a European varies from under 1 percent to over 9 percent (for Indians not further defined). While rates are low for intermarriage to people recording Maori and/or Pacific ethnicities are low for Asian men and women, they do vary somewhat by level 3 counts.

Much of the complexities within the Asian data reflect differences in timing of migration to New Zealand. For example, Thai, Filipinos and Koreans tend to be relatively recent migrants. Some of these groups will have already partnered in their country of origin.



**Table 21: Partners of Asian women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples	Same ethnic group#	Pacific Peoples				
			European	Maori	Asian	Other	
Korean	3,483	89.8	4.7	0.3	0.2	91.1	0.1
Sri Lankan nfd	1,389	86.0	6.0	0.4	0.4	89.0	0.2
Indian nfd	13,416	84.5	11.1	1.5	0.9	85.8	0.2
Khmer/ Kampuchean/ Cambodian	873	83.2	7.2	0.7	0.3	91.4	0.0
Chinese nfd	20,259	77.3	14.5	1.9	1.6	78.8	0.3
Taiwanese Chinese	570	75.3	4.7	0.0	0.5	82.6	0.5
Vietnamese	588	71.9	16.3	0.5	1.0	81.6	0.0
Japanese	1,968	30.6	56.7	3.7	1.4	37.0	0.9
Filipino	3,561	30.2	62.6	2.2	1.0	32.5	0.9
Asian nfd	753	27.1	59.0	4.0	0.8	34.7	2.0
Thai/Tai/Siamese	1,239	19.1	65.1	4.1	1.0	29.1	1.0

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

**Table 22: Partners of Asian men – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples	Same ethnic group#	Pacific Peoples				
			European	Maori	Asian	Other	
Korean	3,246	96.3	0.7	0.1	0.1	97.5	0.0
Filipino	1,224	87.7	7.1	2.0	0.7	90.7	0.0
Sri Lankan nfd	1,377	86.7	5.4	0.2	0.4	91.7	0.0
Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian	840	86.4	4.3	0.4	0.0	94.6	0.0
Chinese nfd	18,276	85.7	8.7	1.9	1.7	87.8	0.1
Taiwanese Chinese	501	85.6	1.2	0.0	0.0	94.0	0.0
Indian nfd	13,248	85.6	9.4	2.0	2.0	87.2	0.2
Vietnamese	540	78.3	6.1	0.6	0.0	92.2	0.6
Japanese	825	73.1	16.7	2.5	1.1	79.3	0.0

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

Finally, Table 23 shows intermarriage by level 3 respondents in the Other group (where there are more than 500 couples). Marriage by Arabs to Arabs is common for both women and men. This is likely to reflect, amongst other factors, recent migration. There is however, some small variation as to whether Arab women and men have a partner recording European ethnicity.

**Table 23: Partners of Other men and women – Ranked by whether their partner is from the same level 3 ethnic group, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

	Total number of couples	Same ethnic group#	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other
Arab female	501	86.2	3.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	89.8
Arab male	525	82.3	10.3	1.1	0.0	2.3	84.6

# but the partner may have also recorded other ethnic groups as well

The differences in patterns of intermarriage by women and men in some level 3 ethnic groups (such as Filipinos) reflect many factors. But one is simply that in some level 3 ethnic groups, there are unequal numbers of particular male and female ethnic groups within couples (Table 24) In some instances, this will reflect unequal migration by Asian men and women (Callister and Bedford 2005).

**Table 24: Ratio of total women to total men in each ethnic group– Couples only – Top ten groups, 2001**

	Men	Women	Ratio women to men
Ratio higher than 1			
Filipino	1,224	3,561	2.9
Japanese	825	1,968	2.4
Canadian	879	1,302	1.5
Australian	4,455	5,868	1.3
Russian	579	762	1.3
German	1,659	2,022	1.2
European nfd	5,247	6,189	1.2
Asian Ethnic Groups	42,708	50,163	1.2
French	573	672	1.2
American (US)	1,782	2,082	1.2

#### *'New Zealander' intermarriage*

In 2001, in total there were 17,349 couples where the female recorded 'New Zealander' as one or more of their ethnic groups, 22,725 where the male put this response and 9,402 couples where both recorded 'New Zealander'. Taken across all ethnic responses, the 'New Zealander' response is relatively rare response but a large proportion of these responses occur in pairs in households. This may mean there are many people completing forms – or this response – for their partner. Or it could mean that there is active discussion of the concept by couples. This raises awareness of a possible 'couple effect' with regard to ethnic responses throughout the data we examine in this paper.

Tables 25 and 26 show the proportion of men and women who recorded New Zealander by the ethnic responses of their partners. These tables are based on total counts. Also shown are total counts for the whole European group. In the 2001 census, 'New Zealander' responses were placed in the European category so was a subset of this group. These data suggest that the characteristics of New Zealanders, on this measure at least, are very similar to that of New Zealand Europeans. Yet, the

research of Potter et al (2003) suggests there is a danger in assuming all 'New Zealanders' are simply New Zealand Europeans.

The two tables show that the patterns of marriage and intermarriage for Europeans and the subset of 'New Zealanders' in terms of the main ethnic groups of their partners is almost exactly the same. However, there is a small difference between women and men in the proportion who had a partner who also recorded a 'New Zealander' response. Women are more likely to have a partner recording such a response. This is not surprising given a higher proportion of men in couples recording such a response (Potter et al 2003) overall.

**Table 25: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		female					Total
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	NZer specified
Male	European	96	6	1	2	0	- 616,878
	New Zealander	97	5	1	2	0	42 22,506

**Table 26: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women, opposite sex couples, Total counts, 2001**

		male					Total
		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	NZer specified
Female	European	96	6	1	1	0	- 639,762
	New Zealander	97	5	1	1	0	55 17,349

When age was considered the pattern for 'New Zealanders', as found for the wider European ethnic group, was that marriage to groups other than European increased amongst the younger age range. In addition amongst older men there was an increasing proportion of partners also recording 'New Zealander' ethnicity.

## Section 2: Single and multiple ethnicity and intermarriage

This section uses non-overlapping ethnic groups to further examine ethnic intermarriage. Given the high number of possible single, dual and multiple ethnic combinations in addition to the main single ethnic counts (European only, Maori only, Pacific Peoples only, Asian only and Other only), the combinations used for the following analysis are listed below. As the ‘Other’ ethnic group is particularly small it has not been separated out.

---

MEnotPAmaybeO	Maori and European, not Pacific or Asian but maybe Other
MPnotEAmaybeO	Maori and Pacific, not European or Asian but maybe Other
PEnotMAmaybeO	Pacific and European, not Maori or Asian but maybe Other
MPEnotAmaybeO	Maori and Pacific and European, not Asian but maybe Other
MEAnotPmaybeO	Maori and European and Asian, not Pacific but maybe Other
PEAnotMmaybeO	Pacific and European and Asian, not Maori but maybe Other
MPAnotEmaybeO	Maori and Pacific and Asian, not European but maybe Other

---

As will be shown, even restricting the analysis to these groups creates some major complexity in analysing the data. However, as will also be shown, in many of the combinations the numbers are very low. The key groups to consider are the single ethnic groups (excluding other), Maori and European, and Pacific and European.

Table 27 shows the numbers in each combination of male and female ethnicity. Marked in bold are where both partners are from the same group. The largest group by far is where both partners are European only with the second largest being where both partners are Asian only. The size of the latter group reflects the lower rates of ethnic intermarriage by Asians only than many other groups. Again recent migration will have a major influence on this result.

Tables 28 and 29 show, respectively, the ethnicity of the partners of men and women. In relation to Table 28 a number of patterns of are interest. These include:

- For European only men, by far the most common partner ethnicity is also sole European (93 percent). The next most common is having a Maori/European partner (2.6 percent).
- For Maori only men, the most common partner is also Maori only (54 percent), followed by a third having a European only partner, then at 9 percent having a Maori/European partner.
- The most common exact matching of ethnicity is where both partners are sole Asian (94 percent).
- For the Maori/European and the Pacific/European males the most common partner is not the same group, but the European only group.
- Those males who record dual or multiple ethnicity are generally less likely than males recording only one ethnicity to have a partner recording just one ethnic group. That is, those recording complex ethnicity are more likely to have partner’s also recording complex ethnicity.

Table 29 shows some similarities and differences for women. Focussing on differences rather than similarities, patterns of interest include:

- 17 percent of Asian only women have a European only partner, where as only 4.5 percent of Asian only men have a only European partner
- Women recording both Maori and Pacific ethnicities are more likely to have a sole Pacific partner (27 percent) than males recording both these groups (12 percent)
- Women from the sole “Other” group are more likely to have a sole “Other partner” than men (75 percent versus 66 percent)
- Maori only women are slightly more likely to have a sole Maori partner (58 percent versus 54 percent).
- Overall, with the strong exception of Asian only women, women recording only one ethnic group were more likely than men to have a partner from the same sole group.

**Table 27: Number of responses in each ethnic combination, opposite sex couples, 2001**

		Female														
		Sole European	Sole Maori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole Other	ME NotPA maybeO	MP NotEA maybeO	PE NotMA MaybeO	MPE Nota MaybeO	MEA NotP maybeO	PEA NotM maybeO	MPA Note maybeO	Other EA	Other	Total
	Sole European	<b>548,781</b>	11,178	3,237	7,815	699	15,252	147	1,446	249	171	81	24	711	534	590,325
	Sole Maori	13,752	<b>22,338</b>	786	153	24	3,738	270	312	120	42	15	9	57	96	41,712
	Sole Pacific	2,997	1,872	<b>19,860</b>	102	12	933	213	573	81	12	21	3	30	159	26,868
	Sole Asian	1,776	138	279	<b>37,149</b>	30	93	3	30	3	6	6	3	90	48	39,654
	Sole Other	933	30	48	132	<b>2,394</b>	45	0	9	0	0	0	0	3	30	3,624
Male	MEnotPAmaybeO	13,461	1,998	315	189	12	<b>4,542</b>	96	363	126	66	18	6	78	69	21,339
	MPnotEAmaybeO	213	276	96	9	0	153	<b>21</b>	24	12	3	0	0	0	12	819
	PEnotMAmaybeO	1,377	222	291	36	3	411	21	<b>231</b>	36	6	6	3	18	27	2,688
	MPEnotAmaybeO	285	81	30	9	0	138	12	15	<b>21</b>	3	6	0	0	6	606
	MEAnotPmaybeO	156	30	6	9	0	60	3	6	0	<b>3</b>	3	0	0	0	276
	PEAnotMmaybeO	75	9	18	3	0	24	0	12	3	0	<b>3</b>	0	3	6	156
	MPAnotEmaybeO	57	6	6	3	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	<b>3</b>	0	3	87
	Other EA	588	30	12	93	3	66	0	12	9	3	0	0	<b>159</b>	3	978
	Other combs	486	105	144	66	24	111	6	33	9	3	0	0	6	<b>183</b>	1,176
	Total	584,937	38,313	25,128	45,768	3,201	25,575	792	3,066	669	318	159	51	1,155	1,176	730,308

**Table 28: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, 2001**

		Female														
		Sole European	Sole Maori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole Other	ME NotPA maybeO	MP NotEA maybeO	PE NotMA MaybeO	MPE Nota MaybeO	MEA NotP maybeO	PEA NotM maybeO	MPA Note maybeO	Other EA	Other	Total
Male	Sole European	<b>93.0</b>	1.9	0.5	1.3	0.1	2.6	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	100.0
	Sole Maori	33.0	<b>53.6</b>	1.9	0.4	0.1	9.0	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	100.0
	Sole Pacific	11.2	7.0	<b>73.9</b>	0.4	0.0	3.5	0.8	2.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.6	100.0
	Sole Asian	4.5	0.3	0.7	<b>93.7</b>	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	100.0
	Sole Other	25.7	0.8	1.3	3.6	<b>66.1</b>	1.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.8	100.0
	MEnotPAmaybeO	63.1	9.4	1.5	0.9	0.1	<b>21.3</b>	0.4	1.7	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.3	100.0
	MPnotEAmaybeO	26.0	33.7	11.7	1.1	0.0	18.7	<b>2.6</b>	2.9	1.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	100.0
	PEnotMAmaybeO	51.2	8.3	10.8	1.3	0.1	15.3	0.8	<b>8.6</b>	1.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7	1.0	100.0
	MPEnotAmaybeO	47.0	13.4	5.0	1.5	0.0	22.8	2.0	2.5	<b>3.5</b>	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	100.0
	MEAnotPmaybeO	56.5	10.9	2.2	3.3	0.0	21.7	1.1	2.2	0.0	<b>1.1</b>	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	PEAnotMmaybeO	48.1	5.8	11.5	1.9	0.0	15.4	0.0	7.7	1.9	0.0	<b>1.9</b>	0.0	1.9	3.8	100.0
	MPAnotEmaybeO	65.5	6.9	6.9	3.4	0.0	10.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>3.4</b>	0.0	3.4	100.0
	Other EA	60.1	3.1	1.2	9.5	0.3	6.7	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.0	<b>16.3</b>	0.3	100.0
	Other combs	41.3	8.9	12.2	5.6	2.0	9.4	0.5	2.8	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	<b>15.6</b>	100.0
	Total	80.1	5.2	3.4	6.3	0.4	3.5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	100.0

**Table 29: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for women, opposite sex couples, 2001**

		Male														
		Sole European	Sole Maori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole Other	ME NotPA maybeO	MP NotEA maybeO	PE NotMA MaybeO	MPE Nota MaybeO	MEA NotP maybeO	PEA NotM maybeO	MPA Note maybeO	Other EA	Other	Total
Female	Sole European	<b>93.8</b>	2.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	2.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	100.0
	Sole Maori	29.2	<b>58.3</b>	4.9	0.4	0.1	5.2	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	100.0
	Sole Pacific	12.9	3.1	<b>79.0</b>	1.1	0.2	1.3	0.4	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	100.0
	Sole Asian	17.1	0.3	0.2	<b>81.2</b>	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	100.0
	Sole Other	21.8	0.7	0.4	0.9	<b>74.8</b>	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.7	100.0
	MENotPAmaybeO	59.6	14.6	3.6	0.4	0.2	<b>17.8</b>	0.6	1.6	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.4	100.0
	MPnotEAmaybeO	18.6	34.1	26.9	0.4	0.0	12.1	<b>2.7</b>	2.7	1.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	100.0
	PEnotMAmaybeO	47.2	10.2	18.7	1.0	0.3	11.8	0.8	<b>7.5</b>	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.4	1.1	100.0
	MPEnotAmaybeO	37.2	17.9	12.1	0.4	0.0	18.8	1.8	5.4	<b>3.1</b>	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.3	1.3	100.0
	MEAnotPmaybeO	53.8	13.2	3.8	1.9	0.0	20.8	0.9	1.9	0.9	<b>0.9</b>	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	100.0
	PEAnotMmaybeO	50.9	9.4	13.2	3.8	0.0	11.3	0.0	3.8	3.8	1.9	<b>1.9</b>	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	MPAnotEmaybeO	47.1	17.6	5.9	5.9	0.0	11.8	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>5.9</b>	0.0	0.0	100.0
	Other EA	61.6	4.9	2.6	7.8	0.3	6.8	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	<b>13.8</b>	0.5	100.0
	Other combs	45.4	8.2	13.5	4.1	2.6	5.9	1.0	2.3	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	<b>15.6</b>	100.0
	Total	80.8	5.7	3.7	5.4	0.5	2.9	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	100.0

Table 30 shows the ratio of actual to expected outcomes in each ethnic combination had there been random sorting within couples. A ratio above 1 indicates that the actual outcome is higher than random sorting would predict. The table shows a pattern of endogamy (that is within-group marriage) although the magnitude varies. Table 30 shows that amongst Europeans the within-group marriage rate is 1.2 times higher than one would expect given random sorting. This indicates that the within-group marriage is not particularly strong in itself, it is the high numbers of Europeans relative to other groups that ensure that most Europeans have a European partner. In contrast, in the other groups the within-group marriages are much higher than random sorting would predict. For example, there are over 10 times more couples where both partners record only Maori ethnicity than random sorting would predict. This indicates that while Europeans appear to have a low rate of out-marriage compared with Maori, given the relative sizes of the populations if Maori had the an equal population size to that of Europeans, Maori may have had a lower out-marriage rate than Europeans.

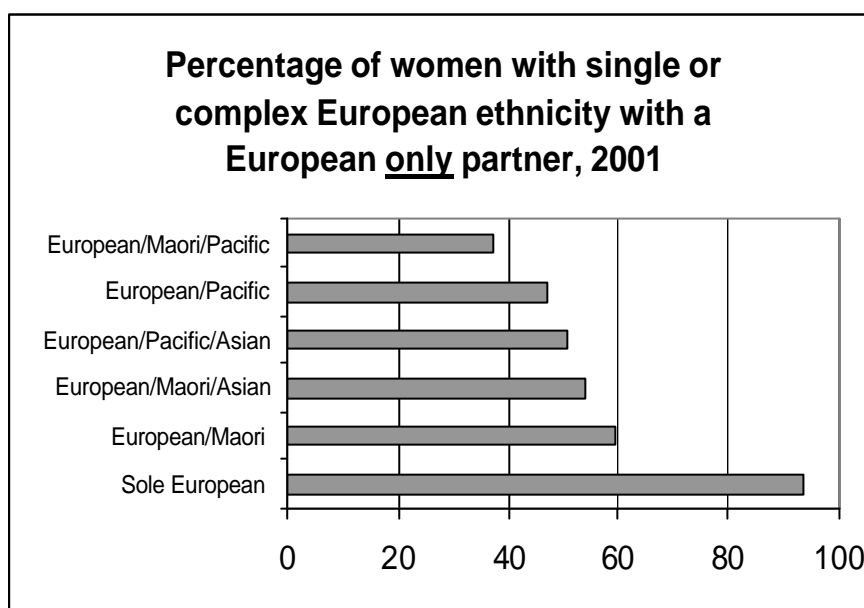


**Table 30: Ratio of actual to expected outcomes in each ethnic combination had there been random sorting, opposite sex couples, 2001 (a ratio above 1 indicates that the actual outcomes is higher than random sorting would predict)**

		Male													
		Sole European	Sole Maori	Sole Pacific	Sole Asian	Sole Other	ME NotPA maybeO	MP NotEA maybeO	PE NotMA MaybeO	MPE Nota MaybeO	MEA NotP maybeO	PEA NotM maybeO	MPA Note maybeO	Other EA	Other
	Sole European	<b>1.2</b>	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6
	Sole Maori	0.4	<b>10.2</b>	0.5	0.1	0.1	2.6	6.0	1.8	3.1	2.3	1.7	3.1	0.9	1.4
	Sole Pacific	0.1	1.3	<b>21.5</b>	0.1	0.1	1.0	7.3	5.1	3.3	1.0	3.6	1.6	0.7	3.7
	Sole Asian	0.1	0.1	0.2	<b>14.9</b>	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	1.1	1.4	0.8
	Sole Other	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.6	<b>150.7</b>	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	5.1
Female	MENotPAmaybeO	0.8	1.8	0.4	0.1	0.1	<b>6.1</b>	4.1	4.1	6.4	7.1	3.9	4.0	2.3	2.0
	MPnotEAmaybeO	0.3	6.4	3.4	0.2	0.0	5.3	<b>23.6</b>	7.0	16.0	8.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
	PEnotMAmaybeO	0.6	1.6	3.1	0.2	0.3	4.4	7.2	<b>20.5</b>	14.6	5.1	10.3	16.0	4.2	6.2
	MPEnotAmaybeO	0.6	2.5	1.4	0.2	0.0	6.5	18.3	5.9	<b>37.8</b>	11.4	45.5	0.0	0.0	6.1
	MEAnotPmaybeO	0.7	2.1	0.6	0.5	0.0	6.2	10.0	5.2	0.0	<b>25.0</b>	49.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
	PEAnotMmaybeO	0.6	1.1	3.4	0.3	0.0	4.4	0.0	18.3	21.0	0.0	<b>88.3</b>	0.0	12.2	23.9
	MPAnotEmaybeO	0.8	1.3	2.0	0.6	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>493.8</b>	0.0	21.4
	Other EA	0.8	0.6	0.4	1.5	0.7	1.9	0.0	2.9	10.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	<b>102.8</b>	1.9
	Other combs	0.5	1.7	3.6	0.9	4.7	2.7	4.7	6.7	8.4	5.9	0.0	0.0	3.2	<b>96.6</b>

Like many other figures in this report, Figure 7 is purely illustrative. It shows the proportion of women who recorded European as one or more of their ethnic groups who had a partner recording only European ethnicity. It indicates that Europeans with complex ethnicities are less likely to have a European only partner than those recording only European ethnicity. This reinforces the overall finding that people with complex ethnicities are also more likely to have partners with complex ethnicities. Why this patterns occurs is not clear.

**Figure 7**



Finally, Table 31 draws data from Tables 5 and 6, and 28 and 29 to show how intermarriage rates can vary somewhat depending on the measure used. The total count figure is based on total counts for both women and men and the “sole” figures also require both partners to be from the same “sole” group. The table indicates that for Europeans, when total counts are used ethnic intermarriage rates seem lower (or within-group marriage seems higher). The opposite pattern occurs in the other ethnic groups (that is within-group marriage is higher within the “sole” group.). Given that the differences are not great for broad reportage of trends in ethnic intermarriage it would seem that total counts would be a useful high-level indicator. Yet, it does need to be kept in mind that when total counts are used for some couples their union will be counted as both an endogamous and exogamous marriage. It may be that that a Maori-European and Maori marriage and a marriage where both partners only record Maori ethnicity (both counted as a Maori to Maori marriage using total counts – but the first couple also as a Maori and European union) are quite different on some measures. This distinction may matter if one is looking at intermarriage rates with a view to making some sort of commentary about the mutability of boundaries and social relations between groups.

**Table 31: Comparing within-group union rates when using total counts and when considering only sole ethnic responses, % in each group with a partner of the same ethnicity, opposite sex couples, 2001**

	Male		Female	
	Total count/ Total count	Sole/ Sole	Total count/ Total count	Sole/ Sole
Both European	96	93	96	94
Both Maori	53	54	52	58
Both Pacific Peoples	70	74	73	79
Both Asian	90	94	78	81
Both Other	60	66	68	75

## Part 3: Conclusions

The international literature on ethnic intermarriage suggests that cross-cultural relationships are becoming more common in countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. In many of these countries the level of ethnic intermarriage is seen as one measure of social distance between ethnic groups. The literature also indicated that many factors influence the level of ethnic intermarriage within a country. These include: attitudes; the relative size of ethnic groups and sex ratios within them; age and education (with higher levels of intermarriage amongst young people and, connected with age, amongst the better educated part of the population); geographic ethnic segregation; and for groups that have migrated, intermarriage rates are higher amongst the second and third generations. While in many countries historical attitudes towards ethnic intermarriage have been very conservative (and in fact, in the past led to laws being put in place in to restrict particular types of intermarriage), it seems that overall attitudes are becoming more accepting. Some historical examples of negative attitudes can also be found in New Zealand, however apart from Archie's case study based book on Maori intermarriage there are no recent examples of New Zealand based attitudinal studies to draw on.

A range of literature suggests that the children of ethnic intermarriage have the potential to align with more than one ethnic group. However, how they decide to record their ethnicity, or have it recorded for them, in surveys depends on a wide range of factors. These include who completes the survey form, in what context and how the questions are asked, the strength of particular cultural ties and how society treats the children of such intermarriages. While the literature suggests that a rise in ethnic intermarriage is clearly an important factor in the increase in the number of children who claim more than one ethnic group, there remain a significant number of children recording, or having recorded for them, only one ethnic group when they had the potential to record dual or multiple ethnicity.

In this study, patterns of ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand were explored using 2001 census data. Two main output types were used for the analysis. These were total ethnic

counts and counts of main single, dual and multiple responses. In doing so, the main focus was on the level 1 groups of Europeans, Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and the Other group. However, New Zealander type responses were also examined.

Both total counts, and more complex ethnicities, present their own particular challenges. When total counts are used, the ethnicities of many individuals overlap. This issue can be exacerbated when both partners in a couple record more than one ethnic group. This can lead to multiple counts of couples. With complex ethnicity, there is the potential for many combinations of ethnic group and the amount of data can become overwhelming.

Based on total counts, as is well known, Europeans form the largest single ethnic group in New Zealand, with Maori, Pacific Peoples, Asians and Other all much smaller groups. In addition, in the prime couples forming age range, within the main ethnic groups in 2001 there were more women than men. Both these factors would theoretically support ethnic intermarriage taking place.

Again, when total counts are used, the data show that European women and men have relatively low rates of intermarriage. In contrast, rates are high for Maori, and to a lesser degree, Pacific Peoples. However, when size of group is considered, the intermarriage rates for Europeans do not suggest that this group is particularly adverse to intermarriage. In fact, based on group size, ethnic intermarriage is lower for Maori (and the other ethnic groups) than would be expected had random mating taken place across ethnic groups.

There were some gender dimensions within the total count data. In particular, Asian women are far less likely to marry an Asian man, than were Asian men to marry an Asian woman. A pattern not so strong was that Pacific females were more likely to have a Maori partner than the other way around. However, some gender differences have changed over time. For example, while historical studies show it was more common for a European man to have a Maori wife than for a European woman to have a Maori partner, there are were little differences in intermarriage rates in 2001.

The overall total count data also indicate that, while historically the most common ethnic intermarriage was between European and Maori, and more recently between Europeans and Pacific Peoples, the ethnic combinations are getting more complex. For example, marriage between Pacific Peoples and Maori is becoming more common as is marriage between Asians and Europeans (although, as discussed, with strong gender dimensions). While numbers are still small, there are examples of intermarriage between all main ethnic groups in New Zealand.

When a finer level of ethnicity was considered (level 3 responses), there is much variation with the high level (level 1) ethnic groups in terms of intermarriage. Overall most level 3 Europeans were likely to have a partner from within the wider European ethnic group, some groups, notably recent migrants such as South Africans, were less likely to intermarry outside their own level 3 group and completely outside the level 1 group, than others. This may reflect that many were married when arriving in New Zealand. The level 3 data indicate considerable variation within the European ethnic

group in terms of rates of intermarriage with Maori. For example, rates amongst French and Italian women and men were much higher than among many other groups. These findings indicate that while overall rates of intermarriage are low for the European group, there is some considerable heterogeneity of intermarriage within the group.

Within the Pacific Peoples, Asian Peoples and Other ethnic groups, if someone did not have a partner recording the same level 3 ethnic group as themselves, in general they were also then unlikely to have a partner from the same broad level 1 ethnic group. This suggests that social distance between people within high level ethnic groups may be as important as social distance between the high level ethnic groups. That is, as examples, there might be as much (or more) distance between Koreans and Japanese (both Asians), or Samoans and Tongans (both Pacific Peoples), as there is between Pacific Peoples and Asians as a whole. This supports the idea that high-level ethnic groups are not homogeneous. The people in them may come from a similar geographic region but there may be significant social distance between the people from within these areas.

The data suggest that, in general factors such as group size, age, education and whether a person was born in New Zealand all individually, and possibly interacting with each other, have some influence on rates of intermarriage. While the associations between age and New Zealand as a country of birth and rates of intermarriage are clear (higher for younger people and higher for those born in New Zealand), the associations with education are far more complex.

In terms of education and within-group marriage, the strongest patterns to stand out are that for both European men and women within-group marriage is marginally more likely amongst the well educated but, in contrast, for both men and women within Maori and Pacific Peoples, the opposite pattern was strongly evident. For tertiary educated Europeans there is less opportunity to find a similarly educated partner within the Maori and Pacific ethnic groups because the numbers of tertiary qualified Maori and Pacific Peoples are still relatively low.

In the total count data, within all groups some ethnicities overlap. This shows that many of the people recording their ethnicity are recording more than one response. Dual and multiple ethnicities are most common amongst those recording Maori as one of their ethnic groups. Using dual and multiple measures of ethnicity, therefore provides another layer of complexity to the analysis. The strongest pattern to emerge from these data is that those recording only one ethnicity are more likely to also have a partner recording one ethnic group. People with complex ethnicities are, perhaps not surprisingly, more likely to have partners who also have complex ethnicities. However, how these choices of partners, and of ethnicities, takes place is not known.

Comparing the total count and complex ethnicity data suggests that for broad monitoring of ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand, total counts would be a useful tool. Yet, it does need to be kept in mind that when total counts are used for some couples their union will be counted as both an endogamous and exogamous marriage. It may be that that a Maori-European and Maori marriage and a marriage where both partners only record Maori

ethnicity (both counted as a Maori to Maori marriage using total counts – but the first couple also as a Maori and European union) are quite different on some social cultural measures. This distinction may matter if one is looking at intermarriage rates with a view to making some sort of commentary about the mutability of boundaries and social relations between groups. Thus, for any in-depth analysis of intermarriage, more complex measures of ethnicity would be useful. For instance, it would be useful to undertake a more detailed analysis of intermarriage using complex ethnicity and also, at the same time getting a better idea of the interaction of variables such as age and education.

When the ‘New Zealander’ group was considered, the patterns of marriage and intermarriage for Europeans and ‘New Zealanders’ in terms of the main ethnic groups of partners was almost exactly the same. The data also suggest that while there is some tendency for both partners in a couple to record ‘New Zealander’ ethnicity, there are many couples where it was only one partner who put this response.

Finally in terms of measuring intermarriage, given the significant numbers of New Zealander reporting dual or multiple ethnic groups, there are major difficulties in providing a simple definition of ethnic intermarriage. This also means that a single overall measure of the rate of intermarriage in New Zealand is likely to be misleading to both represent the complexities of such unions and to understand change over time.

So what changes might take place with ethnic intermarriage in the future? Just as Jones and Luijckx (1996) conclude, the maintenance of strong within ethnic group marriage tendencies largely depends on the continuing flow into Australia of new immigrants and this is likely to be true for New Zealand as well.

So excluding new migrants, what are the likely trends for those residents born in New Zealand. While there is some counter evidence (such as well educated Europeans tending to marry Europeans), overall the age and education data suggest a growth in intermarriage. The growth is likely to potentially be the strongest, from a small base, in some of the less traditional types of intermarriages, particularly amongst the children of new migrants (such as Other/ European and Asian/Maori). However, some counter trends may emerge. For example as the pool of well educated Maori and Pacific peoples expands there will be more opportunity for within-group intermarriage for people with similar levels of qualifications. Therefore the strong out-marriage of well-educated Maori and Pacific Peoples might reduce. Whether this would affect overall patterns remains to be seen.

How will this in turn affect the ethnic choices of the children of such intermarriages? The growth in the number of dual and multiple ethnic children in recent decades has the potential to continue increasing. However, both literature and New Zealand data suggest that processes of making ethnic choices for children is complex. It may be that, for a variety of reasons, a significant number of children of ethnic intermarriages still choose to emphasize one ethnicity over another. It may also be that some New Zealand residents may endeavour to create new ethnicities born out of the complexity of their backgrounds. In order to plan for possible outcomes, qualitative research on the construction of

ethnicity of the children of ethnic intermarriages would be useful. It would also be useful to explore the relevance of ethnicity as an expression of identity for those with complex ethnicities when compared with those recording single ethnic responses.

Finally, while this paper is primarily descriptive, it potentially sets the scene for further in-depth research. If a wider question “what factors are most important in accounting for patterns of partner selection in New Zealand?” was to be considered, then the potential candidates could not only be ethnicity but also education, age, place of birth, and ethnic heterogeneity in the area where couples reside. Because many of these factors are correlated, each factor would need to be controlled for in some form of multivariate analysis. In addition, research linking an understanding of factors influencing ethnic intermarriage with the transmission of particular ethnic groups to children would be useful. Hopefully, other researchers will delve further into these areas.

## Appendix 1

**Table 1.1: Rates of marriage to a person recording Maori ethnicity by the ethnic and ancestral group of men and women and by whether they are Te Reo speakers, 2001**

Maori speaker	Has Maori Ethnicity	Has Maori Ancestry	% in a couple with a Maori partner (Maori ethnic group)		Total	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
YES	YES	YES	68	66	16,434	15,321
YES	YES	NO	60	52	120	75
NO	YES	YES	45	45	44,346	47,562
NO	YES	NO	36	43	660	468
YES	NO	YES	29	37	561	489
YES	NO	NO	19	20	3,462	3,156
NO	NO	YES	9	9	15,465	18,708
NO	NO	NO	4	4	592,140	594,864

**Table 1.2: Ethnic intermarriage using total counts, 2001, Including the category 'Not Stated'**

Male	Female					Total Stated	Not Stated	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other			
European	589,860	35,268	7,068	9,867	1,263	616,878	13,500	630,378
Maori	38,112	34,464	2,793	861	108	65,169	1,455	66,624
Pacific Peoples	8,001	4,740	22,026	573	45	31,683	570	32,253
Asian	3,570	717	684	37,716	57	41,808	900	42,708
Other	1,557	162	81	183	2,574	4,266	111	4,377
Not Stated	23,376	2,847	969	2,028	189	27,909	5,409	33,318
Total	639,762	68,904	31,284	50,163	4,002	758,244	21,387	779,631

**Table 1.3: Ethnic intermarriage using total counts, 2001, Including the category 'Not Stated' as a percentage of totals for male intermarriage**

Male	Female					Total Stated	Not Stated	Total
	European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other			
European	93.6	5.6	1.1	1.6	0.2	97.9	2.1	100.0
Maori	57.2	51.7	4.2	1.3	0.2	97.8	2.2	100.0
Pacific Peoples	24.8	14.7	68.3	1.8	0.1	98.2	1.8	100.0
Asian	8.4	1.7	1.6	88.3	0.1	97.9	2.1	100.0
Other	35.6	3.7	1.9	4.2	58.8	97.5	2.5	100.0
Not Stated	70.2	8.5	2.9	6.1	0.6	83.8	16.2	100.0
Total	82.1	8.8	4.0	6.4	0.5	97.3	2.7	100.0



## Appendix 2

Figure 2.1

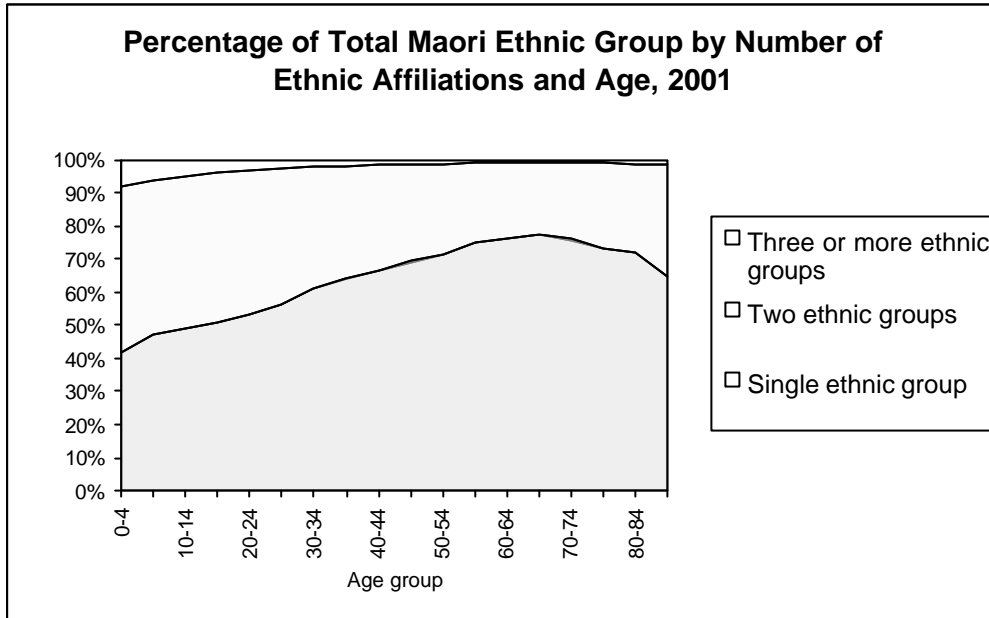
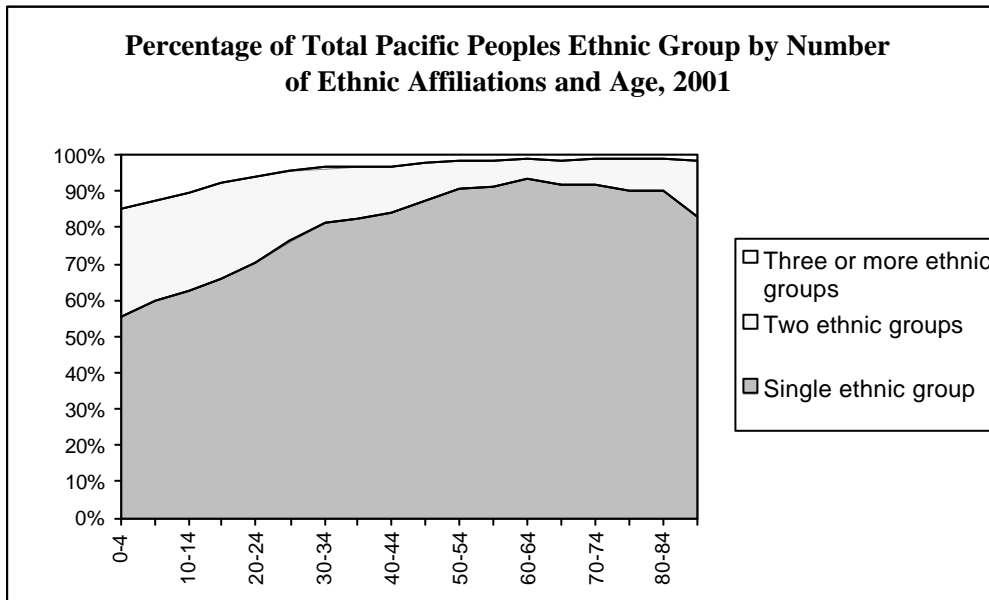


Figure 2.2



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